



# Creative industries in Central Johannesburg: entrepreneurs, organisation and locational choice

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## Abstract

The sector of creative industries is attracting growing international attention for its economic potential and especially its contribution to the rejuvenation of declining localities and spaces. In South Africa an understanding of creative industries is critical to inform policy analysis at both the national and sub-national scales of analysis. The objective in this paper is to contribute to the small existing body of literature on creative industries in South Africa by examining the directions followed by creative industry entrepreneurs who have established businesses in central Johannesburg. The specific task is to investigate the characteristics of creative entrepreneurs, their business organisation and location choice. The results show an expanding and dynamic community of passionate creative entrepreneurs who are choosing to operate their businesses in particular parts of Central Johannesburg on the grounds of its accessibility, diversity, affordability and increasing trendiness. The key issues and challenges about locating in Central Johannesburg need to be understood by policy-makers and planners in terms of crafting and maintaining a favourable business environment for the continued establishment and expansion of creative enterprises therein.

**Keywords:** Creative industries; Entrepreneurship; Business Organisation; Location Choice; Central Johannesburg

## Introduction

According to Gibson (2014) 'creativity' constitutes the fuel of the contemporary global economy. McMorran (2016) identifies that 'euphoric moment' of discovery which triggered a mass of academic writings about creative industries. The term creative industries was first used in Australia in 1994 (Dunska & Marcinkevica, 2017). It burst loudly into academic discourse in the late 1990s when the United Kingdom (UK) government popularized the term as it 'discovered' creative industries as central to its pathway as a post-industrial economy (Mommaas, 2009; Flew & Cunningham, 2010; Banks & O'Connor, 2017). Arguably, scholarly research has mushroomed since the UK Department of Culture, Media and Sport identified 13 sectors as constituting the base of the creative and cultural economy (Jones et al., 2015; Murphy et al., 2015; Jones et al., 2016; Banks & O'Connor, 2017; Pintilii et al., 2017; Cho et al., 2018).

Although the definition is contested, creative industries essentially includes that group of enterprises that are engaged in the creation, production and distribution of creative or cultural goods and services. Creative industries represent one of the 'high growth' sectors and national strengths of many modern economies particularly across Europe, North America, Australasia and parts of Asia (Bialic-Davendra et al., 2016; Dunska & Marcinkevica, 2017; Gouvea & Vora, 2018). Across the international experience Lee (2014) and Gibson & Warren (2018) show that since the



1990s creative industries have been promoted widely as a source of new investment and economic growth as well as a remedy for regional and urban decline. The creative industries are considered as a lever for economic rebirth in the pathway of the knowledge economy (Flew & Cunningham, 2010; Flew, 2013; Cunningham & Potts, 2015; Jones et al., 2015; Tremblay, 2015). Above all they are viewed as a catalyst for local economic development and rejuvenation of declining spaces (Boccella & Salemo, 2016). According to Banks & O'Connor (2017) the rise of a creative industries discourse – in the United Kingdom as well as in other parts of the world – brought to the fore an economic, capital driven model of urban renewal strategies.

Research on creative industries has burgeoned since 2000, and has followed closely the growing adoption of national policies for supporting creative enterprises and local initiatives for the making of 'creative cities' (Turok, 2003; Flew & Cunningham, 2010; Flew, 2013; Sroda-Murawska & Szymanska, 2013). Much importance for the growing popularity of creative industries is given to Richard Florida's (2002) seminal work *The Rise of the Creative Class* which unleashed an international wave of new research activity (McGuigan, 2009). Arguably, however, the region of sub-Saharan Africa is the most undeveloped in global terms concerning scholarship around creative industries. This said, there has been an upturn of research interest in South Africa with a number of contributions which have been triggered out of growing policy interest at national, regional and local levels in the promise of creative industries for leveraging economic development and job creation. Most recently, Oyekunle (2017) re-states the importance of creative industries in South Africa as a driver for economic development, job creation and sustainable urban development.

