

https://dspace.org/

Exploring logics of state in urban cultural policy development process in South Africa: the case of the eThekwini Municipality

Maralack, Matthieu

2019

https://hdl.handle.net/10539/29514

Maralack, Matthieu Gottlieb. (2019). Exploring logics of state in urban cultural policy development process in South Africa: the case of the eThekwini Municipality. University of the Witwatersrand, https://hdl.handle.net/10539/29514

Downloaded from a DSpace repository. https://dspace.org/

UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND

EXPLORING LOGICS OF STATE IN URBAN CULTURAL POLICY DEVELOPMENT PROCESSES IN SOUTH AFRICA: THE CASE OF THE ETHEKWINI MUNICIPALITY

MATTHIEU MARALACK

Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Cultural Policy and Management, to the Faculty of Humanities, University of the Witwatersrand, Braamfontein

March 2019

Student Number: 1116543

Supervisors: Avril Joffe (CPM, WSOA) and Claire Bénit-Gbaffou (PSUG, SOAP)

This research paper was made possible by the generous funding of the National Research Foundation (NRF) – Practices of State in Urban Governance Programme (PSUG), the National Arts Council and a Wits School of Arts Post Graduate Merit Award. I am sincerely grateful to these bodies for the funding made available to conduct this research.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DECLARATION 1

LIST OF FIGURES 3

LIST OF TABLES 4

ABSTRACT 5

ABBREVIATIONS 6

CHAPTER 1: WHY THE STUDY OF STATE AND URBAN CULTURAL POLICY DEVELOPMENT PRACTICE IS IMPORTANT 8

1.1 RESEARCH GOAL 9

1.2 RESEARCH QUESTION 10

1.3 SUB QUESTIONS 10

CHAPTER 2: A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK FOR THE RESEARCH OF URBAN CULTURAL POLICY DEVELOPMENT 11

2.1 THE DEFINITIONAL CHALLENGES AROUND *CULTURE* AND THE RAMIFICATIONS OF THESE ON POLICYMAKING IN THE SECTOR 11

2.2 *CULTURAL POLICY* AND ITS CURRENT JUSTIFICATIONS 13

2.3 THE INTERSECTIONS BETWEEN *CULTURE*, CREATIVITY AND THE CITY 17

2.4 SOUTH AFRICAN URBAN STATE PRACTICE AND THE CONCEPT OF CHAMPIONSHIP 20

2.5 SUMMARY OF CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK 25

CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY 27

3.1 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY 27

CHAPTER 4: GATHERING ALL THE PUZZLE PIECES 34

4.1 THE ELEPHANT IN THE ROOM 34

4.2 CONSTRUCTING THE POLICY DEVELOPMENT TIMELINE AND IDENTIFYING OBJECTIVES 42

4.3 THE PARKS, RECREATION AND CULTURE DEPARTMENT'S CONTESTATION WITH CITY ARCHITECTS' DRAFT POLICY AND WHY THEY DID NOT SUBMIT IT FOR COUNCIL APPROVAL 54

CHAPTER 5: PIECING THE PUZZLE TOGETHER 58

5.1 UNPACKING 'COLLECTIVE RESPONSIBILITY', AGENCY AND PERSONALITY AS A CHARACTERISTIC OF SOUTH AFRICAN URBAN STATE PRACTICE 58

5.2 THE PROBLEM WITH THE POLICY BEING INITIATED BY CITY ARCHITECTS AND THE EXPECTATION OF THE PARKS, RECREATION AND CULTURE DEPARTMENT TAKING IT FORWARD 60

5.3 FRACTURED CHAMPIONSHIP OF THE POLICY 64

CHAPTER 6: LOOKING OVER THE FINISHED PUZZLE 66

REFERENCES 69

LIST OF CITED INTERVIEWS 72

PRIMARY DOCUMENTS 73

APPENDIX 1 74

DECLARATION

The study described in this research report was carried out in Durban during September and October 2017 and written up during the course of 2018 under the supervision of Ms Avril Joffe of the Wits School of Arts and Professor Claire Bénit-Gbaffou of the Wits School of Architecture and Planning.

This research report represents original, unaided work by the author and has not been submitted before in any form, in part or in whole, for any degree or examination in any other university. It is being submitted for the Degree of Master of Arts in Cultural Policy and Management. The use of work done by others has been duly acknowledged in the text.



Matthieu Maralack

March 2019

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My thanks firstly to God for the opportunity to pursue this degree. My faith and beliefs have kept me going amidst tremendous challenges throughout this process. Next, my family and friends for their love, support and encouragement during this endeavour. Your calls, texts and prayers kept me going. I am forever grateful to you for that.

My special thanks go to my supervisors Ms Avril Joffe and Professor Claire Bénit-Gbaffou for their collective patience, support and guidance. I could not have asked for a better duo!

Finally, a huge thank you to my classmates both with whom I started this journey as well as the PSUG cohort of 2017/2018. Your accountability, encouragement and shared passion for the cultural and urban governance spaces respectively played a substantial role in motivating me to push through this journey. I'll see you all in the hallways and offices of the spaces we wish to occupy and make a difference in.

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Composition of the Creative Economy (as cited by Joffe and Newton, 2007) 15

Figure 2: Research Participant Organogram 30

Figure 3: Elephant on a Belgian Beach (Botha, no date) 35

Figure 4: IFP logo (IFP logo, no date) 36

Figure 5: *Mail & Guardian* article (Van Wyk, 2010) 36

Figure 6: My Modern Met Article (Yoo, 2015) 40

Figure 7: IRPTN Corridor Diagram (Mbele, 2018) 42

Figure 8: eThekwini Municipal Cluster Organogram 47

Figure 9: Cultural Radius Consulting Process 48

Figure 10: UNESCO Framework for Cultural Statistics (as cited by Cultural Radius, 2015) 49

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Document Analysis 32

Table 2: Consolidated City Architects/Parks, Recreation and Culture Department Timeline 53

ABSTRACT

The study of urban cultural policy development is a relatively new field of enquiry, particularly in the Global South. The goal of this study is to understand urban cultural policy development and state practice through unpacking a South African case study of a local municipality undertaking such a process between the period 2012 to 2016. Notably, this particular case of cultural policy development did not result in a policy being approved by council, nor in administrative operations. The specific question asked therefore is: "How is cultural policy development contested between different arms of the local state, in the case of eThekwini?". Namely: between the eThekwini City Architects Department and the Parks, Recreation and Culture Department. This is answered by giving a historical account of how the process came about by extensively drawing on one specific moment prior to the policy development timeline. It is the case of the Warwick elephant sculpture by world-renowned artist Andries Botha, which highlights the ANC and IFP political tensions which were not successfully negotiated, alongside several other contextual challenges. The literature that informs the conceptual framework is that of the theoretical challenge with the terms culture and cultural policy, where creativity and culture intersect with the urban state, and the concept of championship with the South African urban state context. Methodologically, semi-structured interviews were utilised as part of the qualitative data collection and case study approach. This was triangulated through the use of a document analysis. The research report directly addresses how ANC-IFP tensions impacted urban governance and cultural policy development in eThekwini and concludes with the type of championship needed for successful cultural policy development in this context for the benefit of future cultural policy development processes in the Global South.

ABBREVIATIONS

ABM	Area-based Management
ACT	Arts and Culture Trust
ACTAG	Arts and Culture Task Group
AFDA	Africa Film Drama Art
ANC	African National Congress
BASA	Business and Arts South Africa
CCI	Cultural and Creative Industries
CEO	Chief Executive Officer
DA	Democratic Alliance
DSW	Department of Social Welfare
DUT	Durban University of Technology
eCCIDA	eThekwini Creative and Cultural Industries Development Agency
EXCO	Executive Committee
GTAC	Government Technical Advisory Centre
HoD	Head of Department
IFP	Inkatha Freedom Party
IGR	International Governance Relations
IRPTN	Integrated Rapid Passenger Transport Network
KZN	KwaZulu-Natal
LHM	Local History Museums
MILE	Municipal Institute for Learning
NFP	National Freedom Party
NP	National Party

NPO	Non-Profit Organisation
SACP	South African Communist Party
TDH	The Development House
UDF	United Democratic Front
UDHR	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UJ	University of Johannesburg
UK	United Kingdom
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
USA	United States of America
WSOA	Wits School of Arts

CHAPTER 1: WHY THE STUDY OF STATE AND URBAN CULTURAL POLICY DEVELOPMENT PRACTICE IS IMPORTANT

The study of urban cultural policy development is a relatively new field of enquiry, particularly in the Global South. This entails the study of the process by which an urban cultural policy is developed, with an understanding of local state practice as well as the contextual needs of a particular city that would necessitate the development of such a policy. Study in this area demands an in-depth look into local state practice, rationales and personalities involved in the policy development process, with an awareness of discourses within the cultural sector and in particular, the intersection of urban governance and cultural development.

The rationale and background of this research is fundamentally encapsulated in my position both as a Cultural Policy and Management (CPM) student and part of the Practices of State in Urban Governance (PSUG) Programme cohort of 2017/2018. My position as a CPM student informed my understanding of Public Art, Cultural Leadership, and the need for strategies to be pioneered towards rolling out cultural policy development processes at not only national and provincial levels, but particularly the local level. The seminars covered in the PSUG Programme on the other hand, framed my understanding of urban policy development research and assisted in interpreting the content covered in my Cultural Policy and Management coursework through the lens of state practice. More specifically, (1) state policy development and the gap between policy development and implementation, (2) the reality of patronage and its influence on perpetuating informality and disunity outside of formal administrative processes in decision making, and (3) political contestations between arms of the local state are three of the foremost PSUG seminar topics that influenced my interest in undertaking this interdisciplinary topic.

The PSUG Programme objective affirms that there is a need for further enquiry into the state and its practices in order to understand urban governance. Primarily, these affirmations revolve around “the state being regarded as a black box to activists and researchers” (Bénit-Gbaffou, 2015). Literature oscillates between understandings of the state as unity (‘the enemy’) versus the state as fragmented (‘useless’). Further unpacking of this dichotomy can regard the state as post-colonial versus it being developmental. Another interesting window through which to view the state from, is outside of itself. This refers specifically to the state’s interface with society (Sharma and Gupta, 2006, p. 277). The research findings and analysis will reveal an understanding of state practice with this in mind.

By and large, South African literature on local state interaction with cultural policy development is

limited, with a significant portion of South African cultural policy literature addressing policy development at a national level. Arterial Network's "Adapting the Wheel: Cultural Policies for Africa" (Forbes, 2010) and UNESCO's 2013 "Creative Economy Report", for instance, discuss the dynamics of Global South cities, urban planning, and argue for the development of new understandings of culture and creativity in these spaces, but do not provide critical understandings of city making and urban governance politics in relation to South African urban cultural policy development.

The collection of writings on a local level has begun to grow steadily through the contributions of academics, students and activists in cultural policy, governance and urban planning spaces, but I have found that these writings either: (1) examine the lack of urban cultural policy development, particularly considering the emergence of cultural precincts in cities, (2) discuss the impact of new policy approaches and recommendations if implemented, or (3) critique the relevance of existing national policy and its revised iterations on current cultural industry realities at local level.

Joffe's (2009) piece, "Creative cities or creative pockets? Reflections from South Africa", and Nawa's (2012) paper, "Municipal cultural policy and development in South Africa: A study of the city of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality", are examples of such urban cultural policy writings.

These observations point to a deficiency of knowledge particularly in the documentation and explanation of South African urban state cultural policy development processes and practice. Therefore, in line with the fundamental premise and objective of the PSUG Programme, my goal was to study local government through the window of urban cultural policy development. This was achieved by studying the case of the eThekwini Municipality and its efforts to develop an urban cultural policy for its city. I intend for this case study to be used as a conduit to broaden understanding of the local state and urban cultural policy development initiatives in the Global South and South Africa in particular.

1.1 RESEARCH GOAL

The research goal is to gain an understanding of urban cultural policy development processes and state practice through a study of such a process which was initiated by eThekwini's City Architects Unit and facilitated by cultural industries consultants, Cultural Radius, during the period 2012 to 2016. By the end of this period, a draft policy was produced and submitted to the Parks, Recreation and Culture Department to be escalated for Council approval. However, eThekwini has yet to approve this urban cultural policy.

Through this case, I wish to critically analyse the context in which the process was initiated, by documenting the events that unfolded leading up to and during the policy research and consulting process. This is in order to unpack the question of why eThekwini is without an urban cultural policy, considering the fact that a draft was submitted to the Parks, Recreation and Culture Department in 2015. In doing so, I would like to probe the perspectives of those that were involved in the advocacy of this process as well as the views and logics of officials and politicians presented with the decision to prioritise or delay the approval of the proposed policy once it was presented to them. The means by which I hoped to achieve my research goal was to bring to the surface the tensions and contestations within the municipality that may have resulted in this situation. Ultimately, the findings of this research are purposed to distil strategies and insights learnt from the eThekwini case that could be of benefit to future cultural policy development processes within Global South metropolitan cities and developing nation-state contexts.

1.2 RESEARCH QUESTION

How is cultural policy development contested between different arms of the local state, in the case of eThekwini?

1.3 SUB QUESTIONS

1.3.1 Which arms of the City were involved in the policy making process?

1.3.2 What is the chronology of the policy making process, and who was involved when?

1.3.3 Did the various arms of the City share similar objectives and understandings of what the cultural policy should be and what it ought to achieve?

1.3.4 If not, what strategies did the policy making team use to overcome these divergencies?

1.3.5 What contestations arose during the process and how did they unfold?

The following chapter aims to present the conceptual framework employed by highlighting relevant concepts and discourses drawn from, towards understanding the state of urban cultural policy development aims and practice, pertaining specifically to the Global South and South Africa in particular. Chapter 3 delves into the chosen research methodology. The research was a case study conducted with an interpretive paradigm, using semi-structured interviews triangulated through a document analysis.

CHAPTER 2: A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK FOR THE RESEARCH OF URBAN CULTURAL POLICY DEVELOPMENT

The conceptual framework of the research encompassed discourses across the themes of: (1) the definitional challenges around *culture* and the ramifications of these on policymaking in the sector, and (2) Cultural policy and its current justifications. These two themes both align with research sub question 1.3.3, "Did the various arms of the City share similar objectives and understanding of what the cultural policy should be and what it ought to achieve?" and research sub question 1.3.5, "What contestations arose during the process and how did they unfold?". This is towards understanding the contestation of the meaning of *culture* in order to later bring to light how policy objectives, by virtue of this theoretical challenge, cause the contestation of the development of policy through the differing understandings of terms, processes and objectives by participants. The last two themes covered in this section are: (3) The intersections between *culture*, creativity and the City, and (4) the South African urban state and the concept of championship which are both aligned with research sub-question 1.3.1, "which arms of the City were involved in the policy making process?" and research sub-question 1.3.2, "What is the chronology of the policy making process, and who was involved when?". These themes serve as an indication of the relationship between *Culture* and the City and the need for championing this intersection at local government level. These four themes together set the stage for answering the research sub questions and ultimately the main research question "How is cultural policy development contested between different arms of the local state, in the case of eThekwini?".

The specific aim of the following chapter is to bring to the surface the complexity of the cultural policy space, the necessity for cultural policy development in urban settings, and foregrounding the state of South Africa's metropolitan municipalities in relation to urban cultural policy development.

2.1 THE DEFINITIONAL CHALLENGES AROUND *CULTURE* AND THE RAMIFICATIONS OF THESE ON POLICYMAKING IN THE SECTOR

In beginning a discussion on concepts and discourses in the urban cultural policy development space, I wish to establish definitions for the words *culture* and *policy,* and introduce how these terms intersect. Thereafter follows a discussion on how these terms create contestations around what is meant by *culture* and for whom *policy* is written.

Starting the discussion with the term *policy*: the concept can be defined as the "regularising aspects of politics" that as an outcome of contingent action; that is, 'politicising' and 'politicking'; and implies the coordination of acts, measurement and regulation of the inclusion and exclusion of activities (Palonen

as cited by Pyykkönen, Simanainen and Sokka, 2009, p. 11). In other words, *policy* indicates a concretising, regularising and organising of things and acts. Defining *culture* on the other hand, is a lot more complex.

According to Williams (1977, p. 76), *culture* is one of the most complicated words in the English language. Mulcahy (2006, p. 319) notes that the root word for culture is *colere*, a Latin word which directly translated is, 'to cultivate'. This word was historically used with reference to the cultivation of fields, livestock and agriculture; the practice of which had direct ties to individual and collective identity, in that intellectual and aesthetic sensibilities were too, 'cultivated'.

The root word *colere* makes clear the emphasis that *culture* is a process; that is, the fluidity of moving between and through states of being; affirming paths through existing tradition and practice, while there is space to innovate and create new paths. Derived from this are popular understandings of *culture* as related to ethnic identity as well as artistic and creative practice. *Culture* is indeed a highly complex and abstract term; the understanding of which is dependent on contextual, historic, geographic, demographic, and psychographic information, that all need to be specified when the term is used.

The theoretical challenge that is visible when the terms stand next to each other as *cultural policy*, is that the concretising, regularising and organising aspect of things and acts indicated by the term *policy,* requires that the abstract term *culture,* be reified in some sense in order for it to be analysed on the same level as *policy.* Having said this, the question I would like to pose is: does this definitional intersection truncate *culture*? Is there a risk of essentialising its complexity if no awareness of this exists? A further question is: what are the practical challenges visible to the development of *cultural policy* knowing that the term has a predisposition to latching onto 'tangibility' in the sector?

Following on from popular understandings of *culture* as related to identity, artistic and creative practice, Williams (1977, p. 80) states that culture is typically referred to as the 'arts' in political discourse, thus moving slightly away from the individual and collective identity implications implied in Mulcahy's (2006) observation of *culture*. Schuster (2003, p. 1) develops Williams' (1977, p. 80) observation further, by considering *cultural policy* as the sum total of government's attitudes and activities "with respect to the arts, humanities and heritage" (Schuster, 2003). In other words, *cultural policy* is largely understood as governmental strategies and activities that promote "the production, dissemination, marketing, and consumption of the arts" (Rentschler, 2002, p. 17); a clear effort (unintentionally or intentionally) by the process of *policy* making, to reify and identify something

concrete and tangible in *culture's* abstraction.

2.2 *CULTURAL POLICY* AND ITS CURRENT JUSTIFICATIONS

Having made the theoretical challenge of the terms *cultural policy* visible, we can trace this practically through identifying the objects of *cultural policy* historically in trying to answer the questions posed above.

Today, *cultural policy* the world over encompasses public support for museums, visual and performing arts practice, historic preservation and humanities programmes. Other tangible assets covered by *cultural policy* include libraries and archives, as well as national and local commemorative celebrations. Television and broadcast institutions and their development also have *cultural policy* implications, not forgetting education. All these areas of society are captured in the net cast by the concept of *cultural policy* in practice.

To mention one area of particular interest that has and continues to trend within the discourse of *cultural policy*, is that of the 'cultural and creative industries'. With the exception of the United States, which refers to this area as the 'entertainment business'; what the rest of the world calls the 'cultural and creative industries' is widely understood as the economic markets in which cultural production and economic valuation of *culture* takes place. This adds further complexity to the ecology of *cultural policy's* development and justifications for its importance.

What is interesting about the comparison of the terms 'cultural and creative industries' and 'entertainment business' is that these terms speak of very different approaches to policy in different geographical areas of the globe; and in this case, particularly the comparison between the West and the Global South. According to Mulcahy (2006, p. 322), the differences speak volumes about the valuation of *culture* between the West; that is, a world view comfortable and secure in its hegemony, versus that of nations that may feel threatened by the diminution or outright annexation of their *culture*. Furthermore, Mulcahy (2006, p. 322) notes that the Global South in particular, has approached *cultural policy* and its understanding of the 'cultural and creative industries' with concern for the condition of public life and civil society. In other words, we can derive from this that the Global South does, in fact, have more abstract contextual challenges to consider throughout the process of developing *cultural policy*, with globalisation and western hegemony being identified in literature as a threat to the sustainability and development of non-western countries.

