Reflections on Self-realisation in Art-based Community Development:
Exploring the Impact of Caversham Centre and its Outreach Programs from
2008 to 2010.

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Declaration

I, Witty Nonhlanhla Nyide, declare that;

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2. This thesis has not been submitted for any degree or examination at any other university.

3. This thesis does not contain other persons' data, pictures, graphs or other information, unless specifically acknowledged as being sourced from other persons.

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As the candidate's supervisor I have approved this dissertation for submission

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Professor Juliette Leeb-Du Toit (supervisor)

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Table of contents

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Abstract

This study critically reflects on the impact of selected community-based interventions activated through Caversham Centre between 2008 and 2010, particularly focusing on how two project leaders who head programmes located in Mtubatuba and Harding perceive the role of these initiatives within lived contexts. Drawing upon critical feminist pedagogy as a framework for intersectional self-reflexivity and using an interpretive qualitative approach, I consider how the people-centred elements of the initiatives engage some of the crucial psychosocial imperatives towards self-reliance. Against the widely documented inequalities reproduced in post-1994 South Africa, I consider the potential of art-based community development, particularly within the non-governmental organisation (NGO) sector, to not only address patterns in which historically marginalised people are regarded as perpetual 'beneficiaries' but their potential to offer decolonising methodologies.

The retrospective focus of this project necessitated a combination of documentary analysis and unstructured field observations as primary research methods. The findings indicate that the practical application of the mission statement 'self-belief through self-expression', in which Caversham Centre's community-based initiatives were framed, contributes to the activation of a liberatory pedagogy and foregrounds the plurality of tacit dimensions of knowledge. Elements of these contributions begin to challenge the devaluing modes in which human lives, particularly those of underclass women based in rural contexts, tend to occupy the South African psychosocial space. In this, market-based scopes of human development criteria dominating post-1994 neo-liberal policies are de-centred.

Keywords: self-realisation, art-based community development, outreach

List of illustrations

List of Acronyms

AFH	Artists for Humanity
ANC	African National Congress
BEE	Black Economic Empowerment
CAP	Community Art Project
CAPS	Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement
CCAW	Caversham Centre for Artists and Writers
DHET	Department of Higher Education and Training
ELC	Evangelical Lutheran Church
FET	Further Education and Training
FMF	Fees Must Fall
IDP	Integrated Development Plan
NCS	National Curriculum Statement
NDoE	National Department of Education
NDP	National Development Plan
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
OBE	Outcome Based Education
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
RMF	Rhodes Must Fall
TAB	Traditional Affairs Bill
TBC	Traditional Courts Bill
TLGFA	Traditional Leadership and Governance Framework Act
TRC	Truth and Reconciliation Commission
UNESCO	United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation
VANSA	Visual Arts Network of South Africa

Preface

This preface serves to contextualise the reflective nature of this study, particularly in light of the decolonisation lens framing the recent Rhodes Must Fall (RMF) students' movement, one of the significant moments that unfolded during the process of conducting this study. In the next paragraphs I provide a brief map of what has shaped the critical position I take; which is concerned with how modes of individual progress, or lack thereof, are produced, mediated, transmitted and interpreted within the hybrid context of post-1994[1] South Africa. Particularly the kind of relational zones furnished in pursuit of social justice.

Though this study is retrospective in terms of its focus on the 2008-2010[2] timeframe, it cannot be oblivious of the present extent to which the fragilities of co-existence are manifested at structural levels, encoded within the public imagination and embodied within the continuum of lived experiences. That is to say the present living context of the communities in which this study is based, or my current positioning as both a student and educator within an institution of higher learning, cannot be isolated from these reflections.

In the process of conducting this study I observed a common thread in how intentions of workshop facilitators in post-1994 contexts tended to privilege art's inherent potential for imagination only towards the transformation of participants, but rarely considered their own positioning in that process. I posit that the disproportionate extent to which these transformative elements are made to almost exclusively apply to 'recipients' reveals degrees of unawareness around pervasive hierarchies represented at the psychosocial level of facilitating social change. Within that ignorance exist possibilities for the impact of art-based community development to reinforce a symbolic shell of post-1994 transformation beneath which old intersections of power remain live. Given the centrality of subjectivities in thinking about such questions, it is necessary to contextualise my own position, which, as mentioned above, embraces the decolonisation lens framing the 2015 (RMF) students' movement. Elements of this positioning are also linked to one of the questions this study seeks to engage: what subjectivities the facilitator might,