Among existing South African works on creative industries, acknowledgement must be given to the writings by Rogerson (2006a, 2006b), Booyens (2012), Visser (2014), Booyens & Rogerson (2015), Collins & Snowball (2015), Gregory (2016), Oyekunle (2017) and Gregory & Rogerson (2018). The objective in this article is to contribute to these expanding debates around creative industries in South Africa by examining the directions followed by creative industry entrepreneurs who have established businesses in Central Johannesburg. More specifically, the task in this paper is to investigate creative entrepreneurs, their business organisation and location choice. The empirical focus and location of research in this paper is one that so far has not been explored in South African writings. It represents a contribution to the extensive research agenda which exists on creative industries in South Africa and documented by the South African Cultural Observatory (2016). Johannesburg, South Africa's largest and most economically vibrant city, is the focus. The analysis draws from detailed interviews which were conducted with a structured sample of 38 creative businesses and institutions operating in Central Johannesburg, particularly its inner-city and fringe areas. The discussion draws upon a qualitative approach and much of the material dissects the actual 'voices' of interviewees; for ethical reasons the names of interviewees cannot be revealed. Three major focus areas are investigated which are based upon the research conducted in Central Johannesburg. First, is the characteristics of creative entrepreneurs, and their business establishment. Second, is the organisation of creative production and work in creative industries. Third, is to examine the reasons for choosing to locate their business in Central Johannesburg as opposed to the city's Northern suburbs which dominate the geography of creative industries in Johannesburg (Gregory, 2016; Gregory & Rogerson, 2018).

### **Characteristics of Creative Entrepreneurs and their Businesses**

Within this section our focus is understanding the characteristics of a creative entrepreneur, their motivations for business establishment, education levels and organisation of businesses in terms of patterns of creative work. The interviews disclosed that creative entrepreneurs in central Johannesburg had various motivations that prompted establishment of their business. These are summarised on Table 1. Among the most significant were passion, identifying a gap in the market,



frustration with current market offerings, hobby turned business or where growth happened organically, rare opportunities presenting itself, and inspiration from a creative environment.

Table 1: Motivations of Creative Entrepreneurs starting Businesses in Central Johannesburg.

| <b>Motivation of Creative Entrepreneurs</b>     |  |
|---|--|
| <b>Passion</b>                                  | <i>Found often with designers and artists pursuing a creative talent</i>                             |
| <b>Identifying gap in market</b>                | <i>Niche creative products and services not readily available</i>                                    |
| <b>Frustration with current market offering</b> | <i>Linked to offering innovative solutions to gaps within market offering</i>                        |
| <b>Hobby turned business</b>                    | <i>Organic growth from hobby to business as demand for creative products and services grew.</i>      |
| <b>Opportunity</b>                              | <i>Sponsorship and/or mentorship providing knowledge or assets in establishing a business.</i>       |
| <b>Inspiration from creative milieu</b>         | <i>Influence from other creative entrepreneurs within an environment that stimulates motivation.</i> |

(Source: Author Interviews).

The significance of ‘passion’ is reflected in the findings of other recent international research concerning entrepreneurship in creative industries (Bennett, 2018). The role of passion was highlighted as a motivation for creative entrepreneurs to start businesses mostly within design-related sectors. These creative entrepreneurs come from a design background and look for a creative channel within which to establish themselves. For media and creative services such as advertising, the trigger for business establishment is often that of identifying a gap in the market which prompted the decision of establishing a new business. Closely linked to identifying a gap in the market is the level of frustration experienced about the market offering of specific sectors. As one respondent stated:

I spoke to many musicians and found that there is a lot of frustration... that there aren't enough venues that offers musicians a chance to perform... South Africa lacks quality Jazz clubs.

This reveals that often creative entrepreneurs feel frustrated within their own sector and see where there are opportunities for improvement which precipitates the decision to be innovative and start a business to address the gap in the current market offerings.