Taking a closer look at the term 'cultural and creative industries', it is confirmed that as a political

construct, the term was first recorded by the United Kingdom (UK) government in 1997. It was defined shortly after Prime Minister of the time, Tony Blair, rebranded an existing department and established a task team because: “those activities that have their origin in individual creativity, skill and talent and which have a potential for wealth and job creation through the general exploitation of intellectual property”, ought to be governed under creative industries policy (Blair as cited by Pratt, 2005, p. 5). This definition essentially underscored the ‘knowledge economy’, or rather, the formal economic valuation of intellectual property.

The context that this took place in was the decline of the UK’s manufacturing sector. Government envisioned off-setting these losses with economic valuation of knowledge generation in order to ring fence a number of commercial applications of *culture* and to exploit it to maintain and grow its economy. Hence the UK’s focus on outputs and intellectual property rights. This case brings to the surface the very real contribution that a ‘cultural and creative industries’ focused *cultural policy* can make to a country’s economic development. Furthermore, it demonstrates the *policy* approach of such a state to the development of the cultural sector based primarily on economic imperatives.

Honing in on the point of the ‘cultural and creative industries’ as the current object of *cultural policy* globally, we are indeed seeing a trend of greater research emphasis being placed on understanding the economics, inter-ministerial relationships within governments and value-chains associated with the ‘cultural and creative industries’. This research is being leveraged to bring about new understandings of *cultural value.* These being the instrumental value (ancillary effects of *culture i.e.* achieving social or economic objectives), institutional value (processes and techniques built through collective practice and attitude) and intrinsic value (subjective experience of *culture* intellectually, emotionally and spiritually) of *culture* (Holden, 2006, p. 16).

The diagram below illustrates an example of how the composition of the ‘creative economy’ is envisioned, which encapsulates the ‘cultural and creative industries’ in context of the greater economic ecosystem of the sector (Joffe and Newton, 2007).

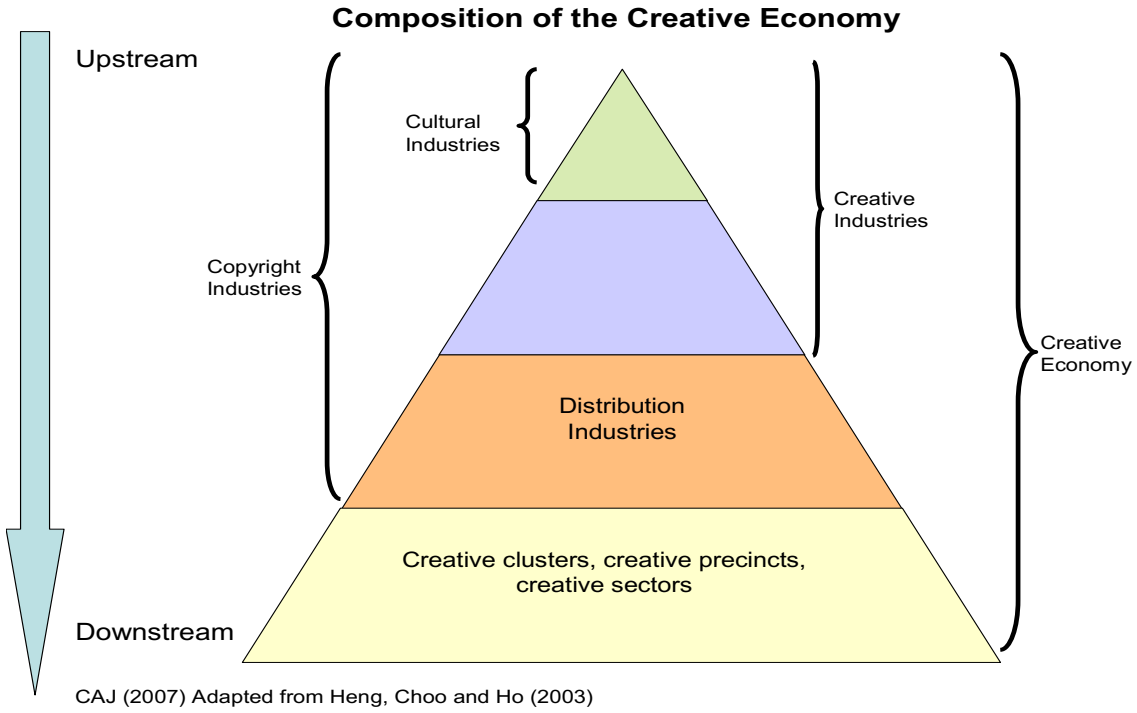


Figure 1: Composition of the Creative Economy (as cited by Joffe and Newton, 2007)

The diagram shows the relationships between the 'upstream' arts, referring to traditional art forms such as the performing, literary and visual arts and those 'downstream' from these core creative activities. The 'downstream' includes: (1) the industries that support these core creative arts ('creative industries'), (2) the industries that entail more general creative inputs based on the core art form, such as design, advertising, publishing, information communication technologies, gaming and media-related activities ('creative industries') and finally, (3) the spaces, precincts and clusters in which these 'cultural and creative industries' agglomerate (Joffe, 2009, p. 3). These make up the 'creative economy'.

In relation to *cultural policy* making, this creative economy diagram highlights the symbiotic relationship between the upstream cultural activities and their downstream commercial applications in which investment in one has benefits for the other. Similarly, a decline in one area will have a concomitant effect on the other. Upstream art activities are valued for both their intrinsic value as well as their effects on downstream activities, whereas downstream activities derive their commercial value principally from their applications in other economic activities (Joffe and Newton, 2007). The core argument here is that without investment in the core creative arts, there will be no downstream benefits with their consequent positive multipliers in terms of job creation, income generation, tourism applications and intellectual property rights exploitation both within the 'cultural and creative industries' and the economy in general. Research in populating these statistics is therefore valuable in

providing governments with new insights into this growing economic stimulator, and provides cultural advocacy bodies with the statistical backing to lobby for greater investment into the creative economy by the state and corporate entities (Joffe and Newton, 2007).

Jennifer Craik's (2007) "Re-Visioning Arts and Culture Policy: Current Impasses and Future Directions" offers a critical evaluation on these instrumental and economic centred *cultural policy* writing approaches by the state. She reflects on *cultural policy's* initial introduction in the early 1900s to the reflexive debate of its interaction between state and society in the present day. Craik (2007, p. 1) describes four distinct policy approaches by the state in relation to *culture*.

These being the state as: Patron (offering direct support to artistic and cultural forms favoured by the regime and tastemakers, e.g. UK, Canada, Australia), Architect (*culture* is the responsibility of a dedicated ministry who are directive in intervening and shaping it, e.g. France and several other western European countries), Engineer (the most extreme form of intervention, with a highly politicised agenda seeking to communicate a particular homogenous cultural ideology, e.g. Cuba, North and South Korea, and China), and Facilitator (can be described as a 'hands off' approach with the focus on creating conditions that favour cultural production rather than direct involvement in it, e.g. the USA). Furthermore, countries tend to oscillate between varying permutations of two or more approaches depending on the context (Craik, 2007, p. 28).

With the growing focus on the 'creative and cultural industries', Craik (2007) reveals how neo-liberal and economic rationalist market conditions and notable *policy* shifts in the UK (Keating and Howard administrations respectively) have resulted in a 'confused and schizophrenic' policy ecosystem tensioned by a web of historical baggage that has resulted in incoherent government intervention strategies, as its *cultural policy* is implicated more and more in broader public policy aims and objectives. In other words, the economic growth possibilities inherent to creative economy investment has equal potential to draw attention away from the core arts, as it does to promote it. This is Craik's (2007) observation in relation to the UK's *cultural policy* development journey, which stands as a warning to other countries developing *cultural policies* of their own. Policy fixation on *culture's* performance in the market can be detrimental to the core arts.

This contribution by Craik (2007) answers the question raised in the beginning of the chapter around *cultural policy's* definitional predisposition to latching onto tangibility. There is indeed risk of essentialising complexity when tangibility manifests through economic valuation of *culture*. But this answer is perhaps more nuanced in that Craik (2007) suggests that such an approach can inevitably be

detrimental to the sustainability of the very object of tangibility – the core arts.

The observation that can be drawn from the discussion so far, is that *cultural policy,* and the justifications for its necessity manifest mainly in practice through economic valuation. The question that this raises for me is: how does this manifest in the South African context, and what implications does this have on the process of developing *cultural policy* at local level? In moving forward with the literature discussion, this question requires us to localise the discussion from national level, to local level and unpack the link between the 'cultural and creative industries' and the City.

The following aims to provide an overview of literature regarding links between *culture*, creativity and the City; and most importantly, attempt to build on the reflexive 'cultural and creative industries' thoughts that Craik (2007) has posited in later understanding how her observations affect and characterise South African urban *cultural policy* development objectives.

2.3 THE INTERSECTIONS BETWEEN *CULTURE*, CREATIVITY AND THE CITY

City spaces have been appraised as hosts of economic activity, but more particularly as spaces that curate creativity and innovation. Thinking about the creative economy as outlined in the diagram cited previously (Joffe and Newton, 2007), much of the resources, infrastructure and expertise that make up the economy are found in city spaces, e.g. production hubs, staging platforms and distribution corridors. Therefore, an important consideration within *cultural policy* development is the role of cities as the geographical and physical environment in which the core arts are produced. Landry's (2012) 'creative city' and Florida's (2003) 'creative class' concepts have been influential in how we understand the complex relationships between creativity, *culture* and economic development; the culmination of which takes place in cities. I drew on these writings to build a deeper understanding of local cultural policy justifications in problematising its neo-liberal economic value undertones and highlighting its lack of strategic guidance through the actual process of developing cultural policy in practice.

Beginning with Landry (2012), the 'creative city' paradigm is defined as an economic and managerial discourse concerned with the creation of successful and competitive cities and regions. Although the 'creative city' is reputed to have been first coined in Australia in the 1980s (Landry, 2006: 10), it only came into popular use in the late 1990s and early 2000s, occupying a historic continuum originating in the 1970s and centring on the application of *culture* within urban economic development. More specifically, the birth of the 'creative city' concept lies in the post-war relationship between urban spaces and *cultural policy*, and the attempt to halt post-war urban decline in the Global North. This

was as a result of a growing interest in *culture's* role in economic development and city regeneration after the recessions of the 1970s (Landry and Bianchini, 1995, p. 14) – in line with the UK example employed previously.

It was from these interests that two dominant interpretations of the 'creative city' were derived. The first interpretation is that of an urban-centred view of *culture* and creativity as a 'tool' for re-energising and democratising cities (Landry and Bianchini, 1995; Landry, 2012). The second interpretation is that of an economically driven regional development thesis (Florida, 2003, 2005).

The former perspective is that of Landry (2012, p. 7), who argues the 'creative city' to be a *culture*-centric thesis where 'cultural resources are the raw materials of the city and its value base; its assets replacing coal, steel or gold'. The latter perspective is that of Florida (2005, p. 99), who argues that the 'creative city' concept aims to attract high-earning and high human capital workers, who are 'attracted more by cultural amenities than by recreational amenities and climate' – hence the term 'creative class'. Here, Florida (2003) refers to 'people who add economic value through their creativity' (Florida, 2003, p. 68), rather than through traditional production and distribution mechanisms. Although popularly misconstrued as referring to the culturally creative, the 'creative class' actually refers to a range of individuals, from doctors and health workers to scientists, engineers, IT workers, and cultural practitioners. Florida (2003, p. 77) refers to the latter as the 'super creative core'.

While the economic contribution of the 'creative class' in relation to the cultural sector is not the sole object of Florida's (2003, 2005) work, many interpretations of the 'creative city' situate the 'cultural and creative industries' as a central economic contributor to cities and are consistently described as one of the fastest growing economic sectors in the world. Therefore, the 'creative city' concept uses creativity as a key value, employing it to describe important professions, but also as a strategy to address a city's social, environmental, and economic issues.

Duxbury (2004) and Pratt (2011) offer important critiques on these 'creative city' concepts, from which we can build on Craik's (2007) observations on the instrumentalisation and economic valuation of *culture* more broadly.

Duxbury (2004) reaffirms the foundational understanding that *culture* is by nature diverse and evolving, and that intercultural relationships ought to be incorporated as integral to understandings of city planning and sustainability. Duxbury's (2004) positing of *culture's* centrality to the concept of sustainability forms the basis of her critique of the 'creative city' concept – this being that the 'creative

city' concept inadequately addresses *culture's* relationship to sustainability within city spaces.

Pratt (2011) on the other hand points directly to the neoliberal undertones of the 'creative city' concept. He argues that Landry (2012) and Florida (2003, 2005) have inadvertently 'humanised' neoliberalism's attack on social, environmental and economic development through the 'creative city' concept. Building on Craik's (2007) concern in the previous section about the dangers of valuating *culture* on economic lines, Pratt's (2011) criticism echoes these same concerns with regards to 'creative city'.

To expand on Pratt (2011), neoliberalism at its core can be described as a capitalist policy approach towards market self-regulation (Thorsen and Lie, 2007, p. 14). In other words, Pratt (2011) is taking issue with the 'creative city' concept implicitly supporting the notion of privatising the cultural sector, and thus divorcing it from public ownership. This typically manifests through the process of urban gentrification, for example: the process of a city becoming a 'creative city' may involve investment in unique architectural design, public art and the development of space for creative production activities. This process boosts the value of a targeted urban precinct, but in turn places rental and other living costs outside the affordability of the average working-class citizen. Over time, masses of people are forced to relocate to a different part of the city or indeed another city entirely; leaving behind only those that can afford to enjoy the new developments. Therefore, a self-regulated market approach would prevent state intervention in the likelihood of *culture* being exploited under a neoliberal policy framework. This is how Pratt (2011) identifies, views and critiques the convergence of the 'creative city' concept with neoliberalism.

The 'creative city' and 'creative class' concepts provide important arguments for the need to develop urban *cultural policy*. These being that: (1) each city has a competitive cultural signature that needs to be acknowledged, promoted and safeguarded within *policy* frameworks, and that (2) municipal budgets need to reflect an intention to develop the social, environmental and economic health of the City through cultural intervention and support. Furthermore, in line with Duxbury (2004) and Pratt's (2011) critiques, we can add (3) cultural sustainability as a key objective that needs to be achieved in such a way that the City does not solely exploit *culture* to fulfil neoliberal agendas.

My observation is that, though 'creative city' and 'creative class' literature sheds light on *culture* in urban spaces as being predominantly positioned according to its economic value, and thus reaffirming the reality that this forms the basis of *cultural policy* approaches around the globe; it does not shed light on the actual process of its development. That is, the political realities of the *policy* development

process and the unique contextual challenges of a given city space that need to be negotiated around in order that urban *cultural policy* be developed and effective in achieving its objectives. Though this was not explicitly stated as the intention behind these concepts, I am of the opinion that the value of a 'creative city' can only be fully realised with an understanding of the contextual politics involved in the processes of achieving it: it is the challenge of unpacking this understanding that makes up the core of this research work. Adding to the argument that there is a gap in the research of urban cultural policy development processes, is Grodach and Silver's (2013) piece "The Politics of Urban Cultural Policy: Global Perspectives", an editorial which more recently features writings from various authors on urban cultural policy development case studies. Though focused almost entirely on Western and European contexts, all case studies point to the exercise of developing cultural policy, as a process that is dynamic and highly susceptible to politicised complexity. Global South examples of cultural policy development processes are however, few in literature.

Nonetheless, with an understanding of *culture*, creativity and the City established, the following aims to present an understanding of the South African urban state; looking closer at the realities and challenges that urban *cultural policy* development faces in this Global South context and the need for a particular type of championing for it.

2.4 SOUTH AFRICAN URBAN STATE PRACTICE AND THE CONCEPT OF CHAMPIONSHIP

The following is a discussion on championship within the context of City governance. Careful attention is paid to which strategies urban policy makers have employed in guiding the development of policy through urban governance structures and arms of state.

Existing literature on South African urban state practice can be separated into two related, but different sets of texts. The first (1) is that of planning texts: looking at the local state from a housing policy and service delivery perspective; taking a look at policy in these sectors of government, and how they are implemented. The second (2) is that of social movements: deconstructing the relationships between officials and activists. Oldfield and Greyling's (2015) piece, "Waiting for the state: a politics of housing in South Africa", and Clarke and Basset's (2016) piece, "The struggle for transformation in South Africa: unrealised dreams, persistent hopes", respectively, are examples of such writings.

Though these sets of texts offer great insights into state logics and practice, we do not have documented research particular to how the process of urban cultural policy development unfolds in a South African city. Here, I am emphasising context, and the need to delve into the intricacies of state practice regarding the process of developing an urban *cultural policy*.

What de Sardan (2008, p. 4) terms 'real governance', affirms that state practice is by and large not documented, but rather, that literature on the state obsesses with 'ideal governance', which does not address contextual issues at all.

> "Practical norms signal the need for empirical research that is capable of capturing the complexity, variety, ambiguity and modernity of the behaviour of state agents in Africa." (de Sardan, 2008, p. 3).

In other words, it is in looking at internal state micro-dynamics that we can truly gather empirical data to influence future public *policy* development. This thought reaffirms the need for enquiry at this level of state, which this research paper aspires to achieve in the area of urban *cultural policy* development.

Forester's (2006) paper "Exploring urban practice in a democratizing society: opportunities, techniques and challenges", offers a form of understanding state practice, but far more applicable to Global North contexts. One of the biggest criticisms that this work has received is that it is de-territorialised and detached from Global South contexts, which Global North urban practice theories are greatly challenged by (Roy, 2007).

One thing can be established however, and that is that South African cities are marked with informality, tensioned by a web of racialised socio-economic realities (Watson, 2006; Roy, 2007). To expound, Global South urban state relationships are complicated and are faced with the task of formalising and regulating informality in an intrinsically uncertain and combustible environment. Roy (2007, p. 624) goes further by adding that progress in this context is highly dependent on a tangled process of 'alliance making and deal breaking'.

Krumholz and Clavel's (1994) writing, "Reinventing Cities: Equity Planners Tell Their Stories" is a helpful mechanism that beautifully paints the landscape of the urban state in relation to *policy* development and the scope of work; that is, the 'alliance making and deal breaking' needed to incite development amidst internal urban state fragmentations and contestations. This work does not necessarily theorise urban state norms and practice, internal contestations and fragmentations; but certainly gives us useful insight into them from the perspective of urban planners and their documented experiences.

Derived from a genealogy of the planning vocation and its traditions, Krumholz and Clavel (1994, p. 4) define 'equity planning' as the reconfiguring of resources, political power, and political participation away from business elites to that of marginalised groups. This arose and became a necessary function in cities, due to economic and political coalitions driving the planning and development of post-World

War II cities no longer being adequate to service significant segments of city populations; that is, low-income working-class individuals in particular. 'Equity planners' are therefore predominantly concerned with urban social justice (Krumholz and Clavel, 1994, p. 4). This is a helpful lens through which to combat the concerns that Craik (2007) and Pratt (2011) raised as highlighted in the previous section of this report. Furthermore, this approach is relevant in the urban South African context considering the pervading inequalities at play in South African cities as a result of the country's apartheid past (Bénit-Gbaffou and Katsaura, 2014).

What is of interest to this research report is not so much what 'equity planners' do, but how they do it. Among the several interviews documented in the book, one interview with equity planner Rick Cohen stands out.

The background to Cohen's case is that of the late 1980s Jersey City industrial decline. Governor Thomas Kean envisioned a ten billion dollar investment implemented through twenty-two projects along the Hudson River that would uplift the economic status of the city (Krumholz and Clavel, 1994, p. 25). This came about after New York had been experiencing consistent economic growth, but segments of its workforce sought more affordable accommodation in Jersey City across the Hudson River as opposed to finding accommodation in New York (Krumholz and Clavel, 1994, p. 26). Port authorities reported over two hundred and fifty thousand people commuting from Jersey City to New York between the morning hours of six o'clock and ten o'clock daily, with a projection of an additional fifty thousand more commuters over the next few years.

