

Beyond the Creative Industries Sector- An Integrated Approach to Cultural Policy in search for the Economic Sustainability of Creative Industries in South Africa

By

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Abstract

Governments of all persuasions, in all jurisdictions have experienced difficulty in formulating coherent and appropriate policy strategies for the arts and cultural sector(Craik, 2007, p. 25).

The South African government is not an exception to this quandary. The Department of Arts and Culture's White Paper on Arts Culture and Heritage can be described as insular as it partially embrace and recognize other national socio-economic development strategies and programmes. The outcome of the current cultural policy is heavy dependency on government subsidies and grants from international agencies. Despite the multi-layered challenges in cultural policy and creative industries, stakeholders do acknowledge the inherent sustainability potential which is yet to be unlocked. The aim of this paper is to name and explain some of the challenges of the South African Cultural Policy which could be impeding economic sustainability of the creative industries. The broader goal of the paper is to contribute to arguments for alternative cultural policy models for the sustainability of creative industries in South Africa. The paper suggests an integrated and interdisciplinary cultural policy approach.

Key Words: Creative Industries, Interdisciplinary, Economic Sustainability, Cultural Policy, South Africa,

Introduction

Governments of all persuasions, in all jurisdictions have experienced difficulty in formulating coherent and appropriate policy strategies for the arts and cultural sector(Craik, 2007, p. 25).

The South African government is not an exception to this quandary. The Department of Arts and Culture's White Paper on Arts Culture and Heritage can be described as insular as it partially embrace and recognize the national socio-economic development strategies and programmes. It also seems to overlook the impact of global political and economic context. It is largely monodisciplinary with in-ward looking approach there-by missing opportunities from other sectors and economies and failing to protect the sectors from external threats. The strengths and power of culture have remained partially exploited. It can be argued that these gaps and barriers have contributed to the plight of artists who are working in an informal creative industries sector which is exposed to unfair competition both on the domestic and global markets.

Despite the multi-layered cultural policy and creative industries challenges, stakeholders do acknowledge the inherent sustainability potential which is yet to be unlocked. Amongst the many possible ways to unlock the potential of the creative industries, I chose to explore how cultural policy can contribute to the economic sustainability of the creative industries in South Africa from both a 'critical' and 'applied' perspective. Thinking with Foucault's concept of governmentality as an overarching conceptual framework, I will analyse the role the government and other authorities in shaping the creative industries in South Africa. "Cultural policy research today is a truly multidisciplinary field and in no way dominated by *one* disciplinary or theoretical perspective"(Frenander, 2008, p. 2). Economic theories will be used to analyse the roles of state and markets in creative industries, whilst a postcolonial perspective will be used to better understand the historical, political economic and social context in which cultural good and services are produced, distributed and consumed. The aim of this paper is to suggest an outline of a road-map to a critical interpretive analysis of existing cultural policy and draft cultural policy in South Africa. It also aims to name and explain some of the gaps and barriers in the South African Cultural Policy which could be impeding economic sustainability. The broader goal of the paper is to contribute to

arguments around alternative cultural policy models for the economic sustainability of the creative industries in South Africa, the SADC region and the rest of Africa.

The paper is a desk research which involved an interpretive analysis South Africa's White Paper on Arts Culture and Heritage. The analysis is informed by political economy conceptual frameworks as well as literature review of publications on cultural policy and creative landscape in South Africa and beyond. My long experience of working in various capacities and different organisations within the cultural and creative industries in Zimbabwe, Malawi, South Africa as well as beyond the region and continent has given me a lot of insights which are invaluable for this study. I do acknowledge that my intimacy to the subject of study as well as my passion might stand in the way of a critical and objective analysis of the findings.

I have specifically chosen to tackle the question of 'creativetersections' from a policy perspective because of the centrality of policy framework in stepping up the growth potential of creative industries at both domestic and international level. Policies first and foremost shape the mentalities of government workers who implement it as well the mentalities of artists and all stakeholders governed by it. I completely concur with Barrowclough and Wright who say that specialised policies do not only reduce the traction effects of domestic constraints but they help to position domestic creative "within the broader framework of capital accumulation policies"(Barrowclough and Kozul-Wright, 2008, p. 19). They further argue that international cultural policy frameworks increase the predicament of domestic creative industries as they expose them to unfair competition which results in the widening of the gap between developed and developing creative economies.