The interviews disclosed that creatives who started out in a different industry and were deeply involved within a hobby found that their business grew organically as the demand for their goods or services expands. Other creative entrepreneurs indicated that after years of industry experience they felt comfortable to enter the industry on their own. Some entrepreneurs in Johannesburg inner city indicated that collaboration with colleagues and establishing partnerships prompted the decision to start a business. One interviewee stated that:

I collaborated with a partner, and after years of industry experience we decided to go for it on our own” and another that “I was approached by a famous artist who offered me equipment [print screens]. I was thinking of opening my own studio, so it came at the right time.... I had the opportunity and everyone wants to be their own boss, and I offer a skill which is very limited, not only in Johannesburg but in South Africa... I get to control my own movements and expand in the way I want to.

The latter is an example of an opportunity or outside catalyst which caused the creative entrepreneur to seize an opportunity in order to start their own business. A creative film



entrepreneur elaborated that: *“Opportunity really prompted us to start our business, there is a lack of good production houses focusing on documentaries and feature films”*. The final factor in encouraging the birth of creative industries in inner-city Johannesburg relates to the presence of a broader creative community and a creative environment which can inspire and motivate a new business to be established. In the opinion of one interviewee: *“I was inspired by what the other creatives were doing in the area, and it helped me to start my own business”*.

In terms of educational background of creative entrepreneurs, the interviews disclosed that it ranges from no formal training to University post-graduates who have established themselves as creative entrepreneurs. This said, the majority of the creative entrepreneurs that were interviewed indicated that they had some form of formal training, whether in a specific creative skills or higher education obtaining a degree or a post-graduate qualification. In addition, there were recorded cases of creative entrepreneurs with years of industry experience and no formal training; as one respondent stated: *“I am a college dropout, I have no formal training, the skills I got was through years of working in the industry”*. Another interviewee highlighted the importance of not only having formal education, but also the need to rely on mentorship within the industry, especially within areas of businesses where creatives struggle. It was explained by one entrepreneur:

I did not have a lot of knowhow to run a business after I completed my studies. I had a mentor from Sanlam that helped me a lot regarding the business aspect of my business. In practice I was not prepared for business at all. I had to get an accounting firm to help out and a lawyer. A fashion degree does not really prepare you for business and creatives generally are not well prepared for business... It was only on a post-graduate level in London that I did some pricing related modules.

## **Business Organisation and Work**

The creative entrepreneurs were asked as to what level of innovation was present within their businesses to succeed, grow and maintain profitability. The majority of the entrepreneurs highlighted that they have taken an integrated or diversified business approach which combines various elements such as not only relying on creative production but also manufacturing and in some cases, adding distribution and retail components to the business. Within agencies that employ elements of research and development, such as marketing and advertising agencies, it was indicated that there are have no hierarchical structures in place or rigid methodology within the business, offering a lot of flexibility which enhances the creative process.

Turning to the legal form of organisation for creative industries. This was revealed as varying across the various subsectors of creative industries, the size of the business and how many stakeholders are involved within the business. The interviews disclosed that the majority of smaller creative enterprises and creative entrepreneurs use closed corporations (CCs) as the legal structure of business. The CC affords smaller creative businesses certain advantages such as the fact that owners may not be held liable personally for debts of the close corporation. Another advantage is that a CC requires minimal legal procedures such that registration and administration are relatively simple. The majority of the larger creative businesses in inner-city Johannesburg were legally registered as private companies. Such companies tend to be mostly involved in creative services, publishing and print media, new and digital media, and audio-visual enterprises. It was found that non-profit companies (NPCs) tend to dominate mostly in the visual and performing arts sectors where the primary objective is not profitability. Industry organisations such as the South African Music Rights Organisation (SAMRO) that act as industry lobbyists are registered as NPCs. Privately managed museums, art funds and art foundations are also constituted as NPCs. Beyond the registered enterprises the interviews revealed a number of small



creative enterprises in Johannesburg inner city that operate without being legally registered. This occurs mostly in visual arts and often with young entrepreneurs that do not have legal and business experience. One of the creative entrepreneurs from a visual arts related business stated as follows:

The enterprise doesn't have any legal structure yet... My parents are guiding me regarding the business. I've got an accountant that goes through all the financials. I'm also a provisional tax payer at the moment.