Cohen was appointed Director of the Department of Housing and Economic Development by Mayor Anthony Cucci, whose campaign is said to have strongly centred on the upliftment of lower-income demographics within Jersey City (Krumholz and Clavel, 1994, p. 27).

Cohen had many challenges. Primarily, a balance had to be struck between dealing with the dilapidated infrastructure incited by the industrial decline, while simultaneously securing quality low-income housing with new property development plans from the Governor's envisioned ten billion dollar investment.

In achieving this, the interview outlines the strategies Cohen employed. This involved lobbying politicians and interest groups towards *policy* reform for housing development within the city to include a mandatory quota for low-income citizens (Krumholz and Clavel, 1994, p. 30).

Interestingly, Cohen lobbied interest groups concerned with low-income minorities to form a coalition

against the municipality in order to pressure politicians and decision makers to vote in favour of the quota; which was counter-intuitive given that the idea had originally come from the Mayor to begin with (Krumholz and Clavel, 1994, p. 31). At every point of internal contestation; whether with Jersey City's Legal Services Department, Human Resources Department, Engineering Department, or the Mayor himself, Cohen was able to manoeuvre his way around by thoughtfully strategising, planning and building relationships. He ultimately achieved his goal, with the quota not only being written into policy, but implemented through dilapidated property and land being earmarked and converted into quality low-income housing as part of the Jersey City Development initiative (Krumholz and Clavel, 1994, p. 32).

Cohen's story highlights several important facets of *policy* making that I would like to argue are crucial to consider if successful *policy* development is to be achieved. These key observations are:

Firstly (1), Cohen's account affirms that *policy* making processes are complex and highly contextual, with each scenario having its own set of contestations and historical considerations as to how the scenario came about in the first place. This is important in being able to understand the problem holistically in order to negotiate and strategise buy-in accordingly from relevant state actors.

Secondly (2), Cohen's story highlights the importance of the role that non-state actors play in political participation and urban *policy* development (Krumholz and Clavel, 1994, p. 34). Reflecting on Cohen's case, the creation of external pressure to cause a favourable reaction internally is a strategy worth noting. The state is bombarded with constant political decision making and so the issue is not whether the state is capable of making decisions, but rather which decisions it prioritises to make, and when. This case highlights from an 'equity planning' perspective, the importance of knowing how to use the interaction of both internal and external state pressure to bring about a desirable *policy* outcome.

The third (3) and final observation that I would like to make on Cohen's case is the role that he played as a 'champion' of a cause: in this case, the cause being the development of *policy* that centres the welfare and housing rights of low-income demographics in Jersey City. The points above around the complexity of *policy* making, strategy, and relationship building towards acquiring 'political capital' are in and of themselves meaningless if they are not being 'championed'. It is the 'champion' that strategises, negotiates and curates the 'political capital' necessary in achieving the outcome favourable for the cause. It is the 'champion' that leads the process of 'alliance making and deal breaking'.

In building on this argument, I would like to employ Bénit-Gbaffou and Katsaura's (2014) piece, "Community leadership and the construction of political legitimacy" and its use of Bourdieu's (as cited

by Bénit-Gbaffou and Katsaura, 2014) 'double dealing' concept. The concept of 'double dealing' paints a picture of the work that 'professional politicians' do and how they best gain 'political capital'. Bourdieu (1991, p. 214) argues that this is achieved when 'professional politicians' wage battles in both the political and social fields of their context; thus fighting to gain buy-in from both fields towards their respective causes. This is a useful addition in gaining an understanding of the work of a 'champion'.

Bénit-Gbaffou and Katsaura's (2014) piece in its use of Bourdieu's (1991) 'double dealing' concept, helps us understand the great challenges of community leaders and how they have to 'double deal' in order to gain 'political capital' in the context of post-apartheid Johannesburg. Bénit-Gbaffou and Katsaura's (2014) dive into how community leaders need to legitimise their representativeness to the people they want to lead, as well as legitimise their leadership to the bodies that they want to represent their constituency to. Bénit-Gbaffou and Katsaura (2014, p. 9) describe how community leaders need to embark on the process of 'building from the bottom': by 'reflecting' the identity and experiences of their followers; and 'building from the top': by using their ability to act as an entry point for state institutions, NGOs and foundations to their communities.

This application of Bourdieu's (1991) concept reaffirms the argument that Global South contexts have multiple legitimacies and fields in which 'champions' have to position themselves in. As explained, it is necessary for a 'champion' to get their hands dirty in both political and civil society corridors for the sake of the cause they are fighting. 'Champions' therefore, work under constant constraints, needing to build 'political capital' from different spheres in order to act. Therefore, the ability of a 'champion' to gain 'political capital' is key; as can be identified in Cohen's approach according to Krumholz and Clavel (1994) as well as the theorisation of community leaders according to Bénit-Gbaffou and Katsaura (2014).

Both Krumholz and Clavel (1994) and Bénit-Gbaffou and Katsaura (2014) have assisted in framing the value of 'championing' through revealing the constrained conditions that 'champions' function in as well as the necessity for them to gain 'political capital' to be successful within their context.

Thinking about the cause of developing urban *cultural policy* in the Global South, is that a 'champion' in this context must face the reality of urban *cultural policy's* pervasive under-developed nature. Global South states have their hands full simply trying to maintain and deliver basic amenities to their citizens, let alone focus on *policy* development at local level. Urban *cultural policy* development is simply not a priority for the local Global South state. In South Africa, only one metropole has successfully developed and implemented an explicit urban *cultural policy*, and that is the City of Cape Town in the Western

Cape under Democratic Alliance (DA) rule.

Although the South African reality seems dire, it does offer an opportunity to investigate the 'championing' of such *policy* development processes when they do arise. This is towards filling the evident gap that Global South contexts challenge Global North theories with, regarding state practice in the area of urban *cultural policy* development. This is why the case of eThekwini was such an important case to investigate.

2.5 SUMMARY OF CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

The complexity of the study of urban *cultural policy* development cannot be over-emphasised, and that of urban state practice in particular. At play are multiple understandings of what *culture* is, what *cultural policy* can be considered as, and lastly the messiness of local state practice in the cause to develop *policy* in the area of *culture*. With all these variables to grapple with, the conceptual framework was that of an exploratory study with several working hypotheses. These being:

2.5.1 Varying and conflicting understandings of *culture* as the object of *cultural policy* caused the delay in policy approval

Based on the complexity of the term *culture*, its heterogeneities and multi-layered understandings; consensus on what is meant by it by political leaders, municipal officials and interest groups concerned with *policy* development in the area of *culture*, is near impossible to reach (Williams, 1977; Schuster, 2003; Mulcahy, 2006). This reality leaves considerable room for misunderstanding and differences in the process of achieving the core objective of creating an urban *cultural policy* for a city.

2.5.2 Unresolved contestations in the proposed contents of the draft urban *cultural policy* is what caused the delay in policy approval

From the cited literature, we can identify two dominant understandings of what *cultural policy* aims to achieve (Rentschler, 2002; Florida, 2003; Pratt, 2011; Landry, 2012). The first is that of a protection and promotion of cultural practice, identity and knowledge; and the second is that of an economic development focus. Contestation on the core objective by political leaders, municipal officials and interest groups concerned with policy development in the area of *culture* has great potential to bring about a delay in the *policy* development process.

2.5.3 Strategy employed in garnering buy-in from internal municipal stakeholders and non-state interests groups was not sufficient in negotiating state fragmentations and contestations

Krumholz and Clavel (1994) unpack the labyrinth of urban state fragmentation and the need for 'champions' to exercise great care in the strategies they employ, the relationships they build, and the opportunities they exploit to achieve their goal of developing urban policy. The initiating state agent/agency might not have been able to effectively manoeuvre around the political complexities within the corridors of the municipality.

Above all, this research aimed to document the overarching narrative of the case by bringing to the surface the tensions and contestations within it. The reasons why the *policy* has not been approved are only as valuable as understanding the fragmentations and contestations that contributed to this reality. The identification of themes and the formation of narratives from the data collected is therefore the primary framework. It is believed that this kind of practical knowledge of how people's actions relate to motives, intentions and emotions hold pedagogical meaning and has academic currency (Corbin and Strauss, 2018).

CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

I employed qualitative research methods as the research methodology for this report. Qualitative research is characterised by its aims related to understanding aspects of social, political and cultural realities (Patton and Cochran, 2002, p. 3). In alignment with this, the eThekwini case provides a research site where the experiences and rationales of the stakeholders are the best modes of data in answering the research question. These experiences and rationales are subject to social, political and cultural influences. Therefore, this research method was the most fitting for the study at hand. Furthermore, experiences and perspectives allow for probing the contextual and historical information that formed part of making sense of how these experiences and perspectives came about. More particularly, this research adopted a case study approach.

3.1.1 Case study research

Zainal (2007, p. 1) defines a case study as:

> "a method that enables a researcher to closely examine the data within a specific context […] a case study selects a small geographical area or a very limited number of individuals as the subjects of study. Case studies, in their true essence, explore and investigate contemporary real-life phenomenon through detailed contextual analysis of a limited number of events or conditions, and their relationships." (Zainal, 2007, p. 1).

In other words, I intended to undergo an empirical enquiry into the eThekwini urban *cultural policy* initiative, focusing on the context of eThekwini, its municipal structures and specifically the individuals directly involved in the drafting of the policy. This was in order to more accurately gather data relevant in answering the research question and sub-questions stated in Chapter 1. To reiterate:

"How is cultural policy development contested between different arms of the local state, in the case of eThekwini?"

3.1.2 SUB QUESTIONS

3.1.2.1 Which arms of the City were involved in the policy making process?

3.1.2.2 What is the chronology of the policy making process, and who was involved when?

3.1.2.3 Did the various arms of the City share similar objectives and understandings of what the cultural policy should be and what it ought to achieve?

3.1.2.4 If not, what strategies did the policy making team use to overcome these divergencies?

3.1.2.5 What contestations arose during the process and how did they unfold?

There are a number of advantages to using case studies. The two most pertinent are: (1) the examination of the data is most often conducted within the context of its own use (Yin, 2003). That is, within the situation in which the activity takes place, and (2) the detailed qualitative accounts often produced in case studies not only help to explore or describe the data in real-life environments, but also help to explain the complexities of real-life situations which may not be captured through experimental or survey research (Zainal, 2007, p. 4). Yin (2003) identifies documentation, archival records, interviews, observation and physical artefacts as sources of evidence in case study research; all of which are relevant to this research report.

3.1.3 Interpretive Paradigm

Furthermore, this research adopted an interpretive paradigm. Interpretive researchers do not regard the social world as "out there" but believe that it is constructed by human beings (Phothongsunan, 2010, p. 1). Interpretive studies are idiographic in nature, using small numbers of participants. This is because the purpose is not to generalise, but to explore the meanings which participants place on the social situations under investigation. This paradigm complements the case study method and was used in analysing the data from the case study.

3.1.4 Semi-structured Interviews

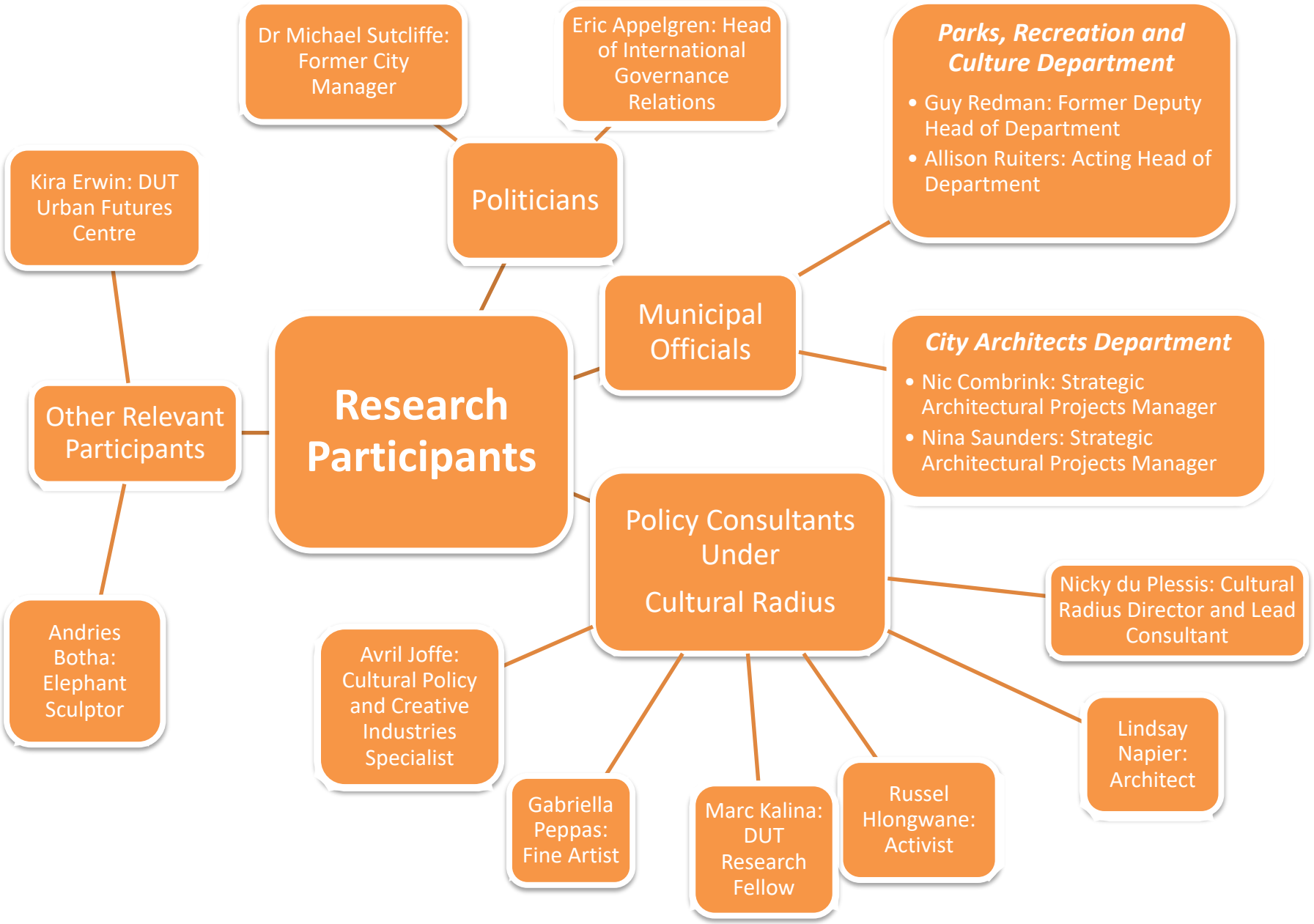
According to Duke (2002, p. 54), semi-structured interviews are more effective than unstructured or highly structured ones, as they allow enough latitude for respondents to bring up issues they feel are important, while ensuring that the researcher's main interests are covered. This saves time when it is at a premium and "tends to tip the balance of power in the direction of the researcher".

Reflecting on the process of sourcing interview participants, the endeavour was very challenging given that the research was done in retrospect; nearly three years since the consulting process had concluded with a draft policy being produced by the Cultural Radius consultants. Tracking down participants that were involved in the process beforehand was near impossible. All I had to go on was the knowledge and network of one of my supervisors Avril Joffe who was involved in the consultation process herself, and was able to get me going through her relationship with Nicky du Plessis, the founder of Cultural Radius and the lead policy consultant on this project. Thus began the process of tracking down as many relevant personalities as possible, with the hope that one would lead to the

other.

It was then through interviewing du Plessis that I gained an understanding of the political sensitivities of the case as well as the contact details of Nic Combrink, the municipal official in the City Architects Unit. Between du Plessis and Combrink, I was able to contact the majority of my participants. Below is an organogram of my research participants categorised as per their position and role in this research:

Figure 2: Research Participant Organogram



Notable research participants are:

(1) Dr Michael Sutcliffe, former eThekwini City Manager whose tenure spanned the lead up to and during the 2010 FIFA Soccer World Cup hosted by South Africa. He gave me great insights into Andries Botha and a related incident that was helpful in understanding the eThekwini *urban policy* development case from the municipality's perspective at the time. This extends to an understanding of the fragmented nature of the municipal structure; that is, how the departments work in relation to one another.

(2) Andries Botha, who I got in touch with through a father of a friend, Robin Moodley. Moodley referred affectionately to Botha as "boetie", and made sure that he made time to speak to me.

(3) Eric Appelgren, whose details I got through Dr Sutcliffe who practically gave me his number during the interview, and sent him a message saying that he should expect a researcher to contact him.

(4) Russel Hlongwane, who was the first consultant I spoke to and who gave me great insights into how the project began through the City Architects Unit and how they got Cultural Radius to bring such bright minds together.

(5) Kira Erwin, whose details I got through my other supervisor, Professor Claire Bénit-Gbaffou and who was incredibly valuable in unpacking the ANC and IFP politics in eThekwini for me.

Lastly (6) was Guy Redman, whose details I got from Combrink. I found out during my time in the field that he had in fact relocated to Cape Town. I got in touch with him a few months after I left Durban on a personal trip to my grandparents' birthday party. And yes, both grandparents as they were born on the same day five years apart. I was very fortunate to have interviewed Redman, as he was certainly a consistent personality that featured throughout my previous interviews in Durban.

What I have learnt through this process is to be fearless in going after answers and to trust that one breakthrough will lead to the next.

The interviews were no more than 45 minutes in length. The aim of my interviews was to get a deep understanding of the context and nature of governance in eThekwini, and for this process to assist in interpreting the research data and building the narrative of the logics of each of the actors involved.

3.1.5 Document Analysis

Bowen (2009, p. 2) defines document analysis as a systematic procedure for reviewing or evaluating documents, both printed and electronic material. As a qualitative research method, document analysis requires that data be examined and interpreted in order to elicit meaning, gain

understanding, and develop empirical knowledge (Corbin and Strauss, 2018). During the data collection and interview process, I was able to collect the following documents from research participants:

Table 1: Document Analysis

Collected Document Archive	
Document Type	***Date and File Name***
Cultural Radius Consultants Meetings – Meeting Agendas	- 30 July 2013 - 17 September 2013 - 4 September 2014
Cultural Radius Consultants Meetings – Meeting Minutes	- 8 August 2013 - 19 August 2013 - 28 August 2013 - 11 November 2013 - 29 June 2015
Consultants' Presentations and Workshop Notes – PowerPoint Slides and Presentation Notes	- April to June 2013 – Summary of Preliminary Policy Research (Presented by Russel Hlongwane) - 8 August 2013 – Cultural Policy and City Level Strategies for SA (Presented by Avril Joffe) - 11 September 2013 – Cultural and Creative Industries Policy: Workshop Notes - 4 February 2014 – Cultural and Creative Industries Presentation - 11 February 2015 – eThekwini's Cultural and Creative Industries (Prepared by Russel Hlongwane)
Consultants' Work Plans	- February to June 2014
Consultants' Status Reports	- 29 April 2013 - May 2013 - June 2013
Draft Policy Documents	- June 2015 - October 2015 - November 2015

Firstly, the rationale for the use of document analysis is that it is often used in combination with other qualitative research methods as a means of triangulation – 'the combination of methodologies in the study of the same phenomenon' (Denzin, 1989, p. 291). By triangulating data, the researcher attempts to provide 'a confluence of evidence that breeds credibility' (Eisner, 2017, p. 110). Secondly, the documents collected helped me get a sense of the timeline that the Cultural Radius consultants spent drafting the policy and the strategy and action plans that they undertook during this process. And lastly, the documents collected assisted in establishing who actually participated in the process and what their contribution was.

The documents listed above will be analysed throughout the next chapter. Through the process of triangulation, changes in the versions of the policy as well as contestations documented in the minutes will be used to track and document the policy development process.

3.1.6 Access and Ethical Considerations

All who were approached to be research participants were requested to give written consent without coercion or pressure (Patton and Cochran, 2002, p. 5). This means that all participants were well informed about the research being conducted and what participation entailed. Confidentiality was not guaranteed as this research was engaging a case involving public servants and politicians. This was stated in the request for consent.