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[1] I use post-1994 as opposed to post-apartheid because I am of the view that while 1994 ushered in a liberal democracy, it did not end apartheid at structural and psychosocial levels.
[2] I was part of the Caversham Centre team during this time frame.

consciously or unconsciously, bring into the workshop, particularly in terms of reinforcing obsolete ways in which power can function in socio-cultural spaces. Thus the next paragraphs depart from the intergenerational conversations initiated by the RMF movement in terms of the compromise made by the older generation leading up to the post-1994 dispensation. The extent to which these conversations highlight the reproduction of power relations antithetical to the principles of liberation, provides a relevant backdrop for this study to reflect on self-realisation.

The hastily implemented transformation narrative in which decolonisation debates are conveniently sidestepped, keeping centuries old mechanisms of oppression alive, was at the centre of what the movement questioned (RMF Mission Statement, 2015). In this, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) as the transitional signpost enacted "to deal with the past effectively and close the door on that dark and horrendous past forever" (TRC 1996: 1) is challenged. The glaring gap between the ideals[3] outlined in the preface submitted by the African National Congress (ANC) to the commission and the posturing in which the commission legitimised the 'post-apartheid' is a departure point for many ongoing debates about the unfulfilled liberation ideals. In the case of the communities in this study, the most obvious ideals include access to dignified living, quality education, economic freedom, land ownership and psychological wellbeing, which the current state has so far conspired in undermining.

The "salvific spectre as well as fetishising and monopolising of memory, trauma, truth and victimhood characteristic of the TRC process have been criticized for dehistoricising[4] lived experience and excising deeply personal experiences. As a quasi-legal forum, the TRC represented the ushering in of a brand new time, a seamless re-writing of national history, a homogenizing assertion of a transcendental humanity that jumps beyond politics to start on a clean slate" (Comaroff 2015).

Alongside this flawed process of legislating forgiveness, the movement also challenges fervent attachments to the messianic justice within selective and often nostalgic interpretations of Nelson

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[3] Backing its active campaign for the TRC, the preface of the African National Congress (ANC)'s submission to the commission reasoned; "Because we believe that such a commission can play an important role in ensuring the psychological, intellectual and political well-being of the new democracy. Only by unveiling and acknowledging as far as possible the truth…can the millions whose basic human rights were legally trampled upon…be accorded the kind of respect which they deserve, and the reparations which are possible. Only by confronting the past can there be genuine reconciliation, nation-building and unity in our country. Creating an official record of what happened could help in a cathartic way to heal South Africans psychologically" (ANC 1996: 1).

[4] To separate or remove from history or deprive of historical context (Comaroff 2015).

Mandela icon as an object of delusion. It challenges the extent to which the non-racist element of his principles is used to foreclose any honest engagement with lived realities. Such surface interpretations breed contradictive relational spaces marked by a compulsive kind of optimism that seemingly feed on dishonest exclamation points, and indifferent public obsession with political correctness as a be-all and end-all virtue (Adichie 2013). In this, the idea of 'post-apartheid' legitimises a "pulling away of grounds to critique [lived realities of] centuries-long constructs at the centre of which was race. To speak of [race-based biases as part of the root problem] is to [lack nuance] and [often be labelled] racist" (Magubane 2016), or be regarded as stuck in unnecessary over-politicising and rage (hooks 2003). In foreclosing the extent to which the interfacing of categories such as class, race, gender, mental health, and sexuality constitute modes of relative privilege or not, the structural status quo is maintained (Spivak 1988).

Furthermore, arguments that are privileged to reinforce claims to power, such as the popular hierarchisation of colonial subjectivities where 'freedom fighter' occupies the top, and tribal credentials determine leadership, (Bramdaw 2017) tend to marginalise multidimensional experiences. In this, sanitised experiences of selected black heterosexual males prune the malignant access represented within the larger unheard voices on the periphery. Mimicking "old-style imperialism in a seductive new garb…purged of grand emancipatory dreams" (Comaroff and Comaroff 2001: 41), the erased consciousness of the pruned majority finds expression in the continuing nationwide protest action which has gained considerable momentum since 2004 against growing inequalities and sustained poverty,[5] manifest the colonial structural conservativisms that have remained unchanged (Duncan 2010).