As a whole the group of young creative entrepreneurs seemed to lack knowledge about the legal structure of companies and many were ignorant of the legalities surrounding the registration of a business

The extent of collaboration among creative industries in Central Johannesburg was scrutinised. It was found that there are network associations, linkages and some level of collaboration of creative businesses, especially during events within the inner-city and fringe areas of Johannesburg. This said, the interviews revealed that the majority of creative businesses, especially smaller creative businesses, are not part of any formal network associations. Within the subsector of design, visual and performing arts there were, however, instances of informal partnerships with collaboration occurring mostly on an ad hoc basis for specific events or projects. One interviewee stated:

Within the arts there are no formal linkages, I have been pushing for more formal associations, but I feel that the arts landscape is not ready for that, people are competing for the same artists and the same markets.

Another respondent reflected that:

Art galleries are not collaborative... they're very territorial, it's actually a very unpleasant industry, cause you're dealing with egos. So there's no real network within the arts industry. We do have an internal network of service providers and provide a lot of work for people outside the [arts] like publishers, printers and caterers.

Among the creative communities functioning in Braamfontein and the Maboneng precinct, there exist internal networks of support. Businesses tend to support each other and there are instances of cross-over businesses and featured marketing. One respondent stated that in the case of Braamfontein *"there is a nice sense of community, which is great for collaborations and cross-over business"*. Larger institutions or foundations within creative services rely on industry associations or lobbying organisations, such as SAMRO and Business and Arts South Africa, to assist artists with mentorship and guidance. The latter includes assisting artists to access the appropriate resources and space or financial, legal and business support. One successful fashion designer formed partnerships with corporates to help and provide mentorship regarding business administration. Another respondent operating a micro businesses within a highly competitive arts sector, highlighted the importance of forging a good relationship with more established industry role-players as a vital link to the growth of micro businesses, whether through providing mentorship for capacity building or financial assistance and sponsorships.

The operational hours of businesses vary significantly for creative businesses based in the inner-city and fringe areas that rely on creative consumption as their primary means of business. The majority of the creative businesses and institutions that are based in the city asserted that weekends are the busiest and the high level of clientele is linked to specific activities such as markets on specific days. Within the inner city and fringe areas the various creative precincts have food and design markets hosted on specific days that draw large numbers of people for leisure. Examples are the Saturday Neighbourgood's Market in Braamfontein and the Sunday



Market on Main in Maboneng (Naicker & Rogerson, 2017). As these urban markets also function as the major drawcard for each of these precincts, many creative businesses rely on these markets to draw potential consumers and to feed off their spill-over effects.

In respect of business operations and the organisation of work, among the smaller creative enterprises – which are often managed only by the entrepreneur - most of business operations, ranging from creative production, administration and retailing are handled by the entrepreneur. This said, as smaller creative businesses grow they start outsourcing certain aspects of their operations, especially activities such as manufacturing and retailing. This was observed in design-related industries such as furniture and fashion. Usually, the entrepreneur or designer retains responsibility for creation of designs but the manufacturing and retailing components are outsourced. Most of the smaller creative businesses not only focus on creative production but also in administrating the business; within design-led businesses components of manufacturing and retail are also added. The majority of the businesses that were interviewed retained an element of conceptual input with creative production, but would also outsource other specific creative skills. Within creative services (such as advertising) smaller creative service businesses again manage most of business operations themselves without much outsourcing. One interviewee commented:

Everyone is involved with all the duties from research to creative output and administration. We have quite a flat structure, where everyone really does everything, there is no real hierarchy.