A necessary acknowledgement to make is the fact that this research focused on explaining a case study in hindsight. The challenges that I foresaw that would arise from this, was a loss of detailed memory on the part of participants given that this took place about three years ago. Though I initially thought of this as advantageous in that participants would not be as secretive or sensitive to talk about what they do remember, I found that there were sensitivities once I was in the field.

During the interview process, two participants, Nina Saunders and Allison Ruiters requested that the content from their interviews not be used in the writing up of this research report. In honouring their wishes, I have not made reference to these interviews in this report. Commenting on these particular interactions however, I found their requests to be an indication of the politically charged nature of the case. It felt volatile and uncertain.

CHAPTER 4: GATHERING ALL THE PUZZLE PIECES

The following chapter aims to present the data collected over the entirety of the research period. This chapter will specifically present the policy development timeline, as well as the reasons why eThekwini continues to not have a *cultural policy* in place, according to responses from research participants.

All this, however, took place over a continuum of time, informed by related events and in a particular context. The following aims to introduce this context, set the backdrop of how the case came about, highlight how this backdrop acts as a jigsaw puzzle of actors (as per fig. 2), and contextual challenges that will later be pieced together towards identifying the contestations between these actors and arms of state.

4.1 THE ELEPHANT IN THE ROOM

The subject of this research is uncovering why the *cultural policy* drafted by the eThekwini Municipality has not yet been approved. In order to understand how the policy development project was initialised, I would like to highlight one event of particular significance that introduces the main actors of the case and underscores the eThekwini context.

In 2009, Andries Botha, a world-renowned visual artist and sculptor was commissioned by the City of Durban to produce an art installation at Warwick Junction: the inner city's main commuter hub and intersection. The art installation formed part of the Warwick Junction corridor development phase of the City's Integrated Rapid Public Transport Network (IRPTN) project – a multi-billion rand capital investment project divided over nine corridors and envisioned to be implemented over a period of fourteen years (Mbele, 2018). Botha was first approached by Eric Appelgren; eThekwini's Head of International Governance Relations (IGR), who saw Botha's work in Belgium (Appelgren, 2017). Botha (2017) recounts:

> "So the invitation to approach me around a presentation of an artwork that one leading City member had seen […] one Eric Appelgren. I had made over nine elephants on a beach in Belgium. He saw the opportunity to approach me as a Durban artist, to celebrate the elephant as a symbol. And in the very simplest of terms, an African symbol. I at the time was working with the elephant as not only a conservation symbol, but also as a human symbol. One that bonded our human purpose particularly within our expulsive usage of the physical terrain." (Botha, 2017).

Below is a picture of one of Botha's elephant sculptures on a Belgian beach:



Figure 3: Elephant on a Belgian Beach (Botha, no date)

The request for Botha to construct the Warwick elephant sculpture was largely driven by the City's preparations towards South Africa's hosting of the 2010 FIFA World Cup. Botha presented the idea of the elephant and the symbolism that this artwork would have to "members of the architectural community, members of the political community and members of the art community" in a room "right next to the mayor's chamber within City Hall" (Botha, 2017). Combrink, a project manager: strategic architectural projects in the City Architects Unit, spearheaded the contract negotiations. Although there was excitement for this initiative to materialise in time before the World Cup commenced, the request did mean that the project was under massive pressure to be completed on time. Botha (2017) recalls:

> "The duress of time was a lead-up to the 2010 World Cup, which gave me like four months. Once the contract to build the elephants was finalised, I had said quite clearly, we are only able to do three elephants in the time-frame available." (Botha, 2017).

With this agreement in place, construction on the elephant sculptures began. Botha was two weeks from completing the installation when John Mchunu, a branch leader of the African Nation Congress (ANC), arrived on site and confronted Botha with a demand for the work to stop. Botha retaliated, stating that the artwork was duly constituted and contracted by the City. Although Mchunu left the scene shortly thereafter, Botha got a call from then municipal manager Dr Michael Sutcliffe, who, as Botha termed it, was "provocateur" between him and Mchunu – the political process and the legal process – had asked him to suspend construction of the elephants.

Mchunu's argument was that Botha was constructing a symbol that resembled the Inkatha Freedom

Party (IFP) logo, given that the logo too had three elephants in it – the same amount of elephants that was agreed to be constructed.

Below is the IFP logo:



Figure 4: IFP logo (IFP logo, no date)

The project was halted, and thus began a lengthy court case between Botha and the eThekwini municipality. *Mail & Guardian* (van Wyk, 2010) reported:


Mail&Guardian
AFRICA'S BEST READ

Feb 21, 2018

NEWS OPINION ARTS & CULTURE BUSINESS EDUCATION HEALTH SPECIAL REPORTS JOBS MORE PARTNERS LOGIN SUBSCRIBE

Corel Painter 2018 Digital Art Software Trusted by Professional Artists. Buy it Today!

NATIONAL

Elephant artist left in the dark

Lisa Van Wyk 07 Oct 2010 13:27

LinkedIn Twitter Google+ Facebook Email COMMENTS

Two months after a resolution to destroy his elephant sculptures was passed by the aThekwini municipality, renowned artist Andries Botha has still not received any official word on what is to become of the artworks. In the meantime, the sculptures have been falling into disrepair.

The unfinished public artworks, which were commissioned by the Durban City Council and are placed at the Warwick Junction redevelopment, have been covered by shade cloth and plastic since February, when Botha and his assistants were ordered to stop work when an ANC councillor allegedly complained that the artwork resembled the Inkatha Freedom Party logo.

CLIENT MEDIA RELEASES

Press Offices

GIBS
GIBS boosts academic offering with two new programmes

UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU-NATAL
UKZN alumnus competes in SA reality show

BARLOWORLD LOGISTICS

Figure 5: *Mail & Guardian* article (Van Wyk, 2010)

The question is, what is the significance of the elephants looking like the IFP logo, and why was this the reaction of ANC branch leader Mchunu?

4.1.1 THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE ANC/IFP POLITICAL TENSIONS IN ETHEKWINI

The history between the ANC and the IFP has been characterised by intolerance, hatred and violence (Kynoch, 2013; Lane, 1994; Vilakazi, 2007). Vilakazi (2007) holds that the matter is quite peculiar and in fact disturbing, in that the relations between mainly African political parties and mainly White and Indian political parties respectively, are not characterised by the same tensions. Vilakazi (2007) continues:

> "The tension, intolerance, hostility, distance, lack of brotherhood and sisterhood, in the relations between the ANC and IFP, as organisations and people, have lowered the spiritual quality of the life of all people in KwaZulu-Natal. This has had a very disabling, negative effect on political relations, on the process of governing the province, and on the social and spiritual life in the entire province. There is a crisis in the public life of the province, which impacts negatively on the private life of all people in the province." (Vilakazi, 2007, p. 1).

Vilakazi's (2007, p. 1) statement is made in context of what was considered the bloodiest political violence of the apartheid era. This ironically, speaks of a four-year timeline post South Africa's first non-racial elections in April 1994, which witnessed the advent of democracy and ended centuries of white political domination and repression. This irony, however, is not without a history that pre-dates April 1994.

Inkatha was initially formed in 1975 as a Zulu cultural organisation, operating with the ANC's blessing while the ANC was banned by the apartheid government. Gradually however, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, leader of Inkatha, moved closer to the National Party (NP). They provided him with money, weapons and a Zulu "homeland" – KwaZulu-Natal (Lane, 1994). Even as he forged his own network of warlords, thugs and *indunas* (loosely translated as "ward bosses"), Buthelezi became South Africa's "Great White Hope" overseas – the "moderate" alternative to the ANC. When the ANC's United Democratic Front (UDF) moved in on Buthelezi's turf in the 80s, the war in KwaZulu-Natal began (Lane, 1994).

In an interview with Kira Erwin (2017), senior researcher at Durban University of Technology's (DUT) Urban Futures Centre, she shed some light on this political dynamic, considering that the ANC is currently the majority party in the area:

> "So the one thing here is that of course the ANC is a majority, and sometimes it will stand together on certain things, but it does not speak with one voice. It definitely does not in our province. That is directly related to the current national politics and has become hardened since Jacob Zuma became President. Zuma has a very strong Zulu identity, and in some sense

> there has become a sort of ethnic contestation around certain ANC issues, not just in our province but nationally. In fact, it is quite concerning that you can mobilise those sorts of identities as a form of politics." (Erwin, 2017).

What Erwin (2017) is highlighting here are contestations both between the ANC and IFP, as well as internally within the ANC itself, and how ethnic identities have been mobilised as a form of politics for these contestations to exist. With the IFP's own existence being mobilised around Zulu identity and its proximity to the Zulu king, it is clear to see how these differing parties function as inter-dependent hosts of Zulu nationalism, and how this can, and has in fact, created a violent clash.

Reflecting on the case of Botha's elephant installation, we can trace the significance of this ANC/IFP tension and deem Mchunu's interpretation of what he thought was IFP propaganda, as valid. Looking closer at Mchunu's political history, it does get more layered and complex.

In an interview with Appelgren (2017), he recounts that Mchunu suffered the loss of his family at the hands of the IFP. His family was murdered during the post-apartheid political war. I cannot begin to understand the depths of pain induced by what three elephants would mean to a man that tragically lost his family by an organisation that has three elephants in its logo. Appelgren (2017) accounts:

> "The ANC/IFP clash was one of the most violent wars. We had fathers turning on sons and sons turning on fathers. John [Mchunu] was actually a member of the IFP, but he shifted to the ANC; and that is when they kill people, because they are more vicious in such cases. It's like the Afrikaners. If you were an Afrikaner in the liberation struggle, the Afrikaners were more vicious towards you because they felt that you were supposed to be one of them." (Appelgren, 2017).

The ANC/IFP political tensions are undoubtedly significant in understanding the political landscape of eThekwini and the KwaZulu-Natal province at large. Though tensions have not resulted in mass civil violence in the last twenty years, the dynamic continues to exist and affects interpretations of seemingly the most unassuming pieces of public art; and the Botha case is one such example.

> "Our province has a serious history that has not stopped at political violence. And in a way, it's important to understand that, because then you can understand why it becomes very important for City officials to know this history; who are busy seeing that policies are being created. And these are not just decisions where you 'piss people off'; these are decisions that could end up in somebody getting killed." (Erwin, 2017).

The question I would like to pose stemming from Erwin's (2017) statement is, are City officials and policy consultants aware of this dynamic and the potential cost of being insensitive to this in the process of writing local *cultural policy?* We will return to answering this question in Chapter 5 of the text.

4.1.2 THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE BOTHA COURT BATTLE AND HOW IT CATAPULTED A CAUSE

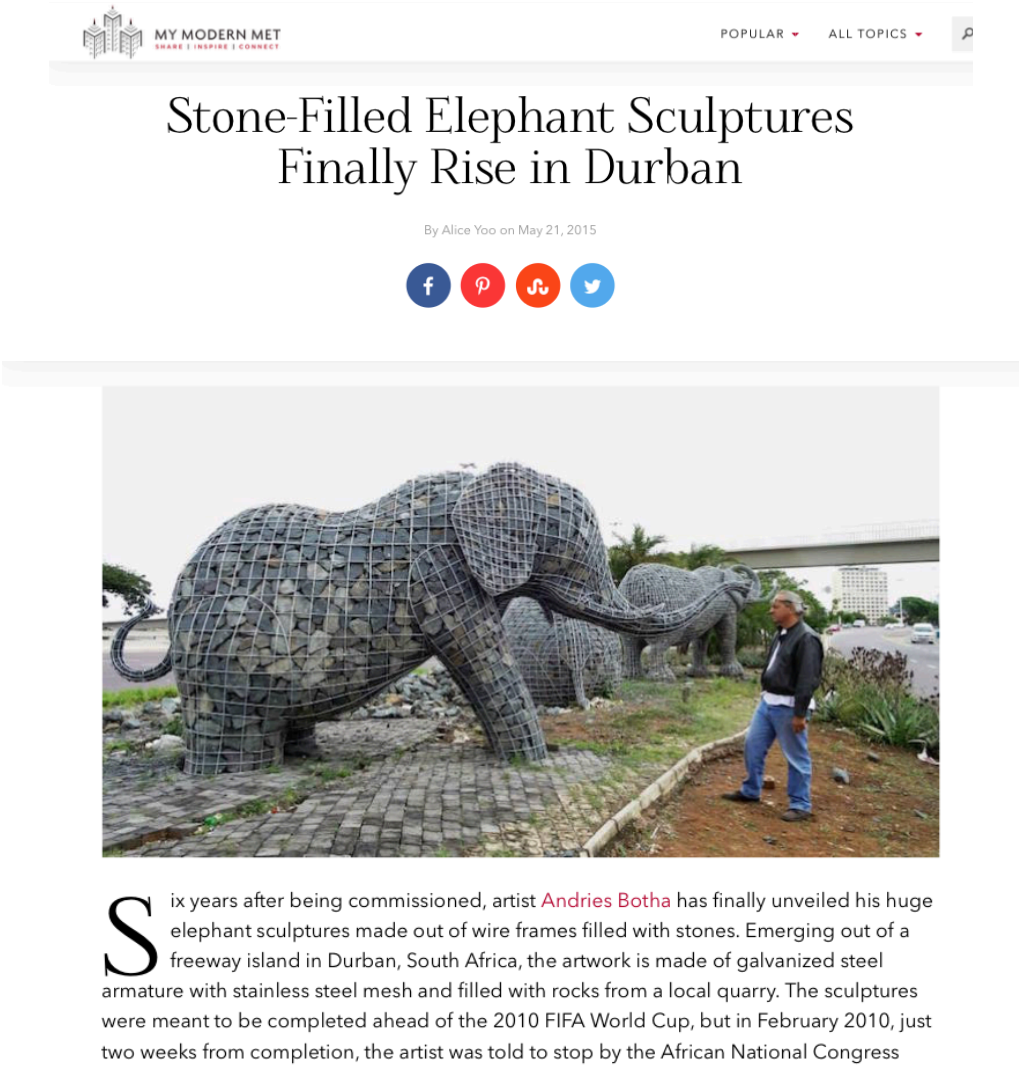
Botha's court battle was a case that played out heavily in the public arena. Artists and activists from around the globe came to the defence of Botha and the elephants; an irony, because a symbol purposed to embody tolerance, co-existence and collective imagination for a united future, caused much intolerance and public fixation on political and racial difference. The case revealed the latter, given the reality of Botha's positionality and symbolic representation of white maleness, and Mchunu's representation of black maleness and the ANC majority. This narrative was evident in the media. Botha (2017) recounts:

> "Now, in our case, after about a year or so […] I got a contingency from a legal team because they believed in the case. So they came to us. However, putting yourself up as a symbol, even your lawyers refer to you as the 'front'. So YOU have to be in front, YOU get focused on, YOUR personality, YOUR persona gets focused on and gets interrogated, and we now reduce ourselves to the simple binary of whiteness and blackness. All the subtleties get lost. And you get cast, particularly as an Afrikaans male. It really doesn't stand a hope in hell of defending a historical past based on your personal present track record. It becomes like a crude holistic gathering, "either that side or this side". So now, all the white guys came to me and said, "the bloody bastards", and all the black guys said, "bloody bastard". And so the subtleties for us to actually have a debate, are lost." (Botha, 2017).

Remembering that this artwork was in fact commissioned by the municipality, Botha (2017) recounts how the municipality lied and obfuscated the truth during the court case. The political narrative being, that Botha "bent" the mandate of the agreed terms of his contract and thus intended to embarrass the national liberation movement; that the original mandate was for Botha to construct 'The Big Five'. Botha (2017) called this a political reaction to 'save face' based on the municipality's ill-preparedness

and unwillingness to take responsibility for the artwork that they commissioned. “The contract only spoke about elephants”, says Botha (2017).

The court battle took six years to resolve. The resolution was that Botha would construct one more elephant; bringing the total number to four elephants at Warwick Junction to appease the political contestation of the artwork resembling the IFP logo, while simultaneously not losing the initial investment of public funds. Alice Yoo (2015) reported:


MY MODERN MET
SHARE | INSPIRE | CONNECT

POPULAR ALL TOPICS

Stone-Filled Elephant Sculptures Finally Rise in Durban

By Alice Yoo on May 21, 2015

Six years after being commissioned, artist Andries Botha has finally unveiled his huge elephant sculptures made out of wire frames filled with stones. Emerging out of a freeway island in Durban, South Africa, the artwork is made of galvanized steel armature with stainless steel mesh and filled with rocks from a local quarry. The sculptures were meant to be completed ahead of the 2010 FIFA World Cup, but in February 2010, just two weeks from completion, the artist was told to stop by the African National Congress

Figure 6: My Modern Met Article (Yoo, 2015)

When asked about his take on Mchunu and the court proceedings, Botha (2017) states:

> “To a certain extent, the whole interventionist role of John Mchunu, was downplayed enormously in the so-called ‘collective’ voice of the municipality. There is a lot of speculation with regards to why John Mchunu intervened. Why did he not phone Michael [Sutcliffe] up and say, ‘deal with it’. And Michael [Sutcliffe] could have said, ‘just hang on, let me find out’ […]. At the simplistic level, what could have happened was that a political decision to appoint

me to do the elephants was made at local level, because they were driving a mandate for the World Cup. It was not then referred across to EXCO, for verification. It was just implemented because of the timeline. So in many respects, I think Mr Mchunu was not aware of the fact that [the installation] was legal, or that it was mandated by the ANC themselves."

Commenting on the case and how he would have handled it differently in retrospect, Appelgren concedes that it was a mistake to not have had a presentation of what the installation would actually look like, and for political leadership to be in attendance for this. When asked to corroborate the presentation that Botha referred to presenting in his interview, Appelgren (2017) stated:

> "Council approved the road infrastructure project (IRPTN[1]) and in that was the public art idea. But it did not talk about the elephants explicitly. It spoke about public art as part of the design. We did not submit those designs. The public art was approved by Guy [Redman[2]], myself, Nic [Combrink[3]] and people from the [Durban Art] Gallery. The political leadership did not know about it." (Appelgren, 2017).

In other words, the political symbolism of the installation was not adequately engaged with prior to the installation. There was no attempt to gain an awareness of how the artwork could be interpreted given the political history of eThekwini and the greater area of KwaZulu-Natal. It seems that the process took an isolated administrative characteristic once approved, with no follow-up from those involved in approving it.

> "Well, had [the political leadership] known, I don't think they would have had the reaction that they had. And if we made sure that it was not three elephants… and [had] approved an official public launch, Andries [Botha] and the city mayor could have explained the logic and the partnerships. All of this, we failed to do. That is a lesson I have learned – [To] stay with the process. Especially if you put your name to it. The mistake I made, is that I thought Guy [Redman] stayed with it. But he did not. He handed it over to his staff […] they are brilliant, but I do not think they could have identified the political implications of three elephants." (Appelgren, 2017).

The question that Botha and other cultural activists begged throughout the court battle was, how could one artistically judge the intention of the artwork to resemble an opposition party's logo? Then more practically, why was the objection allowed to carry even though there was nothing untoward about the commissioning process of the installation by these very councillors? It was this question

[1] Integrated Rapid Public Transport Network project, implemented by eThekwini's City Architects Unit
[2] Former Deputy HoD of the Parks Recreation and Culture Department
[3] Strategic Architectural Projects Manager: City Architects

that drove a cause – a cause that leveraged the Botha case, to construct a rationale for the urgency of a cultural policy in eThekwini; one that protects artists' creative agency and promotes the cultural and creative industries as a whole, while streamlining the municipality's commissioning processes and articulating its attitudes to culture and how the creative industries intersect urban economic development. This cause was brought forward by Combrink of the City Architects Unit.