Defining Culture, cultural policy, creative industries, economic sustainability

A comprehensive appreciation of the impact of cultural policy on the creative industries requires an understanding of definitions of the key words used in the discussion. The different disciplines from which culture can be understood are, aesthetics, cultural studies, economics, geography, heritage studies, policy sciences, urban planning, anthropology, sociology, political sciences, literary studies, history, musicology, museum studies, and philosophy (Gray, 2010). Given the complexity of the definition of culture and the proliferation of the definitions, it is hard have a universally accepted definition but what is

important for this paper is that these multiple perspectives have necessitated a multiple approach to cultural policy and the creative industries. These multi-disciplinary perspectives emerge from the two broadly accepted definitions of culture which are the anthropological definition on one hand and the artistic definition on the other. Anthropology defines culture as ‘a way of life’, a concept which literally encompasses everything, while for Raymond Williams “..culture refers specifically to the practices and institutions that make meaning, practices and institutions where symbolic communication is usually by definition, the main purpose and even an end in itself like going to the cinema to see a feature film”(McGuigan, 1996, p. 6). The different ways through which the ‘way of life’ is aesthetically expressed constitute the culture or creative industries which have been defined by UK’s Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS), “those activities which have their origin in individual creativity, skill and talent and which have a potential for wealth and job creation through the generation and exploitation of intellectual property”(BOP Consulting et al., 2010, p. 16). There is a natural and symbiotic relationship between ‘culture’ and creative industries which partially explains the ambivalences in cultural policies.

Metaphorically speaking Miller and Yudice described cultural policy as and the bridge between “aesthetic creativity and collective ways of life”(Miller and Yúdice, 2002).

Technically speaking cultural policy can be defined as “Laws governing such things as media ownership, cultural content, licensing and levels of taxation are all likely to have a bearing on cultural outputs”(Davis, 2008, p. 54) At a philosophical level, David Throsby says“Cultural policy is understood as the promotion or prohibition of cultural practices and values by governments, corporations, other institutions and individuals”(Throsby, 2010, p. 8). It is about “polishing personal sensibilities”(McGuigan, 2003, p. 23). The different definitions of culture policies point to its multiple functions and hence the need of an integrated approach which will capture all the functions towards a sustainable creative industries sector.

Sustainability is one buzz word which misunderstood and therefore abused by different people to describe and mean different things. It can generally be understood to mean ability of a social, an environmental or an economic system to optimally continue running indefinitely. “ The general definition of economic sustainability is the ability of economy to support a defined level of production indefinitely”(Craik, 2007). Breaking down to practical and individual level, Sudhir Anand and Amartya Sen define sustainable income as that

income which “..can be spent while leaving the asset base intact..”, (Anand and Sen, 2000, p. 2036) . The creative economy is said to be the fastest growing economy the world over, but the growth does not seem to trickle down to most of the creative workforce particularly in Africa where most of them live from hand to mouth. The creative industries in South Africa is heavily dependent on government subsidies and grants from international funding agencies. It is not sustainable.

The definitions of ‘culture’, ‘cultural policy’, ‘creative industries’ and sustainability frame and contain the analysis of the cultural policies landscape in South Africa. The paper looks at the philosophical and critical meaning of cultural policy within its practical function of protecting and promoting the production, distribution and consumption of cultural goods, services and practices. While this paper fully acknowledges the intrinsic value of culture in the society, the definition of creative industries confines us to the economic value which is about job and wealth creation. The paper is therefore confined to an analysis of how cultural policies ‘promote’ and ‘protect’ the artists, their practice and what they produce from them to be able indefinitely continue with their practice making profits and a significant contribution to the national and global economy.

Conceptual Approaches to Cultural Policy Analysis

This reading of the policy landscape will be anchored in four fields of knowledge, namely; cultural policy studies, policy sciences, economics and political sciences to shed light on governance of people and culture, policy formulation, the economics of culture and the political context which influence cultural policies. A multi-disciplinary perspective is key as the approaches will complement each other by seeing and explaining phenomena missed by others. The overarching lens through which cultural policy is analyzed is Foucault’s concept of governmentality deals with the mentalities of how to govern the ‘self’ and ‘others’ by different authorities using a set of knowledge, rationalities, institutions and apparatus to attain a desired society(Dean, 2010). Foucault as cited by Justin Lewis and Toby Miller governmentality poses a series of questions “How to govern oneself, how to be governed, how to govern others, by whom the people will accept being governed, how to become the best possible governor”(Lewis and Miller, 2003, p. 1). Governmentality transcends the narrow definition of ‘government’ pointing to the agency of all stakeholders on regulating the production, distribution and consumption of cultural good, services and practices.