The outsourcing of specific skills such as graphic-design, photography or videography is, however, commonly done in creative services enterprises and especially so in larger companies. Within the performing arts it was found that the outsourcing of creative production was minimised due to the high cost of securing the rights of international productions, albeit there is a movement to encourage the growth of local productions. For the visual arts, conceptually creative production is mostly in-house; the installations and technical assistance for exhibitions are, however, outsourced. The audio-visual industry relies heavily on creative and technical inputs at the production level but post-production is outsourced. The trend in the audio-visual sector was explained as follows:

The [audio-visual] industry is a freelance industry. We do all of the creative production in-house, but we do hire facilities and outsource the post-production.

As a whole, across the interviews conducted in inner-city Johannesburg it was found that creative industries rely heavily on a freelance structure, employing people based on a specific skill for a specific project. This arrangement shows similarities with what Shearmur (2016: 6) calls the 'gig economy' in which work is increasingly project based with individuals integrated and dropped from particular projects on the basis of specific skills and "each person is continuously monitoring their surroundings for the next project (or gig) on which to work".

In terms of the level of skills required to work within the creative industries it was found that it is variable and ranges from only industry experience to tertiary graduates. Artisanal creative producers within smaller design-related business highlighted that there is no specific need for formal education, but rather specific experience in a creative skill. However, in larger companies such as those within media-related industries or creative services it was stressed that some form of higher education is needed, especially within specialised skills. For the performing arts and music, talent and industry experience are much more of a requirement than any formal qualification. Elsewhere, it was explained that *"The audio-visual industry is based on word of mouth and experience, not much on qualification. You are as good as you last job. We tend to*



*use the same people over and over*". Overall, the level of formal skills development opportunities within creative businesses is limited from the sample of interviewees in Johannesburg inner city.

Employment within creative industries is notorious for precarious labour conditions with no real stability and any benefits (Baum, 2018). One interviewee in inner-city Johannesburg asserted *"that the arts is not the most secure sector to work in... there is no medical aid, no pension"*. Creative industries have a reputation for being flexible in terms of labour structures and utilise freelancers and contract-based workers for specific projects. It was found that smaller creative businesses tend to outsource specific creative skills and rely on freelancers for projects if there is a specific skills shortage within the business. In particular, this trend was observed amongst the community of small design and advertising agencies. Larger creative businesses in media and creative services tend to offer a number of full time employment opportunities in both creative production as well as support activities such as administration. Within creative businesses where there are components of service and retail activities, the use of part-time or casual staff is also widespread, albeit these workers themselves are not involved in any form of creative production. In the audio-visual industry labour structures also are precarious with most enterprises reliant on freelancers. In the case of one enterprise:

We are six full-time employees within the business, but at any time we can have between 200 and 300 freelancers working for us, depending on the size of the project.

As a whole our results concerning work and employment in creative industries in Johannesburg inner-city reinforce those that were reported in a national baseline investigation conducted by South Africa's Department of the Labour (2012). Among the key conclusions of that study were that some "creative workers are engaged in enterprise work as private persons or individual firms", much 'employment' in the creative industry is highly flexible and precarious and "that most creative workers can generally be considered as independent contractors" (Department of Labour, 2012: 24).

### **Locational Choices for Central Johannesburg**

It must be understood that Central Johannesburg is outside the major area and clusters for the operations of creative industries in the city. As shown by a comprehensive audit of creative industries analysed by Gregory & Rogerson (2018) the majority of creative industries in Johannesburg are situated in suburban locations. This section explores the particular locational choice of Central Johannesburg by entrepreneurs of the cohort of interviewees of creative industries. The research identified the several locational influences in the decision by entrepreneurs of creative industries to establish a business in Central Johannesburg. Of compelling importance in understanding the locational choices of creative industries in Central Johannesburg is their potential role in urban regeneration as well as the rejuvenation of tourism in the inner city (Gregory, 2016).

The research interviews with creative entrepreneurs in Central Johannesburg revealed that the factors which are major locational influences are those relating to accessibility, diversity, affordability, proximity, trendiness and safety. Table 2 captures the most important issues from the interviews. Each of these locational influences will now be elaborated further.