In highlighting the sustenance of such structural conservativism, the RMF movement also revealed the contested nature of the term decolonisation, for which no agreed definition exists despite having featured in many post-independent African realities. Here it is understood to include the reshaping of mind-sets and structural mechanisms that keep colonialism alive. It includes the engaging of multidimensional ways of knowing as an integral part of "transcending a divided history, and to opening up space for a future where we co-exist on an equal footing…without imposed cultural assimilation as a precondition for participation in public life" (Mbembe 2015). The conceptualisation offered in *Decolonising the Mind* by Ngugi Wa Thiong'o (1986) captures

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[5] Poverty here is not limited to lack of economic upward mobility but include stripped dignity.

colonisation as the reshaping of people's understanding of themselves in relation to social, psychological, cultural as well as material means of production. Using his own history of colonial schooling in Kenya, Wa Thiong'o highlights the psychological making of colonial subjectivities through the violent imposition of language and ways of being. Though this conceptualisation suggests multiple vantage points from which the decolonisation scope can be explored, this study seeks to prioritise the pedagogical and psychosocial implications. I particularly centre on specificity of context, through employing intersectionality[6] as a sociological tool parallel to critical pedagogy[7], both of which frameworks in which personal narratives as significant archives are foregrounded.

It is against this view that the next section follows a strand of black feminism which deems autobiography central in reflective processes of self-writing and self-creating (Luke 1996; hooks 1995), to further zoom into my relationship with this research project. This strand is adopted not

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[6] The term intersectionality as a critical sociological tool to articulate the overlapping ideological factors such as class, race, age and sexual orientation to produce oppression in marginalised contexts is attributed to the work of Kimberlé Crenshaw (1989). Crenshaw is an American civil rights advocate and one of the leading scholars of critical race theory, and she started using the term as "a metaphor for understanding the ways that multiple forms of inequality or disadvantage sometimes compound themselves and create obstacles that are often not understood within conventional ways of thinking about anti-racism or feminism or whatever social justice advocacy structures we have" (Crenshaw, 2018). The extent to which intersectionality accommodate micro contexts, particularly "the interaction of multiple identities and experiences of exclusion and subordination — has been heralded as one of the most important contributions to feminist scholarship" (Davis 2008: 1).

[7] Critical pedagogy was offered by Paulo Freire (1970), who devised a liberatory theory on education based on his personal experience of organizing a coalition between illiterate workers and university students in the 1950s and 1960s in Brazil. From this dialogue came an action-oriented methodology that addressed the contradictive socio-cultural transactions between the oppressors and the oppressed, humanization and dehumanization, as well as the liberator and liberated. In this, Freire emphasizes the role of power between the educator/ facilitator/ researcher and the student/ participants/ researched that necessitated that the pedagogy of the oppressed be forged with, not for, the oppressed in the struggle to regain their humanity.

Freire further critiques the anti-dialogical method favoured by an oppressive traditional education system centred on the western capitalist model, and refers to it as the 'banking concept'. This alludes to the often uncritical approach where the facilitator is positioned as an 'expert' and their role is to 'deposit' their understanding into the participants' minds. This banking concept represents the opposite of the liberating aspects within the problem-posing method where both the facilitator and participants' preconceived ideas can be challenged and unlearned where necessary. This also echoes some elements of the 1968 international revolutions, where social structures, including curricula, were radically altered as were processes of evaluation.

Most relevant to this study is the extent to which this scope has potential to allow community development interventions to move away from being self-valorising gifts for passive beneficiaries to a more mutually engaging critical consciousness (Freire, 1970). A process that opens itself to questions such as (a) for whom and against whom will the projected outcomes apply and (b) how does the approach enable critical questioning of both the facilitator as well as the recipient's preconceived ideas around the oppressor/ oppressed relation resulted from this questioning (Freire and Shor 1987).

only to establish a basis for exploring critical art-based community development, but provide entry points for questioning of my own ways of seeing and the relative privileges and presumptions attached to them.

My positioning, beyond being an energy-manifesting entity as a human being, my cellular make up as well as the socially constructed self as a 'black' female born in the mid-80s, schooled, cultured within former Bantustan South Africa and being the first member of my family to go through tertiary education engenders a particularly multidimensional gaze. This gaze, as it comes through in the third and fourth chapters, carries its own contradictions.

In response to an invitation to undertake a six-month internship, in January 2008 I joined the Caversham Centre for Artists and Writers (CCAW) directly after completing my B-Tech Fine Art at the Durban University of Technology in 2007. CCAW was[8] a component of Caversham Press, a Balgowan-based professional fine art printing facility initiated in 1985 by Malcom Christian with a view to collaborate with various artists. Its programme evolved to include skills training for emerging artists without access to professional facilities as well as residencies for local and international artists and writers. As a third year student, I had attended one of the two-week long residencies for local artists.