Three economic theories, namely Neoclassical, Keynesian and Marxist are deployed in this paper in attempting to explain the dilemma of the South African cultural policy at both macro and micro levels. The theories specifically address the role of the state and the market in governing trade and commerce in the creative industries. Neoclassical and Keynesian are both capitalist but they differ in the way they perceive the role of the state and the markets. The two are against the non-capitalist Marxist theories namely socialism and communism (Wolff and Resnick, 2012). Neoclassical economic theory posits that macroeconomic dynamics in any economy are a result of the ‘interacting individual minds and bodies’ to influence the growth of the economy. Individuals have an inherent ability to reason naturally, rationally and logically in laboring, production and consumption of goods and services (Wolff and Resnick, 2012). In this particular instance the production, distribution and consumption of creative goods and services. As individual minds and bodies interact they determine the prices, their incomes, the wealth or profits they make and hence the growth of the economy. “The central idea is that the economy-as –machine, contains a mechanism that, if allowed to work, will correct periods of inflation and recession. The self-corrective mechanism is the private, competitive market” (Wolff and Resnick, 2012, p. 2,3). The question to be answered is the extent to which individuals can act independently, naturally, logically and rationally in a postcolonial context where one of the many aspirations of the state is ‘redistribution’ of wealth.

Neoclassical economics advocate for higher private and corporate investment and reduced state expenditure. Is it feasible for states in the post-colony to completely deregulate markets? More questions need to be answered for the creative economy which is largely informal, where production of cultural goods is inseparable from national struggles and culture. Doubts around application of neoclassical economic theory usher possibilities of Keynesian theory.

In direct contrast to the neoclassical theory, the Keynesian theory recommends the state to keep a vigilant eye on the markets and be ready to intervene to correct the inevitable problems on the markets through rules and laws. The rules and laws give a structure to the economy which governs activities of producers, distributors and consumers of goods and service and this is said to determine individual’s behavior patterns. Some of the state intervention programmes include employment creation and market incentives.

The Keynesian theory provided solutions to economic crisis of the 1930s and beyond, it is said that the approach saved the day and became the dominant economic approach. Many states today, including South Africa, employ mixed economy approach, which embrace both capitalist and socialist economic principles. In Keynesian economics the state laws and institutions (structuralism) influence the behavior of individuals as opposed to the neoclassical approach where individuals (humanism) are said to influence the structure (Wolff and Resnick, 2012). The study seeks to establish the extent to which

Marxian theory is radically critical to capitalism, and sees the economic solutions in the change of the capitalist structure, not as something driven by market forces or by state intervention (Wolff and Resnick, 2012). Marx acknowledged the positive contribution of capitalism but criticised it as an exploitative system which benefited the capitalist at the expense to the working class. The transition from a feudal to a capitalist economic system saw the liberation of production capabilities but not the liberation of the workforce and hence Marx advocated for the change in structures that perpetuated exploitation of workforce. “Marx envisioned a society in which the people who produced the surplus would also receive it and decide how to utilize it: collectively, as a community” (Wolff and Resnick, 2012, p. 28). The Marxist approach which defined the liberation movement against colonialism will be useful in explaining the philosophy and aspirations of postcolonial cultural policies in Africa, the SADC Region and South Africa.

A postcolonial perspective on history, culture, social, economics and politics in Africa by theorists such as (Fanon, 1985), (Freire, 1970), (Rodney, 1972), (Cabral, 1974), (Wa Thiong’o, 1994) and (Mbembé, 2001) is necessary in explaining some of the tensions, conflicts, domination, subordination, contradictions, dilemmas, challenges and possibilities for creative industries in South Africa. The employment of postcolonial theories as an analytical lens is done with full acknowledgements of all the criticisms that have been levelled against them. They remain critical in describing and explaining the African context particularly when it comes to culture and cultural productions. Postcolonial theories explain perceptions, physique, attitudes, mind set, behaviours, aspirations and beliefs of both the coloniser and the colonised. In the introduction of *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, Donaldo Macedo says;

Reading *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* gave me a language to critically

understand the tensions, contradictions, fears, doubts, hopes, and "deferred" dreams that are part and parcel of living a borrowed and colonized cultural existence (Freire, 1970, p. 11).