4.2 CONSTRUCTING THE POLICY DEVELOPMENT TIMELINE AND IDENTIFYING OBJECTIVES

Central to understanding the policy objectives brought forward by Combrink and the City Architects Unit, is unpacking the significance of the IRPTN Development Project and the opportunity that it presented for the benefit of eThekwini's cultural sector. Below is a diagram depicting the geographical scope of the corridors identified by the IRPTN and how these were divided up into phases:



Figure 7: IRPTN Corridor Diagram (Mbele, 2018)

The elephant sculpture that Botha constructed forms part of the Warwick/CBD intersection redevelopment at which corridors C1, C2, C6 and C8 converge as per Figure 7 above. Botha's installation was but one of several artwork installations envisioned to form part of the IRPTN. In other words, integrating artworks within the architectural design of the routes and transport infrastructure was Combrink's vision for the IRPTN; and to do this, City Architects identified and contributed one percent of the total IRPTN's multi-billion rand budget to see this objective to its fruition (Combrink, 2017). Herein lies the significance of the IRPTN and the benefit that it had available for the cultural sector as a whole.

In light of the contested nature of the Botha case as unpacked at the beginning of this chapter, City Architects needed a policy that would not only guide the process of integrating public art into its

IRPTN project, but outline the procedures for the commissioning of such work to prevent another contentious public art case.

In an interview with Combrink (2017), he recounts:

> "What happened is that, Guy Redman was then the Deputy Head of the [Parks, Recreation and Culture] Department, and he had asked our [Unit] to facilitate writing an arts and culture policy, which I needed in order to look at how arts and culture can stimulate development within the Warwick area. And the reason for that was, we don't have an arts and culture policy to this date. The document which we then did for them, in consultation, was then to rather proceed on a basis of creative industries […]. Although the IRPTN was where [the policy] came from, the whole policy became a standalone thing, separate from the IRPTN." (Combrink, 2017).

Several observations can be drawn from Combrink's quote: (1) Combrink states that Redman approached City Architects to develop a policy, however, (2) he needed the same policy to be developed for the purposes of the Warwick area (where several IRPTN corridors converge), citing that (3) the IRPTN was where the policy "came from" and that it (4) eventually became a standalone project.

City Architects consequently contracted Cultural Radius consultants to develop this policy. Russel Hlongwane, an independent fine artist and member of the Cultural Radius consulting team states:

> "To my understanding, the development of the policy was connected to public art and art in public spaces, and the Andries Botha case was cited quite a few times [...] it was one of the cases that was used during the process to emphasise the importance of having such a policy." (Hlongwane, 2017).

Hlongwane confirms that the role that the Botha case played was that it galvanised government officials and even the public to some extent, of the importance and immediate need to develop a policy that protects artists and artworks.

However, Combrink's (2017) quote alludes to the policy becoming a standalone project apart from the IRPTN and that it went beyond public art to being based on the "creative industries". This particular distinction will be unpacked further in the text.

So far, we can establish that the IRPTN was the City Architects' entry point into pursuing a cultural policy and that the Botha case catapulted them into prioritising its development and then hiring Cultural Radius to assist.

The *policy* objectives that Redman[4] cited in his interview, however, differ somewhat to that of Combrink's (2017) account. This is echoed by Appelgren[5] (2017) confirming that attempts had been made prior to the Botha case and IRPTN on the part of the Parks, Recreation and Culture Department, to draft a cultural policy, and that these were ongoing before and during that of the policy development process undertaken by City Architects.

This is what Redman (2018) had to say, when asked about how the *policy* development initiative came about:

> "The process of writing an arts, culture and heritage policy in eThekwini began before 2010 while Dr Sutcliffe was there. The City of Durban has its own cultural infrastructure and is one of the few municipalities that runs its own museums, such as the Natural Science Museum and Durban Art Gallery from the late 1800s. You have this stuff happening, but no policy framework for it except for the policies within these institutions to run them. So these were the beginnings of this process. We started with the heritage strategic framework, which was then followed by guidelines for monuments […] so we [still] needed a policy framework that would guide how we would fund the arts. Fast forward to 2015, the City Architects Unit is busy with a project involving the Warwick Junction. Part of the work that they needed to do was to quantify the heritage resources and also to develop some kind of way in which the City can respond to those. Nic [Combrink] had not [yet] spoken to us at that stage. He had approached a consulting company, Cultural Radius led by Nicky [du Plessis] along with Avril [Joffe] and Russel [Hlongwane] and a couple of others to do this work […] they were working on a *cultural policy*. We needed a framework for 'Centrum Site'. This site was prime property […] with enough space to house a number of activities […]. The head of City Architects, Jonathan Edkins as well as Nina Saunders worked with us on this. Nic [Combrink] got to learn about the work we [were] doing through Nina [Saunders] and she started talking to Nic [Combrink] saying that he cannot do what he is doing in isolation of what we are doing. And that is how we got to speak to Nic [Combrink]." (Redman, 2018).

In other words, the Parks, Recreation and Culture Department had begun a process of developing a *cultural policy* before Combrink did research on the IRPTN in determining the need for the project to have one. Furthermore, and most importantly: according to Redman, Combrink began the process of developing a cultural policy before City Architects, and Parks, Recreation and Culture agreed on a partnership. Redman (2018) continues:

[4] Guy Redman: Deputy HoD of the Parks, Recreation and Culture Department
[5] Eric Appelgren: HoD of International Governance Relations

> "So when we started speaking to Nic [Combrink], he had very clear deliverables. These would not necessarily all relate to an arts policy; but rather that the work he envisioned would require an arts policy later down the line. This was [specifically] for the IRPTN. Can you see how [City Architects] got to be involved in a marriage of convenience? They got involved because Nic [Combrink] needed something. What he did not know is that before Michael [Sutcliffe] left, old pieces were there and […] we had wanted to consolidate [these] old pieces […] and then Nic [Combrink] comes, who had already appointed service providers doing something similar. So in order not to waste resources we joined Nic's process. It was not a process initiated by us." (Redman, 2018).

It would seem then, that Redman's request to Combrink to draft a policy was not a process that started from scratch at that point, as is suggested by Combrink's initial quote. But rather, that the partnership between the Parks, Recreation and Culture Department and City Architects began after Combrink approached Cultural Radius as consultants in the process of developing a policy with the specific needs identified by and for the success of the IRPTN project. The question then is, what characteristics defined the relationship between Parks, Recreation and Culture and City Architects, and did they share the same policy objectives?

4.2.1 CITY ARCHITECTS' CULTURAL POLICY EXPECTATIONS

When asked about the objectives that the policy initiative was envisioned to achieve, Hlongwane (2017) states:

> "There is a lot of transport infrastructure being laid out in Durban, and the ambition from City Architects was to include an aspect of art in the physical infrastructure of these projects [...] I would say that public art was understood as one of the components which the policy would deal with, but the recommendation (Cultural Radius consultants) put forward was a considered and structured approach as to how we handle the cultural sector here in eThekwini. Setting up structures that would look after the domains as prescribed by the UNESCO Framework. So each domain would have a body looking after it along with an umbrella body overseeing all the domains. This umbrella body would also be responsible for lobbying and recommending best practice to the municipality." (Hlongwane, 2017).

From this quote, we can establish that the chief objective and immediate return on investment expected from City Architects, was the policy's contribution towards the successful integration of public art works in the roll-out of the IRPTN[6] across the City of Durban – related to the one percent of

[6] Integrated Rapid Public Transport Network project, implemented by eThekwini's City Architects Unit

the IRPTN budget that Combrink had identified and sectioned off for this integration. This is what City Architects wanted.

Following on from this main objective, was the strategy advocated by the Cultural Radius consultants to employ the UNESCO Framework for Cultural Statistics in the development of the policy for the benefit of the whole cultural sector, as Hlongwane emphasised. This process would bring about the establishment of several cultural bodies that would represent the categories within the UNESCO Framework; which required appropriate changes within the municipalities' organisational structure to align with the policy. The question here is, how did the Cultural Radius consultants attempt to gain buy-in from stakeholders both within and outside of the existing municipal structure?

4.2.1.1 HOW THE CULTURAL RADIUS CONSULTANTS GARNERED STAKEHOLDER BUY-IN

Looking at the documents that I was able to collect may answer the question that ended the previous section, along with triangulating my interview data. Below, I refer to Appendix 1 which organises the documents collected chronologically, with an analysis section as well as a stakeholder buy-in efforts: gained/lost section for each document that highlights what it tells us about the Cultural Radius consultants' action plan and its effect on stakeholder buy-in.

The process of analysing the documents collected primarily reveals the work that the consultants undertook. Furthermore, Appendix 1 highlights who was involved in the consultations from various municipal departments and how they went about garnering buy-in from stakeholders. Below, is a municipal organogram of eThekwini's various administrative clusters and highlights, in red, the units and departments that formed part of Cultural Radius' consultations:

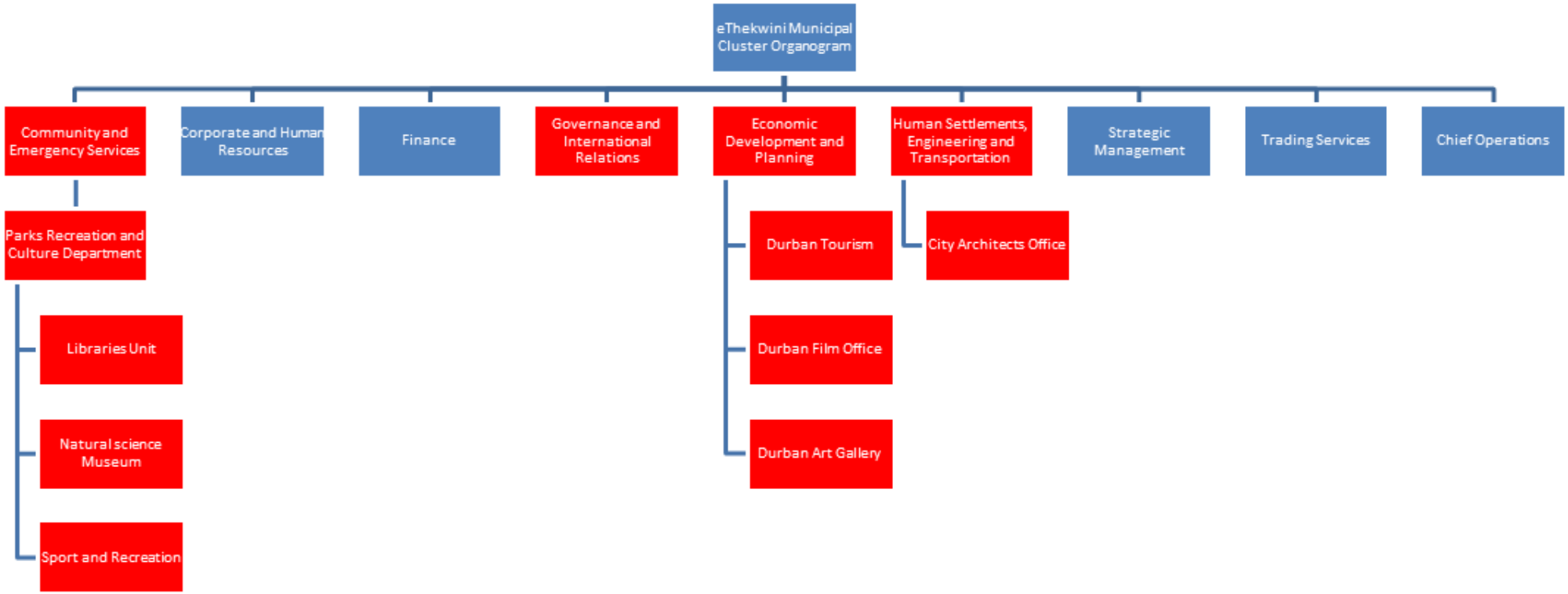


Figure 8: eThekwini Municipal Cluster Organogram

In chronological order, Appendix 1 also highlights the progression and time-period of the work itself. The diagram below depicts the progression that the consulting team followed:

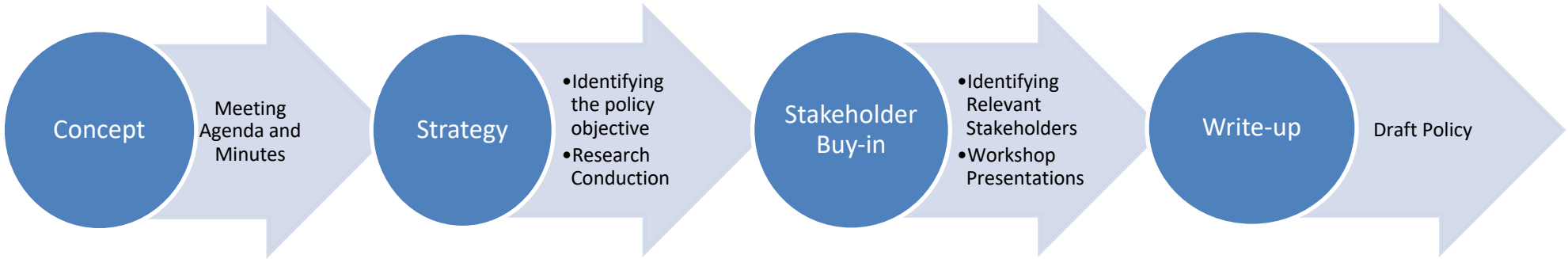


Figure 9: Cultural Radius Consulting Process

When asked what was discussed in the public consultations, Combrink (2017) states:

> "In our public consultation process, we discussed implementing the UNESCO creative industries classification system, which covers and makes sure that you have all the applicable cultural entities represented. Whether they are active in eThekwini or not, they have their slot. It is like a library Dewey system. That is what we are trying to put in the policy. [It was to] say, from those seven [categories], these are the basic ones which are already there and this is how you would roll-out the others. Because, for instance, the whole digital entity is not there but we have advertising agencies. We have people being creative. But they have not organised themselves. But Council is also not creating the environment where they know where to slot [these] in. There is no door for them to knock on. So what we wanted to achieve first time around, as a basic policy is to put a document [in place] which Council accepts, from which we can then proceed to do the [organisational] organogram amendments (Combrink, 2017)".

UNESCO (as cited by Cultural Radius, 2015b) defines the cultural and creative industries as, "those sectors of organised activity that have, as their main objective, the production or reproduction, the promotion, distribution or commercialisation of goods, services, and activities of content derived from cultural, artistic or heritage origins". Below is a diagram of the domains broken down by the UNESCO Framework for Cultural Statistics (as cited by Cultural Radius, 2015b):

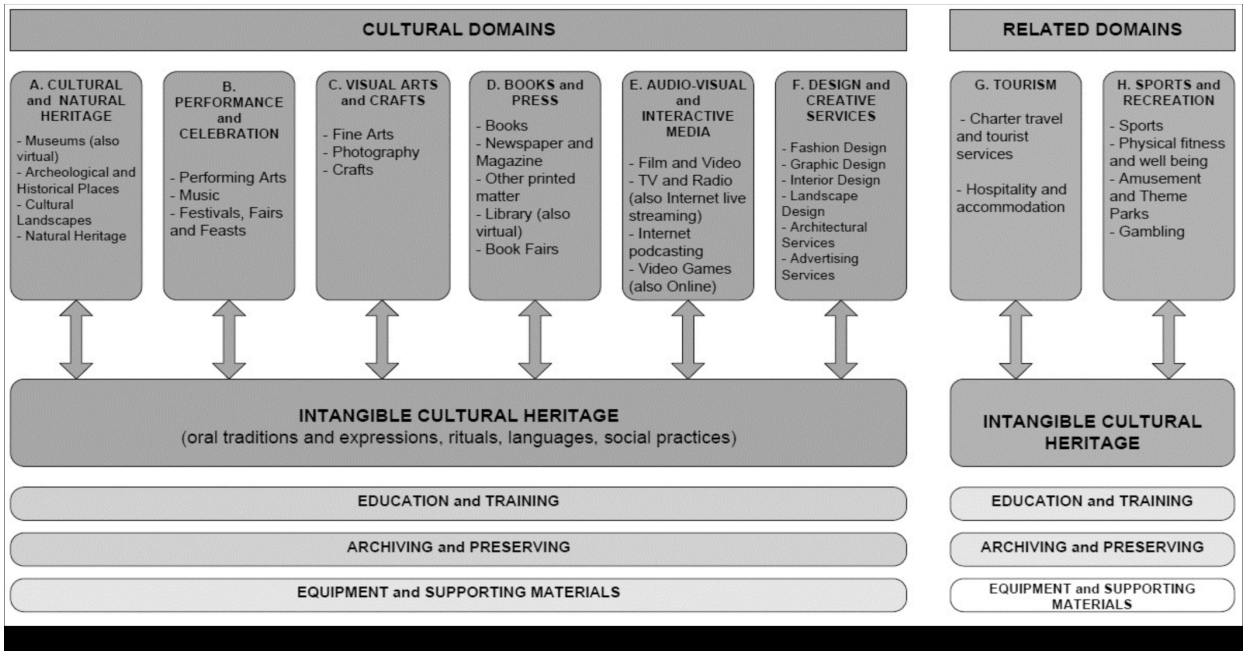


Figure 10: UNESCO Framework for Cultural Statistics (as cited by Cultural Radius, 2015b)

First published in 2009, the UNESCO Framework was conceptualised to establish an internationally recognised definition of culture, as well as a breakdown of the cultural and creative industries into a set of domains (Snowball, 2016, p. 5). UNESCO (as cited by Snowball, 2016) defines *culture* as:

> "the set of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features of society or a social group, that encompasses, not only art and literature, but lifestyles, ways of living together, value systems, traditions and beliefs."

Snowball (2016, p. 5) maintains that the UNESCO definition of *culture* illustrates the intangible nature of it, given that beliefs and values cannot be directly measured. However, Snowball (2016, p. 5) highlights that it is possible to measure the associated behaviours and practices that accompany beliefs and values of society. This is what the UNESCO Framework for Cultural Statistics aims to accomplish. Lindsay Napier, architect and member of the Cultural Radius team states:

> "Our goal was that every department adopts the UNESCO Framework and that they, within their department, would have their own objectives, but working within the same framework. We were trying to get heads of departments on an equal level to be working within that UNESCO Framework equally; so that when budget decisions are made at the high level, that there would be equal budget allocations and resource allocations. The way it was working was not balanced. Maybe museums and libraries got a certain percentage but Durban Film [Office] would get nothing. So that is what we were trying to push […] we felt that the UNESCO system is the one we wanted to employ."

Hlongwane (2017) elaborates:

> "The [UNESCO] Framework was the first step, [and] giving [the Parks, Recreation and Culture Department] a strategy as to how to implement it was the second step […] so, the main objective was to get the framework approved and adopted within the first phase of this process. And for me the second phase would have been the meat."

The question is, which departments were identified to be approached to form part of this first phase? And secondly, were attempts to gain buy-in successful? Hlongwane (2017) comments:

> "I think we were quite aware that [stakeholders] would need to be educated. We engaged with senior management of the various departments […] the arts and culture department, economic development, tourism, the KZN Fashion Council, the Film Office […] I mean, a municipality is a political space. And politics impacts how people consume culture […] and we knew that there would be these issues at play. We knew that the government and the municipal departments worked in silos. So the [Durban] Film Office for example seldom engages with the [arts] department about culture. Those synergies just don't exist. So at some

> point we knew that we had to break the silos, but we did not achieve that because still today these departments operate in silos. This is because the administrative leadership did not see it through. This is not a jab at individuals but rather just pointing out the systematic issues that needed to be addressed." (Hlongwane, 2017).

Hlongwane (2017) highlights that the policy development objective of using the UNESCO Framework for Cultural Statistics, did not yield the buy-in that was hoped for from the departments that they identified. In addition to this, Hlongwane (2017) communicates his disappointment in the administrative leaders tasked with taking the policy forward. In other words, there was an understanding that the policy being developed by City Architects, was the only and final process. Combrink (2017) confirms:

> "Surely Council knew of it, because they approved the budget […] that is where the mandate came from. So they knew a policy was in the pipeline and wanted to know, when are we getting the policy. But, it is like being in America: you have got to start lobbying in the senate and the house of congress to get it to be voted for. But we could not even get it there, because we could not get the number of votes or the buy-in to present this document. Because the powers that be were not comfortable in presenting that […] it was too much of a game changer." (Combrink, 2017).

Combrink (2017) highlights a hesitation by "the powers that be" that hindered the presentation of the document to Council. In other words, there was an unresolved contestation, or set of contestations in the relationship between City Architects and the Parks, Recreation and Culture departments respectively. This dynamic will be explored from the perspective of the Parks, Recreation and Culture Department and analysed in depth in the next section of the text.