My interest in informal community-based art practice, was kindled through the African Art Centre's *Velobala* course (2003), where I acquired my initial art education after twelve years of attending schools in which art was not offered. As a result, when I joined Caversham I was interested in a scope of practice that could accommodate such developmental realities. I was thus keen to spend the six months of the internship exploring how this scope could work. However, as will be explored in the fourth chapter, a much longer period than the two and a half years (January 2008 to June 2010) I ended up spending at Caversham (where I was exposed to eight projects situated in different communities), is required in order to acclimatise to the many contextual complexities within community-based work.

One of the things I appreciate from my internship at Caversham is how it cushioned my transition from student to a reality-based reflection on what I wanted my practice to entail. And in many ways, the position from which I engage this study is underscored by that search. Inevitably, the

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[8] It closed down at the end of 2016 as there 'hadn't been any funding since 2012' (See Appendix A)

questions to be posed embody an interdisciplinary overlap between community development, social psychology and cultural studies, and these are prompted by some features of the rural working-class positioning I share with a large number of participants. As will be explored in chapter three, reflections on my role as facilitator include an unravelling of the presumptions I attached to these commonalities. This is to say that despite identifying elements of class synergies, I do not claim total knowledge of the participants' experiences, and neither do I attempt to speak on behalf of them.

To navigate the complexities surrounding this ever-present absence of total translatability I borrow from the autoethnographic methods suggested in *The Ethnographic 'I': Methodological Novel about Autoethnography* by Carolyn Ellis (2004) who defines autoethnography as a form of reflective or narrative ethnography where researchers "focus on a group or culture and use their own experiences in the culture reflexively to bend back on themselves and look more deeply at interactions between self and other" (Ellis 2004: 37).

Multiple layers of consciousness are displayed back and forth as "the autoethnographer's gaze first looks through an ethnographic wide angle lens, focusing outward on social and cultural aspects of their personal experience; then, they look inward, exposing a vulnerable self that is moved by and may move through, refract, and resist cultural interpretations." (Ellis 2004: 37-38) This results in a form of self-writing that in many ways challenges the often omniscient yet single dimensional historical context of South African ethnographic studies.

Introduction

The effectiveness of community-based visual art interventions has been extensively studied over the years. Various contributions have studied the capacity to provide a critical vehicle for democratising cultural production (Van Robbroeck 1991), provide alternative art education (Leeb du Toit 1999; Magaziner 2016), mobilise resistance (Seidman 2006; Wylie 2008), as well as their ability to facilitate transformative agency (Berman 2009; Hall 2006). However, what seems to be largely absent is the power dynamics involved as the subjectivities of facilitators interface with the material realities of historically marginalised participants, particularly those located in rural areas and "predominantly exists between and within statutory and customary governance systems operating under different sources of law" (Mbatha 2017: 1). Thus, elements of positionality are central to this study as a sampling of how Caversham Centre[9] interacted with such contexts from 2008 to 2010[10], particularly the predominant body of participants which tended to be mothers and school-going youth. Against the widely documented inequalities reproduced in post-1994 South Africa, the selected projects represent an important attempt at not only highlighting particular blind spots in terms of human development post-1994, but activate potential entry points for decolonising methodologies.

In my initial preliminary attempt to foreground such entry points, particularly the power held by both the recipients and the initiators of art-based community development initiatives as a constant two-way exchange, limitations were encountered in terms of existing studies. I was not able to find material on self-determined initiatives in which the agenda is determined by, and along the particular contours of experiences of the recipients living in customary government-dominated areas, not dominated by the intentions and hypotheses of the facilitator or institution. That is to say conscious initiatives by marginalised subjectivities, particularly women based in these areas, involved in art-based community development have not been sufficiently studied in terms of their

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[9] Caversham Centre was established in 1998 as a sub-entity of Caversham Press, a Balgowan-based professional fine art printing facility initiated in 1985 by Malcom Christian with a view to collaborate with various artists. Caversham Press evolved to include skills training for emerging artists without access to professional facilities as well as residencies for international artists and writers. The first community-based project (Senzokuhle) was realized in 1999, where a group of Mpophomeni-based unemployed women affected and infected by HIV/Aids were engaged in an embroidery project for a time under the auspices of Caversham Centre (Caversham Press Booklet 2011; Hecker 2011). Some of these features were realized in the most recent initiatives, including the two selected for this study, namely Ingcambu Ezikile (Harding) and Isipho (Mtubatuba).