He went on to explain how Freire helped in transcend 'colonial existence which characterised by some kind of duality of 'being present and not yet visible and visible and yet not present' (Freire, 1970, p. 11). On a macro level, post colonialism implicitly assume the effects of imperialism, colonialism, foreign trade and international finance which have all shaped and continue to shape the post-colony or current social, cultural, economic and political conditions in Africa and the SADC Region.

Colonialism was not only a means to feed capitalism but to extend the European empire by conquest and domination of the African and other inferior races, by stamping inferiority complex in the African. Frantz Fanon had it that colonial violence did not only seek to dehumanize the colonized but also to destroy their traditions, language and culture (Fanon, 1985). It was a psychological warfare of erasing the memory of the colonised and effects of 'emptiness' have been passed from generation to generation. As Achille Mbembe puts it in his book *On The Postcolony*,

More than any other region, Africa thus stands out as the supreme receptacle of the West's obsession with, and circular discourse about, the facts of "absence," "lack," and "non-being," of identity and difference, of negativeness—in short, of nothingness (Mbembé, 2001, p. 4).

One can argue that the discourses characterise the description of creative industries in Africa and the rest of the developing world. It is important to analyse the meaning of this discourse particularly as the African creative economy interfaces with Western creative industries.

Many researchers and scholars of cultural policy and creative industries from across the world and across disciplines have called for multi-perspective and cross-disciplinary approaches to cultural policy and creative industries. Acknowledging the differences in contexts between developed and developing countries, the calls are still applicable to the South African context. Writing about the cultural policy in Slovenia, Vesna Copic and Andrej Srakar observed that;

Regarding a new content or subject matter of cultural policy: over the years cultural policy has moved beyond the sectorial notion of arts and culture, not only to embrace cultural planning and cultural industries, but also to developing new connections, for example to the field of human rights, the protection of cultural diversity, urban regeneration, economic and social development of a

nation, international relations etc (Čopič and Srakar, 2012, p. 7).

Similar developments are happening in small pockets across South Africa with minimal policy support and recognition at local, provincial and local levels despite policy pronouncements. Drama for Life a programme and department in the Wits School of Arts at University of the Witwatersrand is spearheading arts for social transformation and healing which has taken drama and theatre to schools, rehabilitation centres, and hospital. There is partial recognition and support for this work but there seem to be a relapse to what Jenifer Craik calls the ‘familiar traditional art forms’ as Craik puts it(Craik, 2007). David Throsby says gone are the days when cultural policy used to primarily deal with creative arts which were easily identifiable, now the scope of the cultural policy has expanded beyond the ministry of arts and culture (Throsby, 2010). For Miikka Pyykkonen and others “Cultural policy can and must not be reduced to the “simple” notions of creativity or to the fixed features, which can be managed as easily as possible”(Pyykkönen et al., 2009, p. 21). I completely concur with all the scholars about an interdisciplinary approach to cultural policy because there is a lot of culture and development work which has remained ‘homeless’ due it its multi-facetedness and the insularity of the creative industry in South Africa and the SADC Region. It is the argument of this paper the solution to economic sustainability lies in the exploitation of employment and revenue opportunities at the nodes of intersection between culture and other socio-economic development sectors.

The 2006 Sirayi led Cultural Policy Review Committee recommended a cultural planning approach involving department of Arts and Culture, Housing, Public Works, Transport, Water Affairs and Tourism(Sirayi, 2006). I agree with the recommendation but suggest an all-inclusive approach which will see the mainstreaming of arts interventions in all facets of life to create cultural conscious citizens.