In reviewing the dates of the documents gathered throughout the data collection segment of the research period, we can determine that the City Architects' policy development timeline was from the beginning of 2013 and ended with a submission of the final draft to the Parks, Recreation and Culture Department at the beginning of 2016.

4.2.2 PARKS, RECREATION AND CULTURE'S CULTURAL POLICY EXPECTATIONS

Reflecting on Redman's (2018) quote on how and when the urban cultural policy came about, we can ascertain that the Parks, Recreation and Culture Department envisioned the development of a policy prior to partnering with City Architects. The Parks, Recreation and Culture Department's objective for

this cultural policy was the development and management of museums, libraries and archives. Redman (2018) also made mention of a need for a cultural policy to oversee the distribution of funds to registered cultural NPOs. Furthermore, the policy was also expected to act as a guideline in the establishment and maintenance of new and existing monuments and heritage sites.

Monuments, he noted, was a particular issue of contestation in the eThekwini area; making specific reference to the Botha case and other contentious incidents involving public art, as situations that the policy was envisioned to curb in the future (Redman, 2018).

With these initial policy objectives existing in the minds of Parks, Recreation and Culture officials prior to City Architects taking the initiative to partner with them in the development of a cultural policy for the benefit of the IRPTN, we can observe a marked discord in objectives and expectations between City Architects and the Parks, Recreation and Culture Department. Referring to the Botha case, Redman (2018) explains:

> "You know about the elephants story right? These [types of] things impact how Durban would respond to a cultural policy because that showed us what happens when there is not a cultural policy. You have to understand, in Durban when all these things are happening, there were gaps. And I was, as the custodian of this, very much aware of all possibilities when I received the work that Nic [Combrink] brought through. I had to look at it and test whether Council would be receptive." (Redman, 2018).

Redman (2018) comments on the partnership between the Parks, Recreation and Culture Department and City Architects:

> "[City Architects] did have our blessing, but they should not have jumped the gun […] they got our blessing because of the situation […] which we understood and felt that rather than run two parallel processes, let's join. We were sure that all processes would definitely conclude beyond the time that Nic [Combrink] envisioned. [However], budgets needed to be spent at a particular time because this is a very important project, but there needs to be these guidelines that are meant to assist the process. We formed a part of the process, he did the appointments and we funded part of it […] it was very little. [City Architects] practically funded the bulk of it. He did the process, completed it and then we were to take it forward." (Redman, 2018).

Below is a consolidated timeline (Table 2) of events as per City Architects' and Parks, Recreation and Culture's accounts; triangulated with the data collected from the document analysis conducted.

	Pre 2010	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018
Parks, Recreation and Culture Department's Timeline										
Progress:	May 2006 Grant in Aid Policy Approved 2009 eThekwini Parks, Recreation and Culture Department begins internal process of developing an Arts and Culture Policy in review of the Grant in Aid Policy	Andries Botha Elephant Saga FIFA World Cup	Development of Heritage Strategic Framework and Guidelines for Monuments				Library and Natural Science Museum Building Project Parks, Recreation and Culture approaches City Architects to participate in consulting process	Parks, Recreation Culture Receives Draft Policy from City Architects Parks, Recreation and Culture continues Policy development process	Guy Redman resigns	Progress on Policy Approval unknown
City Architects' Timeline										
Progress:	Warwick Junction Infrastructure Development Project Approved	Andries Botha Elephant Saga			Combrink embarks on developing an Urban Cultural Policy for eThekwini Combrink appoints Cultural Radius as consultants on the project Parks, Recreation and Culture Department commission Bheki Mchunu to act as a liaison between the team on the Department's behalf			Consulting team concludes the work of the first phase City Architects submits draft policy to Parks, Recreation and Culture Department		

Table 2: Consolidated City Architects/Parks, Recreation and Culture Department Timeline

The information that the above table reveals, is that the policy development process continued beyond the tenure of City Architects and the Cultural Radius consultants. Worth noting is that Redman resigned shortly after the policy was submitted. Therefore there is no concrete evidence available that the process is indeed ongoing or has halted, as I was not able to speak to a willing state official involved since the handover of Redman's portfolio.

My view is that those that remained after Redman's tenure did not prioritise completing the policy, and my research enquiry into what happened since his departure acted as a form of accountability that they did not want. This research enquiry exposed that the priority for the Parks, Recreation and Culture Department had changed, thus implicating the municipality and those involved in a wastage of state resources. However, this is not conclusive as information regarding the progress of the policy since Redman left Durban remains unknown to the public.

Amidst this, however, why is there such a disparity between City Architects' expectation and understanding of the objectives of the process versus that of the Parks, Recreation and Culture Department? What were the specifics of the Parks, Recreation and Culture Department's contestation with what the City Architects' draft submission said?

4.3 THE PARKS, RECREATION AND CULTURE DEPARTMENT'S CONTESTATION WITH CITY ARCHITECTS' DRAFT POLICY AND WHY THEY DID NOT SUBMIT IT FOR COUNCIL APPROVAL

When asked about, 'what sensitivities existed that the draft policy did not address', Redman (2018) replied:

> "The sensitivities that [Parks, Recreation and Culture] needed to manage is that in Durban the arts is not the lead in the minds of a lot of people and they do not speak in the language 'arts, culture and heritage', although arts and heritage are strong. People think like that first before anything else. Culture is crucial and heritage is crucial. So while the arts is 'noisier', culture and heritage is where you cannot go wrong. So we were trying to make sure that the elements of culture and heritage are very well negotiated. The liberation heritage routes for instance; you would understand that you are dealing with a lot of contestation. You are negotiating such and such histories, and elevating some [histories] to be higher than others and saying that this is our [collective] heritage." (Redman, 2018).

Redman (2018) here alludes to the draft policy not speaking directly to the sensitivities around ethnic culture and heritage; saying that the draft policy failed to identify key sensitivities and provide

guidelines as to how they will be dealt with. Redman continues:

> "In Durban, you have to be very sensitive about what was IFP led before and what was ANC led. People have died in places like Mpumalanga in the fights between the UDF and the IFP. IFP and ANC tensions are there and are recent. They are not long ago. And you are negotiating that. So while the arts are very noisy, [City Architects] were very much unaware that we were doing an arts, culture and heritage policy and not simply an arts policy or a culture policy. All of these things must be in one policy." (Redman, 2018).

Here, Redman (2018) makes specific mention of IFP and ANC tensions still being felt in Durban, indicating that the battle ground for these tensions are 'culturally' charged. An example that Redman (2018) used to explain this to me, was how a case of heritage archival development in Mpumalanga turned sour due to national political tensions.

The KZN Parks, Recreation and Culture Department was involved in building a heritage facility in Nelspruit, Mpumalanga. The project came about from the ANC and IFP chapters in the area wanting to commemorate new-found peace between them. On completion of the facility, Redman (2018) recounts how the IFP had split at national level to form the NFP, and it just so happened that the members of the IFP that were part of the initiative in Mpumalanga had decided to side with the NFP off-shoot. What this resulted in was the immediate invalidation and illegitimacy of what the Mpumalanga site had been intended to stand for in the eyes of the IFP and ANC nationally.

This is just one of the examples that Redman (2018) cited in explaining the kind of ethnic-cultural and political tensions at play, that he felt the City Architects' draft policy failed to address. He made mention of the various sites of significance in the area that belonged to different political affiliations that sought acknowledgement and investment from the Parks, Recreation and Culture Department. For instance, a site of heritage significance in a community, primarily made up of South African Communist Party (SACP) supporters and the need for that community to be consulted on a cultural policy of this nature.

As Redman (2018) recounts these concerns, it is clear that these voices would never have come out of the public consultations that the City Architects consulting team had done. Those consultations, though public, were aimed at the arts community mainly. What Redman (2018) describes as a particular bone of contention was the Parks, Recreation and Culture Department wanting there to be wider public consultations, and for these to cut across various demography, to include all citizens, paying particular attention to political and tribal affiliation. Redman (2018) emphasises:

> "The policy needed to go a step further. The draft was great: the thinking, the logic and everything about it. [However], it is when you start putting the nuts and bolts in and taking into account the local context – that is where we needed to feed in. And when I left, that is what they were meant to be doing. You can't ignore these things. You can have another war starting just like that. This policy needed to be inclusive and sensitive, because that elephant thing had a huge reputational impact on the City. I remember going to Grahamstown [National Arts Festival] and there was a whole session just on that. And you're sitting in the audience and you're thinking, 'if only you knew that environment and yet you are here sitting in a very theoretical space', but that is not what happens on the ground." (Redman, 2018).

When asked whether the consulting team received feedback from Parks, Recreation and Culture since they submitted their draft cultural policy, Hlongwane (2017) replied:

> "No we did not get feedback from them once the draft was submitted. We had given them the draft and that was where the process ended. The idea was that from here, the policy would be elevated." (Hlongwane, 2017).

In other words, the reason why the policy consultants throughout all my interviews have stated that the policy development initiative "fizzled" was because they did not receive direct feedback from the Parks, Recreation and Culture Department on the status of the draft policy being voted in by Council. I managed to asked Redman the same question. Redman (2018) responded:

> "Yes but not with [Cultural Radius consultants]. At the last meeting, when Nic [Combrink] came to do the presentation I raised my issues in that meeting. Sharply in fact. I raised my issues with the limitations of the document and how we needed to do more. We did not deal with the consultants directly. We communicated directly with Nic [Combrink]. So we were participants in the process which Nic [Combrink] initiated. The consultants were not hired by us. Therefore their feedback should have been from Nic [Combrink] […] We were saying that the policy is not everything that we wanted and that there are certain things that we are wanting to use this policy for that goes beyond what it was then about." (Redman, 2018).

From this comment, it is clear that the Parks, Recreation and Culture Department viewed City Architects and the Cultural Radius policy team's work as but a contribution to the existing body of work that was done by the Parks, Recreation and Culture Department before they got involved in this

project. In other words, Redman (2018) viewed the City Architects' IRPTN[7] project, and the development of the creative industries as secondary to that of focusing on the contextual heritage issues of eThekwini. In other words, the Parks, Recreation and Culture Department envisioned the policy as being a contribution to inciting socio-political peace amongst the ethnic cultures within the Durban area. That was the value the Parks, Recreation and Culture Department wanted to see as the objective of the policy.

[7] Integrated Rapid Public Transport Network

CHAPTER 5: PIECING THE PUZZLE TOGETHER

The following chapter aims to analyse and unpack the data collected and answer the main research question by evaluating the contestations highlighted in the previous chapter. These will be themed under: 1) unpacking state practice characteristics that are evident in this case, 2) how the origins of this policy proved to be a barrier to its success, and lastly, 3) the evident lack of a champion.

5.1 UNPACKING 'COLLECTIVE RESPONSIBILITY', AGENCY AND PERSONALITY AS A CHARACTERISTIC OF SOUTH AFRICAN URBAN STATE PRACTICE

This case of urban cultural policy development in tandem with the Botha case as the foreground of how the policy development process was catapulted and initiated by City Architects, reveals a particular characteristic of South African urban state practice. The observation that I would like to highlight is how the eThekwini Municipality as an ANC led municipality, commissioned a public art installation, and also suspended it; effectively contradicting and delegitimising its own procurement and decision making processes. This observation is aligned with Watson (2006) and Roy's (2007) argument that states that South African cities are marked with disunity and informality. The evidence of this disunity and informality is the manner in which John Mchunu unduly and informally exercised his own agency as a political figure to halt construction of the elephant sculpture, to the detriment of the formal administrative commissioning process of the municipality. Botha (2017) confirms this observation by stating that:

> "Mchunu's individual agency in approaching the elephant sculpture installation site, as well as the result of his influence as a regional ANC leader to bring about the suspension of a duly administered public art commissioning, was absorbed by the municipality's 'collective' voice."

In other words, Botha (2017) alludes to the fact that the municipality acquiesced to Mchunu's will and was not held accountable for his individual actions. Herein lies the crux of this observation: that the characteristic of the disunity of the South African urban state masquerades behind the defence of 'collective responsibility'. This speaks specifically to how the Botha case highlights the disunity and misalignment between the two centres of political power: the mayor on the one hand and the ANC regional branch on the other.

As municipal manager of eThekwini during the unfolding of this case, Dr Sutcliffe (2017) comments:

> "[City Architects], was probably a bit out of order in terms of the way they dealt with this […] anyone would have known, the issue of Parks [Recreation and Culture], has the potential to

> explode […] it actually has nothing to do with art, nothing to do with cultural policy; it's simply part of the political struggle in the city where this thing was badly handled […] There are probably ten thousand things that people can say I did wrong. But the thing was, I took the political flack. On all of these issues, if there was something that the political leaders did not like, I got clapped."

Here, Dr Sutcliffe (2017) gives us a glimpse of what happened behind the scenes. That, indeed there was much contention and blame passed in the corridors of the state. This highlights an inconsistency in how the state operates and shows a lack of understanding of its own complicity in its own problems. It is my argument that this disunity is perpetuated through 'collective responsibility' as an initial response, prior to engaging the actual events of a matter, how contentions came about and where things went wrong. Analysing the differing policy objectives of both the Parks, Recreation and Culture and City Architects departments respectively, further emphasises this observation.

The disunity between these departments reveals the challenge of inciting inter-departmental collaboration and using shared institutional knowledge within the urban state. For instance, City Architects had knowledge of the UNESCO Framework, its value as a globally recognisable tool for measuring cultural value, as well as its breakdown of the cultural and creative industries into domains. The Parks, Recreation and Culture Department could have benefitted from this information in terms of the economic and instrumental value that the cultural industries embody.

Similarly, the Parks, Recreation and Culture Department had contextual knowledge and insight into the ethnic cultural and political dynamic of the City; essentially, what City Architects lacked in the compilation of its draft policy, which in effect, was also not communicated to the Cultural Radius consultants. It seems as though these exchanges never took place, given the disparity in the policy objectives as stated by both the Parks, Recreation and Culture and City Architects Departments respectively. Could it be that the municipal composition and structure was not able to facilitate this exchange? Or that personalities prevented these lines of communication from working effectively?

Redman (2018) believes it is a combination of the two as he explains municipal structure and alludes to personalities in office:

> "Unfortunately the City is structured poorly [...] it definitely had an impact on how this policy would finally be executed as well as the process. You were definitely bringing in people that were not accustomed to one another and were not dealing with [culture] at the same level." (Redman, 2018).

Combrink (2017) elaborates on this observation from City Architects' perspective:

> "In the process of doing this policy, Guy [Redman] admitted that he did not quite have the expertise, because Guy's qualification is one of natural science in analysing the roars of lions. But he is in arts and culture. It's fine [from] a natural science [perspective], but I can understand why they appointed him, because we have far more natural science facilities and libraries in Durban, so it's more facilities-based than it is promoting arts and culture […] Tourism sits as a department on its own in eThekwini. So you can see where the merging was going to be a problem. Another thing is architecture became a sub-entity in the creative industries. That also became a problem. Although our [Unit] is an implementing department, it is skewed in the sense that it is seen as a champion for architecture at the expense of all the other building professions. That is the other issue. Our entire organogram and council is a mess." (Combrink, 2017).

These two quotes highlight two main things in particular. The first is that they confirm that the municipal structure of eThekwini is a barrier to inter-departmental collaboration, and secondly, that the municipality, consists of individual personalities that understand the cultural sector from varying proximities. Taking this into consideration adds to the complexity of urban cultural policy development in that inter-departmental collaboration is required. This understanding can be extended to analyse how and particularly who (which department) initiates a policy development process.

5.2 THE PROBLEM WITH THE POLICY BEING INITIATED BY CITY ARCHITECTS AND THE EXPECTATION OF THE PARKS, RECREATION AND CULTURE DEPARTMENT TAKING IT FORWARD

City Architects had its policy objectives laid out before it partnered with the Parks, Recreation and Culture Department. It partnered with the Parks, Recreation and Culture Department because it knew that for the policy to be viewed as legitimate, it needed to be taken up by the relevant custodian department. The problem however, was that the Parks, Recreation and Culture Department had identified and begun a process of developing a cultural policy prior to City Architects' initiative. This too, had its own policy objectives prior to the Parks, Recreation and Culture Department joining City Architects in this process. Krumholz and Clavel (1994) informed my analysis of this through their positing of the term "equity planners" as per my conceptual framework. Through this lens, I answer the main research question of how the eThekwini cultural policy development initiative was

contested between different arms of the local state, in that the two main stakeholders, namely Parks, Recreation and Culture Department and the City Architects did not share the same objectives.

5.2.1 THE IRPTN AS BOTH AN OPPORTUNITY AND A BARRIER

City Architects' custodianship of the IRPTN identified an opportunity for the cultural sector to benefit monetarily from the capital infrastructure project. However, it also identified that there was no policy in place for the cultural sector to systematically benefit from the opportunity. The City Architects department then went about initialising the process of developing this document outside of the knowledge of the Parks, Recreation and Culture Department. I would like to argue that IRPTN was therefore both an opportunity and a barrier to the success of this cultural policy development initiative.

The Parks, Recreation and Culture Department, in the spirit of being financially frugal, did not want to duplicate this process, but simultaneously did not explicitly communicate that they viewed the City Architects' initiative as anything but a contribution to a bigger policy at the onset of their partnership with City Architects. Nevertheless, City Architects continued developing its policy with the help of Cultural Radius consultants by ultimately employing the UNESCO Framework, as it believed it contained the fullest expression of culture and its role in society. Furthermore, the fact that it had been adopted by the Department of Arts and Culture nationally as its organising principle, was also a factor in adopting it locally. It therefore made sense to the consultants to align with national government.

In its focus on the UNESCO Framework, it can be seen that City Architects did not develop a political awareness of the salient issues that the cultural sector faced from the perspective of the Parks, Recreation and Culture Department. When asked about whether ANC and IFP tensions played a role in the Parks, Recreation and Culture Department's hesitation to take the policy forward, Hlongwane (2017) responded:

> "Honestly I don't think IFP/ANC dynamics had anything to do with the policy. It's actually the first time I'm thinking about that possibility right now. It's too far removed from the intent of our process." (Hlongwane, 2017).

This quote demonstrates that the Cultural Radius consultants' understanding of the issues needing to be addressed, acting as a reflection of the understanding of City Architects who hired them, were removed from the Parks, Recreation and Culture Department's understanding of what the policy

process, and by extension, the policy, needed to engage with.

Reflecting on the fact that the Parks, Recreation and Culture Department partnered with City Architects after it had begun its policy initiative, I argue that this created a barrier to City Architects engaging with the Parks, Recreation and Culture Department and making the relevant changes to its policy approach considering what the Parks, Recreation and Culture Department wanted this cultural policy to achieve. This observation remains true particularly considering that City Architects expected the Parks, Recreation and Culture Department to take this policy forward. In other words, the needs of the IRPTN and the strategy to use the UNESCO Framework as the scope of the policy in the timeline of events, created a barrier that manifested in different expectations and objectives by these bodies respectively.

5.2.2 THE PARKS, RECREATION AND CULTURE DEPARTMENT WAS NOT ACTIVE IN ITS PARTNERSHIP WITH CITY ARCHITECTS

On the other hand, the Parks, Recreation and Culture Department did agree to partner with City Architects, and need to be held responsible to some extent. Why did it not raise its concerns earlier?

The document analysis portion of this research reveals that Bheki Mchunu was the designated Parks, Recreation and Culture representative delegated with the task of acting as a liaison between the Cultural Radius consulting team and his department. The minutes however, don't reflect that Mchunu attended meetings. In addition, minutes dated 28 August 2013 reflect that the team expressed uncertainty of whether Mchunu should continue in this capacity as he had missed several meetings in which substantial discussions were held. The resolution was that Combrink would ask Redman to send someone else (Cultural Radius, 2013). According to the minutes, Mchunu had access to the research document database that City Architects had placed online, but amidst this we can ascertain that the Parks, Recreation and Culture Department did not have a consistent and active presence in meetings and thus did not contribute to the internal discussions that the policy team were having. It was only in the last phase of the process in 2015, that Redman was identified on record as the person needing to take the policy forward (Joffe, 2015).