Table 2: Location factors of creative businesses established in Central Johannesburg.

| <b>Key Location Factors for Creative Businesses</b> |   |
|---|---|
| <b>Accessibility</b>                                | Accessibility to the right space to operate and access to markets   |
| <b>Diversity</b>                                    | Diverse and democratic spaces.                                      |
| <b>Affordability</b>                                | Affordable rental rates or property prices.                         |
| <b>Proximity</b>                                    | Close proximity to networks, public transport links, and employees. |
| <b>Trendiness</b>                                   | Important to be established in a trendy up-and-coming area.         |
| <b>Safety</b>                                       | Safe and secure working environment.                                |

(Source: Author Interviews).

The majority of the creative businesses indicated that their current location offers ease of access and in terms of accessibility to the right type of space to operate their business and that the area also provides access to the right type of market. According to Florida's (2002) research on the creative class diversity is one of the main drawcards for creatives when they choose to live in a specific city. It was found that certain of the creative businesses in Central Johannesburg, especially within performing arts, indicated that diversity is an important factor for them in choosing a specific location to establish their business. Creative industries need to be accessible to people from various backgrounds and this can only happen in inclusive and democratic spaces, such as parts of Johannesburg inner-city and fringe areas. In respect of location choice one respondent stated:

We decided against a mall, which is only accessible to an elite, we wanted a mix of people and Braamfontein is a perfect democratic space... a unifying space". Another creative entrepreneur commented that "there is a nice mix of people in the city, you see a variety of people... corporates and bankers meeting for lunch, and you see the informal recycler pushing his cart down the road. You get to see the buzz of Johannesburg... what it means to be in Johannesburg.

International research on the geography of creative industries shows that creative enterprises are often established in relatively low rental areas which allows access to larger spaces for business operations (Drake, 2003; Gong & Hassink, 2016, 2017). Indeed, it was stated that one business site for a creative enterprise:

It was desolate, there was nobody here. Even the second pawn shop closed down... So this whole strip was empty... I needed a shop which had a higher ceiling and a long space... so I came here because of that and it was very affordable.

As Johannesburg's Northern suburbs are expensive in rental and property prices many smaller creative business cannot afford space in these areas (Gregory & Rogerson, 2018). By contrast, the inner-city and its fringe areas are still affordable to live and work in for many creatives and creative businesses (Gregory, 2016). Nevertheless, as an area increases in popularity rental space costs rise and it becomes less affordable for new creative entrepreneurs.

Closely linked to questions of accessibility is the factor of proximity. It was found that close proximity to established or growing networks and public transport linkages is another important location factor for creative entrepreneurs. It is observed that creative industries tend to cluster close together in order to feed into a greater internal network so that establishing a creative business in close proximity to other creative businesses or supportive institutions is an added benefit, and opportunities for spill-over business will be greater. One respondent highlighted the benefits of having a network of creatives: "*There is also a mix of young creatives and we all feed*





*off each other creativity*". In the case of Braamfontein the close proximity of the University of the Witwatersrand, other networks and linkages to public transport links such as the Rea Vaya bus rapid transit (BRT) and Gautrain rapid rail system are crucial considerations for entrepreneurs to selecting a location in Central Johannesburg.

Over the past few years there has been an increasing hype surrounding pockets of regenerating 'trendy' areas in Johannesburg's central business district and its surrounds with much attention given to the Maboneng Precinct (Gregory, 2016). Creative entrepreneurs elaborated that: *"We are excited to be in the city and to be part of something new... the whole move back to the city is quite exciting"*. Several businesses either have relocated or established themselves in some of these new 'up-and-coming' areas and indicated that it was one of the main pull factors that led to the decision to start operating there. Another interviewee explained that the choice of establishing in an up-and-coming area is *"the 'trendiness' and physical attractiveness of the space"*. These 'trendy locations' often are occupied by creative, and often youthful entrepreneurs.