Challenges of the Cultural Policy and Creative Industries in South Africa

As stated in the introduction of this paper, there is a myriad of cultural policy challenges hampering the sustainability of the creative industries in South Africa. The argument of this paper is the most of the challenges are in one way or the other connected to the insularity of the White Paper on Arts Culture and Heritage which has produced insular government works and insular artists who struggle to see any opportunities beyond their sector. They also cannot to see the impact of external threats. Artists are at the heart of creative industries and

as such a shift in the mindset of the artist shift the whole sector. This paper acknowledges that the said insularity of the cultural policy is not total as the Department of Arts and Culture has managed to foster cross departmental synergies. A good example is the link between the Arts and business through Business and Arts South Africa (BASA) which has seen different companies from different corporate sectors invest in the Arts. There is also a strong collaborative relationship between the Department of Arts and Culture (DAC) and the Department of Trade and Industry (DTI). A lot more can be done to turn the fortunes of the creative industries.

Majority of South African artists are somehow stuck in government subsidies funding model to the extent that without the subsidies their work collapse. The work cannot sustain itself as it is driven by a welfare model of serving the community. The commercial model of promoting generation of income is not clearly outlined by the policy; “The White Paper sets out government policy for establishing the optimum funding arrangements and institutional frameworks for the creation, promotion and protection of South African arts, culture, heritage and the associated practitioners”(DACST, 1996, p. 8). Through the cultural policy the government created an expectations for support of artists, this expectation is exacerbated by the promise redress deprivation and inequalities which were created by the apartheid system. The promise by the cultural policy to me culture accessible to the public almost erased the logic of trade of cultural goods, services and practice. This has locked the creative industries in a state of dependency on subsidies and grants, there-by creating insularity to any possibilities beyond that.

The insularity of the South African Cultural policy framework to anything beyond familiar and traditional art forms can be argued to be one of the causes of the lack of economic sustainability as there are many missed employment opportunities. The White Paper on Arts Culture and Heritage implicitly recognises the inter-disciplinarity of culture and the role of other governments departments like the departments of education, tourism, trade and industry. The gap in the policy is that it took a non-committal stance by stating that; “Where relevant, the Ministry will also establish inter-ministerial arts educational advisory bodies to ensure communication in line with this policy”(DACST, 1996, p. 21). The absence of an explicit and bold policy statement regarding inter-disciplinary collaboration resulted in the Department of Art and Culture failing to foster natural synergies with departments like education and tourism which could have resulted in vibrant employment and revenue

generating programmes. The Sirayi led 2006 Cultural Policy Review Committee also observed that the White Paper remained “compartmentalised” despite having mentioned the integration of arts and culture in all aspects of socio-economic development.(Sirayi, 2006, p. 31)

The historical context of the legacy of slavery, colonialism, apartheid and the struggles for liberation defined peculiar political, economic, social and ethical values which can help us to understand creative industries in South Africa. One of the outcomes of this history is a ‘mixed economy’ system, which can be defined as;

An economic system that features characteristics of both capitalism and socialism. A mixed economic system allows a level of private economic freedom in the use of capital, but also allows for governments to interfere in economic activities in order to achieve social aims(Investopedia, 2016, p. 1).

An appreciation of this macro political economic context might be key for the cultural policy maker and the artist to comprehend the rationalities used by other authorities within the government and the creative industries. More importantly the knowledge helps them to make informed decisions to change their circumstances. It is important for artists to understand what they and the state can or cannot do in a mixed market economy. The 2006 Cultural Policy Review Committee which was led by Prof Mzo Serayi pointed out that;

In the post 1994 South African context situational analysis would be an attempt to assess the degree of alienation and elitism, cultural needs, the persistence of colonial and indigenous values and the extent to which culture could be linked to social, economic and physical development (Sirayi, 2006, p. 12)

It might have been helpful for Arts and Culture Task Group (ACTAG) to explicitly name and describe the context, maybe some of the contradictions which we see today in the creative industries could have been cleared.

It can be argued that Cultural policies in South Africa inherited their core principles from colonial ‘masters’ thereby adopting a ‘supply policy’ approach which contradicts the values and aspirations of the masses and hence the inherent challenges in policy implementation.

Post-colonial states are forced to carry the cultural load of their departing imperial master, just as they must, at least initially, work with the institutional infrastructure created by colonial rule (Uchendu, 1977, p. 71)

The institutional and governance structures set by the ‘transitional’ policy frameworks are in constant contradiction with the wishes of the practitioners, artists and the people. Current

debates on the review of White Paper on Arts Culture and Heritage in South Africa and well as the controversy around the establishment of Creative Industries Confederation of South Africa (CCIFSA) is a testimony of underlying contradictions which require critical interrogation.