The reality is that neither the Parks, Recreation and Culture Department, and by extension, Redman, were in the loop of the critical conversations and logics by the policy team on the issues that the Parks, Recreation and Culture wanted input in. For instance, concerns from the roadshows and inter-departmental workshops, were that the Cultural Radius team found it difficult to explain and transfer understanding of the ambits of the UNESCO Framework as well as the creative economy value chain

diagram (Cultural Radius, 2013d). A lack of understanding that was shared by the Parks, Recreation and Culture Department, that could have been remedied had they been in attendance:

> "The elements that we were not happy with, was that the document did not seem to have a lot of public input. It was very academic. When we were doing our process before [City Architects], we wanted a policy that could be informed by the public [and] not necessarily by the sector. Our position was that art is for everyone and not for artists alone. The policy is not for artists but for the entire arts sector and how the rest of the community needs to engage with it." (Redman, 2018).

However, in comparing the three draft policies that I was able to access (Cultural Radius, 2015a; Cultural Radius, 2015b; eThekwini Municipality, 2015), what is evident to me is that the June 2015 draft of the policy was the most detailed in unpacking the objectives of the policy, addressing the concerns that came with lacking understanding of the UNESCO Framework's relevance to the context of eThekwini's creative and cultural industries sector. The drafts following this however, were put under several formatting constraints:

> "The final version of the policy was actually a watered-down one of the original." (Combrink, 2017).

The next two draft versions are confusing having read the first draft, with the majority of the substance found in the first draft getting lost in the formatting constraints that were imposed. This is highlighted at the end of the document analysis (Table 1).

The creative economy value chain and the UNESCO Framework are the only two items that made it into the body of the final draft; the very two things that were reported to have difficulty understanding from the part of inter-governmental actors and the public during the second phase of the project. Therefore, to understand the process of how the policy got to the final draft without losing the substance and knowledge of how to negotiate around this speed hump, the Parks, Recreation and Culture Department would have had to have been in meetings with the Cultural Radius and City Architects team in order to know how the team understood these two mechanisms insofar as their relevance to the context of eThekwini and how they prepared to argue this relevance in the event of questioning.

However, the case cited by Krumholz and Clavel (1994) suggests that the state is in contestation with itself and that a champion is required to guide a process through this labyrinth. Did this policy

development initiative have a champion?

5.3 FRACTURED CHAMPIONSHIP OF THE POLICY

The primary claim I would like to make pertaining to this case, is that there was an absence of championship that prevented this cause from being taken forward. Leaders were involved in different stages of the development timeline, but there was no champion to take the process from its inception to its end. This was this ultimate failure of the process.

Although the consulting and development of the policy was conceptualised and spearheaded by City Architects, the research data reveals that this was done with the 'blessing' of the Parks, Recreation and Culture Department. In other words, City Architects understood that this process would not be successful without the involvement of the Parks, Recreation and Culture Department and that this Department would ultimately have to take the draft forward.

However, in reviewing the differing objectives, we can deduce that the Parks, Recreation and Culture Department believed that this process was only a section of their overall plan to develop a policy, and that this phase was essentially outsourced to the City Architects Unit.

The initial thought was that Combrink was the champion and mastermind behind this development initiative having identified the sustainable funding of the sector through the IRPTN; and this may be true to some extent. However, closer inspection reveals that he could not have been the champion given his lack of political and administrative influence in relation to Redman from the Parks, Recreation and Culture Department. This means that, in truth, Combrink did not have the kind of influence that was originally suggested. The reality of the situation, is that Combrink's influence was curated through the Parks, Recreation and Culture Department as they determined his involvement post the submission of the draft.

This is not to suggest that Combrink had no place in the drafting of the policy, as unorthodox and complicated as his positionality made the process; on the contrary and as emphasised before in the text, there was certainly an advantage to Combrink being a key player in the process, in that he was able to identify an opportunity for Durban's creative sector to be part of contributing to the City's visual storyboard through incorporating artworks into the design of road and transport infrastructure. It was through this process that a significant funding opportunity opened up for the cultural sector to gain a high level of sustainability.

What is evident though, amidst the advantages that accompanied Combrink's involvement, was that

the door he was able to open through identifying this opportunity in the city's capital infrastructure project budget was not appreciated enough by stakeholders for the process to leverage off and gain the momentum it needed. This reveals that City Architects' interests in seeing this process come to fruition was not primarily for the sake of the cultural sector, but rather for the engineering sector, with the cultural sector being secondary to the bigger goal and focus of his Combrink's office: successfully conceptualising and implementing the IRPTN. In other words, the fact that the cultural policy was not the object of the success of the process given Combrink's positionality, further supports my argument as to why he was not the person that championed the policy. This means that a champion within the Parks, Recreation and Culture Department was indeed needed.

The Parks, Recreation and Culture Department certainly had the best positionality to having successful oversight and ownership of the policy process through to completion. Redman was the Director of Libraries and Heritage within this Department. His directorate was responsible for museums, galleries, libraries and arts and culture. From the research data gathered, he was the point person within the Department that Combrink was in contact with (Cultural Radius, 2013d).

However, Redman resigned from this position to take up a position in the Western Cape. It was during this shift that the momentum that the policy team had built, broke, with no clear hand-over process. Although, the Parks, Recreation and Culture Department had conceptualised a policy prior to partnering with City Architects, what can be deduced is that during City Architects' work on the policy, the Parks, Recreation and Culture Department made no progress on what they had envisioned. Therefore City Architects' contribution to the development of a policy in eThekwini is the latest contribution that we know about. The reality is that the policy development narrative ends with Redman having left the municipality. This is the core reason why the policy was not taken forward, and why no strategies were thought through in overcoming the divergencies in policy objectives between the two departments.

By all accounts, with the understanding of the Parks, Recreation and Culture Department having outsourced the process of developing this policy to City Architects, one cannot fault City Architects for not doing their job. The objective of producing a draft was achieved, even though there is silence on the progress of it being passed by the City Council. The following chapter concludes the research report.

CHAPTER 6: LOOKING OVER THE FINISHED PUZZLE

The research goal was to gain an understanding of urban cultural policy development processes and state practice through a study of such a process being initiated by eThekwini's City Architects. I believe this goal has been achieved. Further, the previous chapter highlights the key issues that have emerged in this research. Namely: the disunity of the state and the differing policy development objectives of the Parks, Recreation and Culture, and of the City Architects Departments respectively (Williams, 1977; Duxbury, 2004; Pratt, 2011); and the lack of a champion (Watson, 2006; Roy, 2007b; de Sardan, 2008; Bénit-Gbaffou and Katsaura, 2014). An understanding of how the process came about was established, and the contestations between the different arms of the state were observed and analysed.

For the benefit of future cultural policy development processes within Global South contexts, I would like to conclude with the following recommendations:

We cannot underestimate the value of contextual history and how these realities inform barriers to be negotiated in an urban cultural policy development initiative. I believe that understanding such realities has a higher potential for more appropriate strategisation of urban cultural policy development processes and the implementation of buy-in tactics both for state and non-state actors identified to form part of such processes.

There is no doubt that the ANC and IFP tensions that this report has unpacked, have played, and continue to play, a role in the governance of the KZN province insofar as which decisions are prioritised in the municipality as well as which factors are considered in making these decisions. This was indeed a barrier in the case of eThekwini; a barrier that was not sufficiently understood and negotiated around by the team involved in the policy development process. The lesson here is that each context has a political and cultural history, and policy processes ought to engage how the proposed policy speaks to addressing these throughout their development.

Perhaps to nuance the above point more, is to state the importance of balancing the inclusion of global best practice, i.e. the UNESCO Framework for Cultural Statistics and equivalent innovations, with the needs of the local context in light of its history; and to prioritise finding this balance throughout the policy development process. There is no doubt that internationally developed frameworks can be helpful locally. However, this case study proves that such contributions lose meaning if not holistically engaged with in context and with all stakeholders engaged in why it is proposed to be adopted.

An opportunity which was leveraged for the benefit of this process, was the IRPTN and the potential of its contribution to the sustainability of the cultural sector. It is a tragedy that this case can be summed up as a missed sustainable funding opportunity for the cultural sector. A definite point to take away from this case, is that we cannot underestimate the consequences of the sequence of opportunities leveraged and how they ultimately impact the overall policy development process.

The policy initiative, though thought to have begun in the City Architects Unit, was a vital and important contribution to the development of the policy. However, the position that City Architects took in thinking of theirs as the only process, resulted in tunnel vision: they only focused on the needs of the IRPTN and how the UNESCO Framework met that. Although the Parks, Recreation and Culture Department's concerns were felt not to have been addressed in the draft policy amidst the UNESCO framework including heritage and public art as pillars, communication between these two state actors was non-existent, and both City Architects and Parks, Recreation and Culture need to take responsibility for each entity's role in this reality. Though the idea that arms of the state are siloed off and disunified is not a new one, it is notable that this observation pertains to cultural policy development processes as well, particularly because such processes require inter-departmental collaboration and partnership across the traditional normalised divisions i.e. architecture and culture departments in this case (Bénit-Gbaffou and Katsaura, 2014), Though not new, it remains important to mention this observation as an outcome of this research, as a barrier in need of negotiation for future urban cultural policy development initiatives.

Most notably, we cannot overlook the need for a champion, and their role in 'alliance making and deal breaking' and the importance of building inter-departmental and non-state actor relationships towards garnering 'political capital' towards such a cause. Although non-state actors were not a factor in how this case played out, suffice it to say that perhaps we could have been discussing a different outcome if sufficient pressure from outside of the state was leveraged against the political powers towards prioritising the development of this policy. Everything about this case was mainly handled in-house, which had its disadvantages. 'Political capital' in this case was not properly gained from the 'bottom' or 'top' and strategically wielded in favour of the cause.

Nonetheless, the case of eThekwini was not completely 'champion-less', but this aspect was fractured in that championship of the cause was not consistent throughout, given that different champions with different priorities and objectives lead the process at different times. Ideally there ought to be an individual, or team, leading, initiating and guiding the process from inception to its end. Successful urban cultural policy development requires all these aforementioned factors.

In my opinion, championship in this context would have been someone who:

1. Understands the importance and holistic values of culture; both from a contextual and industries perspective.
2. Understands the political and administrative constraints at play within the eThekwini Municipality; able to strategise and leverage relationships within the municipality to negotiate moving between and through these obstacles and challenges.
3. Understands contextual bureaucratic and systematic organisational challenges and can strategise how to initiate the necessary shifts needed within the structure of the municipality for the policy to be successfully implemented.
4. Is able to lobby political and administrative powers towards making the process a priority; convincingly articulating the benefits and future possibilities of its success for all at every level of management within the municipality.

Lastly, I would like to state the position that there is no universal idea of what a cultural policy ought to be, contain, or achieve. This is stated, following on from the initial discussion on the complexity of the word *culture* that was begun by Williams (1977) and Holden (2006) as cited in this text. This is in order to address the undertones visible in the research data around the vast degrees of what each individual involved and by extension, each municipal department, thought was to be the 'focus' of this cultural policy development process. This extends to differences in views of who a cultural policy should be written for, i.e. for the benefit of the arts community versus for the benefit of the general public, and which comes first in the case of both. Divergent narratives of who cultural policy's 'publics' are forms part and parcel of these identified undertones.

Understandings of *culture* policy, versus public art policy, versus heritage policy, in the data, and what to me seems to be a misunderstanding of the UNESCO Framework as related to heritage being posited as apart from the 'creative industries' by research participants, brought about these undertones.

Though, it was not the focus of this paper to unpack the nuances of the varying beliefs of what a *cultural policy* should be about as well as for whom; I would like to highlight these undertones as a key research site that certainly requires further exploration in holistically understanding the considerations one ought to make in the process of developing a Global South urban cultural policy in practice.

REFERENCES

Bénit-Gbaffou, C. and Katsaura, O. (2014) 'Community leadership and the construction of political legitimacy Unpacking Bourdieu's political capital in post-apartheid Johannesburg'. Available at: http://wiredspace.wits.ac.za/handle/10539/16925 (Accessed: 30 May 2018).

Bourdieu, P. (1991) *Language and symbolic power*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Bowen, G. A. (2009) 'Document Analysis as a Qualitative Research Method', *Qualitative Research Journal*, 9(2), pp. 27–40. doi: 10.3316/QRJ0902027.

Clarke, M. and Bassett, C. (2016) 'The struggle for transformation in South Africa: unrealised dreams, persistent hopes', *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, 34(2), pp. 183–189. doi: 10.1080/02589001.2016.1202501.

Corbin, J. and Strauss, A. (2018) *Basics of Qualitative Research: Techniques and Procedures for Developing Grounded Theory (3rd Edition)*, *SAGE Publications Ltd*. Available at: https://uk.sagepub.com/en-gb/afr/basics-of-qualitative-research/book235578 (Accessed: 6 June 2018).

Craik, J. (2007) *Re-Visioning Arts and Cultural Policy*. ANU Press. Available at: https://press.anu.edu.au/publications/series/australia-and-new-zealand-school-government-anzsog/re-visioning-arts-and (Accessed: 6 June 2018).

Denzin, N. K. (1989) *The research act a theoretical introduction to sociological methods*. 3rd ed. Englewood Cliffs, N.J Prentice Hall. Available at: https://trove.nla.gov.au/work/11329677 (Accessed: 6 June 2018).

Duke, K. (2002) 'Getting Beyond the "Official Line": Reflections on Dilemmas of Access, Knowledge and Power in Researching Policy Networks', *Journal of Social Policy*, 31(01). doi: 10.1017/S0047279402006505.

Duxbury, N. (2004) 'Creative Cities: Principles and Practices'.

Eisner, E. W. (2017) *The Enlightened Eye: Qualitative Inquiry and the Enhancement of Educational Practice*. Teachers College Press.

Florida, R. (2003) *Rise of the Creative Class*. Tandem Library.

Florida, R. (2005) *Cities and the Creative Class*. Routledge.

Forbes, D. (2010) *Adapting the Wheel: Cultural Policies for Africa*. Cape Town: Arterial Network.

Forester, J. (2006) 'Exploring urban practice in a democratising society: opportunities, techniques and challenges', *Development Southern Africa*, 23(5).

Grodach, C. and Silver, D. (2013) *The Politics of Urban Cultural Policy: Global Perspectives*. Routledge.

Holden, J. (2006) *Cultural value and the crisis of legitimacy.* Demos.

Joffe, A. (2009) ‘Creative cities or creative pockets?: reflections from South Africa’, *Creative City Perspectives*.

Joffe, A. and Newton, M. (2007) ‘Creative Industries Sector Report’. HSRC.

Krumholz, N. and Clavel, P. (1994) *Reinventing Cities*. Temple University Press. Available at: https://muse.jhu.edu/book/9484 (Accessed: 6 June 2018).

Kynoch, G. (2013) ‘Reassessing transition violence: Voices from South Africa’s township wars, 1990-4’, *African Affairs*, 112(447), pp. 283–303. doi: 10.1093/afraf/adt014.

Landry, C. (2006) *The Art of City Making*. UK: Earthscan.

Landry, C. (2012) *The Creative City: A Toolkit for Urban Innovators*. Earthscan.

Landry, C. and Bianchini, F. (eds) (1995) *The Creative City*. London: Demos (The creative city, 12).

Lane, C. (1994) *South Africa’s Violent Road to Real Democracy*. Available at: https://newrepublic.com/article/120502/violence-south-africa-after-end-apartheid (Accessed: 6 June 2018).

Mbele, S. (2018) ‘EThekwini IRPTN, Cornubia & Point Development.pdf’. Ethekwini Municipality.

Mulcahy, K. V. (2006) ‘Cultural Policy: Definitions and Theoretical Approaches’, *The Journal of Arts Management, Law, and Society*, 35(4), pp. 319–330. doi: 10.3200/JAML.35.4.319-330.

Nawa, L. L. (2012) ‘Municipal Cultural Policy and Development in South Africa: A Study of The City of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality’, p. 242.

Oldfield, S. and Greyling, S. (2015) ‘Waiting for the state: a politics of housing in South Africa’, *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space*, 47(5), pp. 1100–1112. doi: 10.1177/0308518X15592309.

Olivier de Sardan, J. P. (2008) ‘Researching the practical norms of real governance in Africa’, in. *Africa Power & Politics*, London: Africa Power & Politics, pp. 1–22.

Patton, M. Q. and Cochran, M. (2002) ‘Qualitative Research Methodology’, p. 31.

Phothongsunan, S. (2015) ‘Interpretive paradigm in educational research’. Available at: http://repository.au.edu/handle/6623004553/13708 (Accessed: 6 June 2018).

Pratt, A. C. (2005) ‘Cultural industries and public policy: An oxymoron?’, *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 11(1), pp. 31–44. doi: 10.1080/10286630500067739.

Pratt, A. C. (2011) ‘The cultural contradictions of the creative city’, *City, Culture and Society*, 2, pp. 123–130. doi: 10.1016/j.ccs.2011.08.002.

Pyykkönen, M., Simanainen, N. and Sokka, S. (2009) *What about cultural policy?: interdisciplinary perspectives on culture and politics*. Helsinki: Minerva.

Rentschler, R. (2002) *The entrepreneurial arts leader : cultural policy, change and reinvention*.

Roy, A. (2007a) ‘The location of practice: a response to John Forester’s “Exploring urban practice in a democratising society: opportunities, techniques and challenges”’, *Development Southern Africa*, 24(4).

Roy, A. (2007b) ‘The location of practice: a response to John Forester’s “Exploring urban practice in a democratising society: opportunities, techniques and challenges”’, *Development Southern Africa*, 24(4), pp. 623–628. doi: 10.1080/03768350701577780.

de Sardan, J. P. O. (2008) *Researching the Practical Norms of Real Governance in Africa*. Overseas development institute (ODI) (APPP discussion paper series). Available at: https://books.google.co.za/books?id=R-C_kQEACAAJ.

Schuster, J. M. D. (ed.) (2003) *Mapping state cultural policy: the state of Washington*. Chicago: University of Chicago, Cultural Policy Center.

Sharma, A. and Gupta, A. (2006) *The Anthropology of the State: A Reader*. Wiley.

Snowball, P. J. (2016) ‘Towards the Development of a Framework for Cultural Statistics for South Africa’, in. *The South African Cultural Observatory Conference*, Johannesburg, South Africa: The South African Observatory, p. 36.

Thorsen, D. E. and Lie, A. (2007) ‘What is Neo-Liberalism’, *Department of Political Science, University of Oslo*, p. 21.

Vilakazi, H. (2007) ‘Relations between ANC and IFP in Historical Perspective: What should be done?’, in. *Democracy Development Programme Forum*, Durban, South Africa.

Watson, V. (2006) ‘Deep Difference: Diversity, Planning and Ethics’, *Planning Theory*, 5(1), pp. 31–50. doi: 10.1177/1473095206061020.

Williams, R. (1977) *Marxism and Literature*. Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press (Marxist Introductions).

Wits School of Architecture and Planning, C. for U. & B. E. S. (2015) ‘Practices of the State in Urban Governance Programme Presentation’, January. Available at: https://www.wits.ac.za/cubes/projects/practices-of-the-state-in-urban-governance/.

van Wyk, L. (2010) ‘Art Controversies of 2010’, *Mail & Guardian*, 7 October.

Yin, R. K. (2003) *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*. SAGE.

Yoo, A. (2015) *Stone-Filled Elephant Sculptures Finally Rise in Durban*, *My Modern Met*. Available at: https://mymodernmet.com/andries-botha-wire-stone-elephant-sculptures/ (Accessed: 1 February 2018).

Zainal, Z. (2007) ‘Case study as a research method’, p. 6.

LIST OF CITED INTERVIEWS

Appelgren, E. (2017) 'Transcribed Interview conducted by Matthieu Maralack'.

Botha, A. (2017) 'Transcribed Interview conducted by Matthieu Maralack'.

Combrink, N. (2017) 'Transcribed Interview conducted by Matthieu Maralack'.