Finally, in terms of locational influence, the issue of safety was flagged by several respondents. As inner-city Johannesburg has a reputation of an area afflicted by crime rates, central to any decision relating to space is the need for creative entrepreneurs to have a safe and secure working environment. This said, only a handful of the creative businesses acknowledged that the security of the area prompted the actual decision to establish a business there. One respondent considered that:

Safety is really good [in Maboneng], much more than Newtown. I also looked at space in Newtown at the Bus Factory itself. In nearly eight years of working at my previous job I had a lot of crime related incidents. In terms of meeting your clients, safety is also a concern, you need a safe space.

The interviewed businesses were asked to highlight some of the advantages and disadvantages of operating a creative business or institution in the city centre and city fringe areas. Table 3 summarises the key findings from the interview respondents.

Table 3: Advantages and disadvantages of creative businesses operating in Central Johannesburg.

| <b>Creative businesses operating in Central Johannesburg</b>  |  |
|---|--|
| <b>Advantages</b>   | <b>Disadvantages</b>   |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Pedestrian nature of city</i></li> <li>• <i>Access to adequate space</i></li> <li>• <i>Affordable rent</i></li> <li>• <i>Proximity to major institutions</i></li> <li>• <i>Accessibility of city</i></li> <li>• <i>Access to public transport links</i></li> <li>• <i>Inspiring creative milieu</i></li> <li>• <i>Growing residential base</i></li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Safety and security concerns</i></li> <li>• <i>Lack of visible security and policing</i></li> <li>• <i>Negative perceptions of safety still impacts on drawing an audience</i></li> <li>• <i>Traffic congestion</i></li> <li>• <i>Lack of affordable and safe public or private parking</i></li> <li>• <i>Lack of safe and clean public spaces</i></li> <li>• <i>Overall lack of maintenance</i></li> <li>• <i>Lack of collaboration between businesses and urban regeneration stakeholders</i></li> <li>• <i>Inadequacies within the public transport system</i></li> <li>• <i>Removed from economic hub located in northern suburbs</i></li> <li>• <i>Failing infrastructure</i></li> <li>• <i>Increasingly unstable electricity and water supply</i></li> </ul> |

(Source: Author Interviews).



The above findings point to challenges around infrastructure in the inner-city for it to become an ever more attractive location for creative enterprises. This said, one impact of the growth of creative industries is the gentrification of spaces with impacts for socio-economic polarisation (Gregory, 2016). One respondent spoke as follows:

I personally feel torn, even though I feel that it is fantastic that the city is getting refurbished, I am a bit more concerned about the smaller businesses that exist here and that have existed here for a very long time. It is those spaces I'm concerned about, when it comes to the type of gentrification that's happening in [Braamfontein]. I really hope that they'll survive it. It always happens like this and then people get pushed out to move to areas that they can afford. It is a shame, because I think the way that it is now is really exciting, because there are really two parts of Johannesburg coexisting at the moment. There is a diverse offering at the moment with a nice array of food and shops available, not just a bunch of coffee shops.

## Conclusion

At the international scale an expansion of research on creative industries is important for informing policy interventions in national and urban development (Jones et al., 2016). With the growing policy attention given to the growth potential of creative industries in South Africa the case is clear for a greater uptake by local scholars of the research agenda surrounding the creative economy (Booyens, 2012; Gregory, 2016; Gregory & Rogerson, 2018). However, as pointed out by the South African Cultural Observatory (2016), at present there is only limited understanding of the profile of creative industries and their locational considerations.

This analysis sought to address this under-researched topic in the setting of creative industries and the regenerating spaces of Central Johannesburg. It reveals an expanding and dynamic community of passionate creative entrepreneurs who are choosing to operate their businesses in particular parts of Central Johannesburg on the grounds of accessibility, diversity, affordability and trendiness.

The key issues and challenges about locating in Central Johannesburg as opposed to the Northern suburbs of Johannesburg, where the majority of creative industries currently are situated, need to be understood by city policy-makers and planners in terms of crafting a favourable business environment for the continued establishment and expansion of creative enterprises therein.

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