Following the generally accepted definition of the creative industries, at the core of cultural or creative industries is ‘individual creativity’ and ‘intellectual property’. With that in mind, naturally one would expect this to feature prominently and resolutely stated in any cultural policy, but this is not the case with the White Paper on Arts Culture and Heritage. This argument is made with the full acknowledgment that when the White Paper was formulated, the term ‘creative industries had not been popularised as it is today, but the centrality of creativity and intellectual property was fully appreciated. The White Paper simply stated that;

The Ministry will encourage the creation of optimum conditions in which artists may practice their art, and enjoy their right to freedom of expression in a relatively secure working environment and with the same protection enjoyed by other workers(DACST, 1996, p. 27).

The policy goes on to “encourage the review of existing legislation, especially the Performers Protection Act No. 11 of 1967 and the Copyright Act No. 11 of 1978” (DACST, 1996, p. 27) This in view does not guarantee the protection of the artists and their products on the domestic market. The rampant exploitation of artists could be seen to a result of the ‘flexible’ policy framework.

Linked to the problem of an insular cultural policy is a continuous and unhealthy tension between culture and economics. The White Paper on Arts Culture and Heritage has taken a social cohesion, social welfare, redress, and national culture agendas which outweighed the economic imperatives. Considering the economic system which was adopted at the dawn of democracy, the state has an obligation to redress the inequalities of apartheid and at the same time leave room of market forces to drive the economy. Andy Prat as cited by Booyens pointed out that the cultural policy aims “to achieve the dual objectives of economic and social development without understanding that different strategies and processes underlie each”(Booyens, 2012, p. 44). Is it possible for the cultural policy to fulfil its dual function? An integrated approach to cultural policy formulation and implementation could be the answer.

Tension between culture and economics manifests itself in both policy and practice. It can be argued that South Africa's current White Paper on Arts Culture and Heritage does not guarantee economic growth and sustainability of creative industries as it is caught up in the dilemma of fulfilling both the post-apartheid agenda of redresses the inequalities of the past as well as driving economic development. . The discordance of cultural policies with the economic and political reality in the creative industries in South Africa may be a result of the complexity of balancing 'national culture' in the postcolonial states and the neoliberal economic order driven by globalization forces. The forces at play are mutually antagonistic. South Africa's 2013 draft *Revised White Paper on Arts Culture and Heritage* partially and indirectly acknowledged need to balance economic imperatives of the 'cultural and creative industries' with the demands of nation and social cohesion building(DAC, 2013).

In the age of Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs), cultural policies need to be responsive to rapid technological advancement which is coupled with globalisation. Information and Communication Technologies present both opportunities and challenges which both require well thought through policies to govern their effects. ICTs need to be regulated to ensure that artists and their work is not exposed to exploitation and abuse and well as making sure that they generate wealth to distributing their work through different virtual platforms. Jim Mcguigan explores the deeper impact of technology when he talks about Manuel Castells' 'culture of real virtuality' which is an everyday lived reality mediating cultural and social relationship (McGuigan, 2004, p. 24). With this in mind, it is lamentable that the White Paper on Arts Culture and Heritage does not clearly articulate the role of ICTs in the creative industries.

Beyond the Creative Industries

Foucault's concept of governmentality talks about how authorities use 'a set of knowledge, rationalities, institutions and apparatus' in governing the 'self' and 'others', but there seem to be a limited used of the knowledge which resides with academic and researchers in universities and research institutions. Learning from other countries like the Australia, the UK and America, governments have engaged the likes of David Throsby, Jim Mcguigan, Jennifer Craik, Stuart Cunningham and many others to generate knowledge which is being used govern the creative industries in these countries. An interesting phenomenon is that these academics come from different disciplines such as economics, sociology, anthropology,

history, urban geography and others to make a diverse and rich contribution to the sector. The Department of Arts and Culture can also commission academics in and beyond the arts sector to research and generate the much needed knowledge which can be used to produce informed policies and strategies. Examples of South African academics who can contribute to cultural policies and creative industries are Christian Rogerson a published professor of tourism, Jeanette D Snowball is a professor of applied economics who has published extensively on economics of the arts in South Africa, Sabine Marschall, a published professor of Cultural and Heritage Tourism and Irma Booyens is a research tourism industry who has published in creative industries and tourism. The list of academic is long the scope for knowledge generation is infinity.