Erwin, K. (2017) 'Transcribed Interview conducted by Matthieu Maralack'.

Hlongwane, R. (2017) 'Transcribed Interview conducted by Matthieu Maralack'.

Redman, G. (2018) 'Transcribed Interview conducted by Matthieu Maralack'.

Sutcliffe, Dr M. (2017) 'Transcribed Interview conducted by Matthieu Maralack'.

PRIMARY DOCUMENTS

Cultural Radius (2013a) *Cultural and Creative Industries Policy – Workshop*. Presentation.

Cultural Radius (2013b) 'Meeting Agenda: Cultural Strategies Stakeholder Engagement'. Cultural Radius Consultants.

Cultural Radius (2013c) 'Meeting Agenda: Phase 2: eThekwini Cultural and Creative Industries Project'.

Cultural Radius (2013d) 'Meeting Minutes'. Cultural Radius Consultants.

Cultural Radius (2013e) 'Meeting Minutes'. Cultural Radius Consultants.

Cultural Radius (2013f) 'Meeting Minutes – Phase 2: eThekwini Cultural and Creative Industries Project'. Cultural Radius Consultants.

Cultural Radius (2013g) 'Status Report on Cultural Strategy Research Project – April 2013'. Durban, South Africa.

Cultural Radius (2013h) 'Status Report on Cultural Strategy Research Project – June 2013'. Durban, South Africa.

Cultural Radius (2013i) 'Status Report on Cultural Strategy Research Project – May 2013'. Durban, South Africa.

Cultural Radius (2013j) 'Summary of Cultural Policy Research from April – June 2013'. Durban.

Cultural Radius (2013k) 'Team A Workflow Summary'. Durban.

Cultural Radius (2013l) 'Workshop Notes – Phase 2: eThekwini Cultural Strategies Research'. Cultural Radius Consultants.

Cultural Radius (2014a) 'Cultural and Creative Industries'. Durban, 4 February.

Cultural Radius (2014b) 'Meeting Attendance Register: Cultural Industries Draft Strategy Seminar'.

Cultural Radius (2014c) 'Proposed Roll-Out of next Phase of Cultural and Creative Industries Research, February – June 2014'. Durban.

Cultural Radius (2015a) 'The eThekwini Cultural and Creative Industries: Draft Policy – June 2015'. Cultural Radius Consultants.

Cultural Radius (2015b) 'eThekwini Creative and Cultural Industries: Draft Policy – October 2015'.

eThekwini Municipality (2015) 'The eThekwini Cultural and Creative Industries Policy'.

Hlongwane, R. (2015) 'eThekwini's Cultural and Creative Industries: Executive Summary'.

Joffe, A. (2015) 'eThekwini Meeting Notes'. Avril Joffe.

Appendix 1

Document Date	***Document Type/File Name***	***Document Content Analysis***	***Stakeholder Buy-in Efforts: Gained/Lost***
29 April 2013	Status Report	1) Outlines how the policy team envisioned to scope out their research of existing documents within eThekwini. Focus was placed on "arts and culture and economic development, public art strategies, city cultural strategy development, funding processes for public art, and culture-led urban development". 2) Commissioning the work to a team member to list existing arts and culture NPOs, organisations and major corporates involved in arts and culture in the City and sorting them as per the UNESCO Framework. 3) The document explicitly mentions *Bheki Mchunu* as nominated to ensure that the consultants' work is in line with the Parks, Recreation and Culture Department. 4) Planning a presentation by *Avril Joffe* in which *John Edkins, Guy Redman, Eric Appelgren*, the *Deputy Mayor* and the *Deputy City Manager* were to be invited.	The document reflects that buy-in was gained from the Parks, Recreation and Culture Department through the nomination of Bheki Mchunu to sit in Cultural Radius meetings on its behalf. More buy-in was planned to be gained from the individuals listed in point 4.
May 2013	Status Report	1) Reports back from the work commissioned to the team outlined in the previous Status Report: 1.1) The team had collected over 334 documents within the municipality related to the parameters outlined in the previous status report. These, across the sectors of culture and natural heritage, performance and celebration, visual arts and crafts, book and press, audio-visual and interactive media, design and creative services, tourism, sports and recreation.	A breakfast stated to be planned in this report. The purpose of which was to present preliminary findings of the research to 60 invited guests.

		1.2) *Avril Joffe* had agreed to compile a three-page policy outline as a foundation of the work. 1.3) Budgets of the following departments were planned to be sourced: - International Governance Relations Department (IGR) - Parks, Recreation and Culture Department - Engineering Cluster - Economic Development Department - Housing Department - Department of Social Welfare 2) *Eric Appelgren* is seen at this stage within this report as highly cooperative, helping to source organograms and approving letters to be distributed through the municipality of the research being conducted.	Eric Appelgren from the International and Governance Relations Department is reported as being cooperative with the consulting team.
June 2013	Status Report	1) Preliminary research across NPO arts and culture organisations as well as corporate entities in line with the UNESCO domains, tally 421 entries in Durban. 2) Within this report, a commission of a comprehensive creative industries mapping of eThekwini was given to a team member. 3) The report makes mention of the importance of aligning city procurement processes with the UNESCO domains.	Nic Combrink is said to have had a meeting scheduled with Guy Redman from Parks, Recreation and Culture for 8 August 2013 in which an overview of the work done was to be presented. Nic Combrink and Nicky du Plessis, were invited by Avril Joffe to present their work at the 2013 ACT|UJ

			conference of (7 and 8 August 2013).
June 2013	Presentation Notes – Summary of Preliminary Research Conducted (April to June 2013)	1) The presentation was a comprehensive overview of the Cultural Policy arena in South Africa, dating back to ACTAG and the White Paper (1994) and its review in 2004. 2) The presentation also looked at the gaps in these documents, and what has since developed from them, i.e. Arts and Culture Policy/Mzansi Golden Economy. 3) The presentation then delved into city level cultural policy, what to consider when developing localised cultural policy, and its benefits.	
30 July 2013	Meeting Agenda	1) *Guy Redman* is placed as doing the welcoming, which suggests that at this stage, Parks, Recreation and Culture were on board in this process. 2) The UNESCO Framework is down for discussion as the object and foundation of the draft policy, presented by Nicky du Plessis. 3) *Nic Combrink* discusses "the alignment of the Integrated Development Plan (IDP) of eThekwini with a particular focus on creative industries' development strategies". 4) *Avril Joffe* is placed on the agenda to lead a discussion on "Key principles for eThekwini to consider in developing cultural policy and strategy processes".	Active participation from Parks, Recreation and Culture is noted, as Guy Redman does the welcoming at this meeting.
8 August 2013	Meeting Minutes	1) Highlights the importance of marketing and publicity and the need for the public sector to know about the work being done for input. 2) Highlights the need to consolidate existing city policy and the gaps that arts and culture can and should fill.	Individuals in attendance: 1. Doung Jahangeer (DUT Architecture Lecturer) 2. Gabriella Peppas (Cultural Radius)

		3) The setting up of eThekwini Cultural and Creative Industries Development Agency (eCCIDA) resurfaced in these minutes and the importance of it being set up to administer the distribution of funds.	3. Nicky du Plessis (Cultural Radius) 4. Nic Combrink (City Architects) 5. Amy Hixon-Savaria (Arts and Social Change Activist) 6. Ashling McCarthy (Arts and Social Change Activist) 7. Marc Kalina (Cultural Radius) 8. Angela Spencer (Freelance Librarian)
8 August 2013	Presentation Notes – Cultural Policy and City Level Strategies for South Africa	1) This document outlines the following strategies envisioned to be employed in the policy development project: The policy itself: 1.1) To consolidate existing policies though the project. 1.2) To align the policy with the positions of major literature and comply to these. *The eThekwini Metro (Buy-in):* 1.3) Engage all relevant stakeholders within eThekwini and find opportunity for them to form part of the over-arching goal of producing a cultural policy. 1.4) Review budgets of stakeholders and identify gaps for the creative industries to fill. 1.5) Build relationship with the Sister Cities Programme and the African Creative Cities Network for endorsement and support. 1.6) Create a platform for discussion and input with these entities.	Sister Cities Programme and African Creative Cities Network identified as key players to gain buy-in and support from. Public workshops were planned to be implemented. 'Public' referring to the arts and culture community.

		The eCCIDA: 1.7) Develop procurement and governance procedures for the trust. 1.8) Prioritise each UNESCO domain as having equitable representation in the trust. 1.9) Draft MOUs for provincial and local government. *Parks, Recreation and Culture Department (Buy-in):* 1.10) Establish the Culture and Heritage domain as a front runner activity. 1.11) Document and develop a methodology for embedding culture in the matrix of urban development. *Public (Buy-in)* 1.12) Plan several public workshops as part of a road show providing a platform for the arts and culture community at large to participate in the process.	First mention of eThekwini Cultural and Creative Industries Development Agency (eCCIDA), which was the body envisioned to be set up to distribute funds obtained from the IRPTN.
19 August 2013	Meeting Minutes	1) Describes the strategy for workflow among the policy consultants. The main focus areas were to identify opportunity for the cultural sector in the existing budgets and business plans of fellow municipal departments. In addition to this, these minutes make mention of the Sister City programme that Johannesburg is a part of, and making sure that Durban identifies such types of links with global cities. 2) Identifies the need for a SWOT analysis of eThekwini's Creative Industries.	Sister Cities Programme is mentioned again. No confirmed buy-in from them at this stage however.
28 August 2013	Meeting Minutes	1) These minutes make mention of the need to condense all the research data and recommendations. The idea here was to make the information digestible and accessible to the public for comment. 2) Marks the beginnings of the roadshow plans. A list of ideas for the location of the first test roadshow is mentioned in these minutes. 3) Mentions uncertainty of *Bheki Mchunu* as point person for Parks, Recreation and Culture.	Individuals in attendance: 1. Nic Combrink (City Architects) 2. Nicky du Plessis (Cultural Radius)

		4) Makes mention of the importance for all six UNESCO domains to be well represented. 5) *Russel Hlongwane and Gabriella Peppas* were tasked with strategising how best to use existing structures of governance both in the City as well as government's arts and culture agency as to how to best set up committees for the eCCIDA.	3. Aadila Sabat (Social Development Analyst/Consultant) 4. Angela Spencer (Freelance Librarian) 5. Lindsay Napier (Cultural Radius) 6. Amy Hixon-Savaria (Arts and Social Change Activist) 7. Ashling McCarthy (Arts and Social Change Activist) 8. Russel Hlongwane (Cultural Radius) First mention of uncertainty with regards to Bheki Mchunu's commitment to this process given his absence, and thus uncertainty of whether buy-in from Parks, Recreation and Culture has been lost.

11 September 2013	Workshop Notes	Highlights: 1) That there needs to be a **champion** who understands the UNESCO domains and will be able to teach on those domains that are not necessarily a part of the Parks, Recreation and Culture Department's ambits as it is. 2) The importance of this policy to align with, IDP, eThekwini's own marketing strategy, the definitions of the UNESCO Framework, the Nairobi action plan, the Charter for African Renaissance, Article 27 of the UDHR, and finally the constitution of South Africa. 3) The importance of the following understandings for cultural policy development: 3.1) Creative Value 3.2) Social Development 3.3) Economic Development 3.4) Sustainability 3.5) Governance and Procurement	Individuals in attendance: 1. Nic Combrink (City Architects) 2. Ashling McCarthy (Arts and Social Change Activist) 3. Amy Hixon-Savaria (Arts and Social Change Activist) 4. Lindsay Napier (Cultural Radius) 5. Nicky du Plessis (Cultural Radius) 6. Avril Joffe (Cultural Radius)
17 September 2013	Meeting Agenda	1) The agenda speaks of a development agency, namely the eThekwini Cultural and Creative Industries Development Agency (eCCIDA) as a vehicle to disperse and distribute funds garnered for the development of the Cultural and Creative Industries sector in eThekwini. This meeting focused mainly on this concept, how it will be governed, the make-up of the committee and criteria for selection. This item points to a source of money having been identified for the cultural and creative industries in eThekwini and the need for structure to administer these monies. It further suggests a shift in the municipal organogram that was running through the minds of the consultants.	

11 November 2013	Meeting Minutes	1) Communication with entities in Council was highlighted as a problem that needed to be addressed. A solution put forward was to develop a presentation for MILE as a way of simultaneously engaging the different line departments within the municipality. 2) eThekwini had a big capital expenditure project that was envisioned to ring fence a portion of funds for a trust. The meeting just noted this. 3) The meeting noted that KZN Provincial Government had put out a tender for similar work on the CCIs provincially. The team had resolved to making contact with the awarded entity for the purposes of collaborating. 4) Mentions difficulties in people fully grasping the UNESCO Framework, particularly understanding how events such as the Currie Cup fit into it. It was resolved that work would be done to try simplify explain the framework paying attention to its links with sport and tourism. 5) Similarly, it was found that explaining the value chain in the cultural sector was done with difficulty. Mention of this needing to be rectified, particularly in preparation for Council's concerns with job creation was noted. 6) First mention of presenting the work so far to Council. This was planned for February 2014 with the vision of having it place by June 2014.	Individuals in attendance: 1. Nic Combrink (City Architects) 2. Ashling McCarthy (Arts and Social Change Activist) 3. Nicky du Plessis (Cultural Radius) 4. Lindsay Napier (Cultural Radius) 5. Doung Jahangeer (DUT Architecture Lecturer) 6. Amy Hixon-Savaria (Arts and Social Change Activist) 7. Gabriella Peppas (Cultural Radius) 8. Aadila Sabat (Social Development Analyst/Consultant) 9. Russel Hlongwane (Cultural Radius)
4 February 2014	Presentation Notes	Presentation on "Creativity is Everybody's Business" 1) Focused on the UNESCO Framework, as well as value chain in the creative industries.	

		2) The programme went into mapping arts and culture units and activities. 3) Reviewing and collating these activities to the UNESCO Framework and identifying gaps and opportunities in this exercise.	
February 2014	Work Plan – February to June 2014	This document maps out the envisioned activities for the Cultural Radius consulting team with their dates for the period February to June 2014. Focus was on: 1) Workshops and platforms for municipal units to be aware of the work being done and to input, i.e. Events, IDR, Film and Design departments as well as workshops for Council committees, and lastly roadshows for the public. A skeleton of the draft policy was to be presented at all of these. 2) Sending work to *Avril Joffe* for comment and making sure the work is aligned to over-arching African policy frameworks. 3) Work on the policy continues paying particular attention to compliance with municipal policy layout and proposing necessary shifts in the organogram to ensure efficient implementation of the policy and the eCCIDA. 4) It was envisioned that EXCO would approve the policy by end of June 2014 according to this document.	The following municipal departments were approached for buy-in: 1. KZN Film Office 2. International Governance Relations Department 3. Events office (Communications Unit) This extended to planning the 'public' consultations for the arts and culture community.
4 September 2014	Meeting Attendance Register	The meeting was held at the BASA offices in Johannesburg and was titled "Cultural Industries Draft Strategy Seminar".	Individuals in attendance: 1. Georgina Bonmariage (AFDA) 2. Trish Downing (Arts and Culture Marketing Consultant) 3. Steven Sack (Wits Origins Centre)

			4. Sharon Lewis (GTAC) 5. Brett Pyper (WSOA HoD) 6. Michelle Constant (BASA CEO) 7. Nicky du Plessis (Cultural Radius) 8. Nic Combrink (City Architects) 9. Avril Joffe (Cultural Radius)
11 February 2015	Presentation Notes	Entitled: "eThekwini's Cultural and Creative Industries – Executive Summary" Prepared by Russel Hlongwane. The presentation included: 1) An introduction and background to the creative industries and the worth of the creative economy globally. 2) Stating the research work done in eThekwini and the goal of producing a "Policy and Strategy for the Cultural and Creative Industries" 2.1) Phase 1 of the project was collecting relevant literature and initiating a database of cultural NPOs, and private companies that were later categorised according to the UNESCO Framework. 2.2) Phase 2 was the roll-out of a road show with three road shows being successfully done. Namely, Cato Manor (28 May 2014), KwaMashu (13 May 2014) and South Basin (2 July 2014). These were all carried out in cooperation with ABM/s in these areas.	Stakeholders brought in: 1. Durban Tourism 2. Business Support – Durban Fashion Fair 3. Imagine Durban 4. Durban Film Office 5. Economic Development Department 6. Libraries Unit (Parks, Recreation and Culture Department) 7. Durban Art Gallery 8. Local History Museums (LHM)

		2.3) Along with the road show, the team held three inter-municipality departmental sessions for the purposes of articulating the UNESCO Framework in a way that could be adopted and bought in by all stakeholders. These included: - Durban Tourism - Business Support – Durban Fashion Fair - Imagine Durban - Durban Film Office - Economic Development - Libraries Unit - Durban Art Gallery - LHM - Natural Science Museum - KZN Fashion Council - City Architects - Sports and Recreation - Inner City Rejuvenation Project 3) According to the presentation, the last phase of the project was to adopt the UNESCO Framework and ultimately contextualise it to Durban. 4) The presentation also highlighted the challenges of: 4.1) Communication – Lack of cohesive channels. 4.2) Education and Skills Development – Lack of this in the sector. 4.3) European Funders and Institutions – These organisations only focusing on Johannesburg and Cape Town, not Durban. 4.4) Funding – Lack of funding for the sector.	9. Natural Science Museum 10. KZN Fashion Council 11. City Architects 12. Sports and Recreation 13. Inner City Rejuvenation Project

		5) Proposed Organograms for eCCIDA and the structure employed by "Creative Mauritius – Vision 2025".	
29 June 2015	Meeting Minutes	1) By this point, the consulting team had scaled down. The team consisted of: 1.1) Nic Combrink 1.2) Nicky du Plessis 1.3) Lindsay Napier 1.4) Avril Joffe 1.5) Russel Hlongwane 2) In attendance was Allison Ruiters (Durban National Gallery), Tebogo (Durban Libraries), and Jenny Stretton (Durban Art Gallery) 3) The main focus of the meeting was charting a way forward for the policy to be taken to Council. 3.1) The strategy was to empower Guy Redman to take the draft policy forward. 3.2) It noted that the document was very academic and difficult to understand and that it needed to be simplified. 3.3) Language and terms like the CCIs were not fully understood. 3.4) Mention of unfunded mandates, hard and soft infrastructure and the importance of understanding value. 3.5) Mention of the need to still convince the municipality of the need for an organogram re-structuring. A suggested strategy was developing a diagram that rather shows links in the existing system, rather than suggesting a whole change of organogram. 3.6) The minutes conclude with the need for Redman to take this forward, and for a narrative to accompany the policy, outlining the issues, and thus pre-empting answers to any objections.	Amidst Parks, Recreation and Culture's lacking presence in the meetings thus far, it was still decided that Guy Redman ought to be the person to take the draft policy forward.
June 2015	Draft Policy	1) The draft policy contains:	

		1.1) Introduction and background 1.2) Definition of the Cultural and Creative Industries (CCI) (as per the UNESCO Framework) and the Creative Economy. 1.3) A brief breakdown of the UNESCO Framework and what it is aligned to internationally. 1.4) Scoping the CCIs in eThekwini. 1.5) Contextual challenges that eThekwini's CCIs face. 1.6) CCIs in relation to the priorities of the city's integrated development plan. 1.7) Objectives and deliverables of the Policy. 1.8) Sixteen pages in total. Four sections with no addendums.	
October 2015	Draft Policy	Shifts between this version and the previous version include: 1) Overall format. The body of the work slightly shorter with five chapters, but longer overall with the addition of six addendums. Total of 21 pages. 2) The inclusion of a pre-amble, problem statement, policy provisions and procedures, policy evaluation and review. The only substance reflected from the first draft is the inclusion of the "Value Chain of the Creative Economy" and the UNESCO Framework with little to no break-downs of these. 3) Recommendations were only included in the last two addendums (E and F respectively).	
November 2015	Draft Policy	This version is literally word for word the same as the previous version. Only differences are: 1) It bears the eThekwini emblem on the front. 2) Several more sources have been added to the "list of related resources identified by domain" in Addendum C.	