Economic viability and sustainability of creative industries depends on the size of the market for cultural goods, services and practices. Consumption drives production and distribution and hence the growth of the economy, it therefore follows that the smaller the market, the smaller the economy. In a research on the music industry in the SADC Region, Cecile Ambert says;

The lack of adequate markets for the consumption of cultural goods and services is frequently identified as a major obstacle to the development of a truly vibrant and economically viable culture sector. This finding is highlighted repeatedly in these SADC region studies(Ambert, 2003, p. iii).

Cultural Policies can be used to grow domestic markets for cultural, services and practicing by creating an appetite for cultural goods which are integrated in basic and essential socio-economic development services. It's a known fact that consumption of cultural goods and services compete with demand for basic goods and services.

In my opinion one of the first step for creative industries is to bridge the apparent rift between culture and economics which have been described by Matarraso and Landry as mutually antagonistic(Matarasso and Landry, 1999). Policy pronouncements are key to constantly remind artists about the importance of economics in their industry and vice versa. The White Paper on Arts Culture and Heritage in my view was formulated by policy makers who have a vague appreciation of the political economy of the county and as such it in turn produces practitioners with no appreciation of the political and economic forces which shape their destiny.

Economic sustainability of the creative industries could be achieved through as cultural policy framework that seriously takes an Integrated Development Planning (IDP) as a philosophical and operational principle. There are a lot of examples of successful practical initiatives which have embraced the power of culture in innovation and socio-economic transformation and development. I have the conviction that more benefits could be realised if initiatives like urban regeneration projects were driven by both cultural and urban planning policies. Richard Florida, and urban geographer argues the creative workforce through new technology develop new business models as well as bringing dynamisms in creative global cities(Flew, 2013). A good example is the vibrancy in the Maboneng New Town and Braamfontein precincts which have become the City of Johannesburg's key cultural hubs. In the 2006 review of the White Paper on Arts Culture and Heritage, the Mzo Serayi Commission noted that;

The cultural planning strategy takes many forms and concerns all elements of society. It is based on the understanding that cultural policy is not limited to cultural institutions and sites for the conservation of artistic heritage but also brings together several directions and aims to form one viable project (Sirayi, 2006, p. 10).

An Integrated Development Planning (IDP) does not only facilitate employment creation but helps to expand the market for creative and cultural value which is embedded in sectors of life such as health, education, mining and others. An interdisciplinary cultural policy can produce citizens with an appetite and hunger for cultural rich health, education or other social development services.

Conclusion

Considering the complexity around the definition of culture, it is inevitable for the cultural policy to take a multi-disciplinary approach, scholars have argue that a multi-disciplinary approach is a 'must'(Pykkönen et al., 2009) The fast changing context due to information technologies warrant a shift from traditional arts and culture policies to alternative models which embrace change if the creative industries sector is to achieve economic viability and sustainability. Opportunities created by an integrated and interdisciplinary cultural policy are employment creation beyond the creative industry, extension of market but creating demand for embedded cultural goods, services and practices. The approach can also help to reduce operational costs for cultural interventions because of shared infrastructural cost. Jennifer Craik's call is a warning which I think South Africa should take seriously;

Rather than embracing major changes in cultural participation, education and consumption as the cornerstone of arts and cultural policy, the sector remains on the backburner of subsidy (Craig, 2007, p. 29).

Literature on creative industries and cultural policies points to a number of possibilities for a new cultural policy approaches towards a sustainable creative industries sector in South Africa, the SADC region and the rest of Africa. The different options take into account first and foremost the historical, economic, political, social and technological context which inspire the re-visioning, re-thinking and the reimagining of new cultural policies. Without necessarily giving up on the search of how cultural policy and contribute to economic sustainability of the creative industries this paper agrees with Anna Jaquaribe that “There is no ‘ideal type’ policy models for promoting creative industries and results can be measured when viewed in the context of a specific market and industrial structures” (Jaquaribe, 2008; 306). A South Africa specific cultural policy framework is possible with relevant conceptual analytical tools and a full acknowledgement and appreciation of the context. Commissioning of universities and research institutions is one of the key strategies for the development of an integrated and interdisciplinary cultural policy.

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