[10] I was part of the Caversham Centre team during this time frame.

own perspectives, aspirations, choices and in ways that challenge the "legacy of extractive conditions that continue to spawn corrupt leaders…. despite twenty [-three] years of trying" (Ndebele 2017: 14).

To further contextualise the title of this study, the following paragraphs outline the meaning of terms self-realization, community, arts-based community development and outreach here.

Self-realisation

Kolb (2007) defines self-realization as the drive to become what one is capable of at his or her fullest potential, often aligned with self-actualization and self-definition (Kolb 2007; 1884). Its use here is inspired by its function as a principle in historical deliberations on decolonisation, particularly the anti-colonial sentiments towards self-determination in which most African liberation movements were based (Nkrumah in Rahman 2007), and post-1994 South Africa was projected to actualise (Abdi 2002). In the context of this study, it specifically refers to the mutually reinforcing idea of self in relation to the collective (Foucault 1983), which accommodates the interlinked socio-cultural and political structures that constantly frame the individual's navigation of the social world, is central. Contrary to the individualistic financial reward-driven notions of getting ahead or progressing (Silbereisen and Chen 2010), the use of self-realization here includes two strands; the inward psychosocial state of consciousness and the outward environments that affect people's abilities to succeed.

In Maslow's (1954) hierarchy of needs, the idea self-realization as well as actualisation is uppermost, and its defining aspects include the drive to become what one is capable of in terms of her or his potential. In this, there is a symbiotic connection between the intangible inward sense of wellness and the outward human development pedagogy that amplifies self-determination and self-reliance (Biko 1978 in Mangcu, 2004).

I acknowledge the extent to which this intangibility of self-realization poses a challenge for this study, and would like to clarify what is meant by impact. Here, impact refers to the resultant significance crafted from the complicated exchange between the intentions of those who facilitate and those receiving development interventions. This scope prioritizes inward well-being, particularly that which amplifies self-awareness, but does not exclude tangible improvements. The latter implies I can only qualitatively observe, but not attempt to measure.

Community

The New Oxford English Dictionary (Pearsal 1998) provides three meanings for the term community, including fellowship, "organized political, municipal, or social body" and "body of people having religion, profession, etc. in common" (1998: 74). As geographical boundaries have become increasingly porous since the advent of global access to the internet, and the recent upsurge of social networking, the term 'community' has transcended the geographical locality of place and space. This has in part resulted in perceptions that common values, beliefs, resources, preferences, needs and/or risks, can enable a group of people to consider themselves a community.

However in South Africa, the term community has a historical context that, in many ways, continues to permeate lived experiences. For a long time, especially since 1948, it has been a politicised term that assumes different meaning and ideological resonances depending on the political orientation of the user. National Party government policies, developed earlier under British colonialism, emphasized the ethnic and cultural homogeneity of people, such as tribal communities or ethnic communities enforced through segregated geographical boundaries (Zulu, 1984).

The resistance movement's view of community also had rather flawed homogeneous connotations in that 'community' was often understood as identifying 'the people', which meant the marginalized black members of the population. In many instances, studies on community art centres have tended to adopt the Marxist scope also focus on this singular frame of 'community'. In such studies, interpretation ignored intra- class variations within traditionally governed spaces. Particularly the pockets of agencies produced within the peasant-settler encounters in which Christian converts were elevated in terms of their education and acculturation (Zulu, 1984).

In this study, community includes, but is not limited to groups of people with common interests defined by place, preferences, intention, or spirit. The two centres in this dissertation are situated in Harding and Mtubatuba, which is contextualised in the first chapter.

Art-based Community Development

The use of art-based community development here is derived from the definition offered by William Cleveland (2011), where it embodies "arts-centred activity that contributes to the sustained advancement of human dignity, health, and/or productivity within a community. These include arts-based activities that educate and inform us about ourselves and the world, mobilize and inspire individuals or groups, nurture and heal people and/or communities as well as build and improve community capacity and/or infrastructure" (Cleveland 2011: 3). Ali Abdi (2002) expands the scope of capacity improvement relevant for this study in noting:

> "development is first and foremost a mental state of being, secondarily complemented by the actual capacity to act upon the free exercises the person's situationally unrestricted thought processes engage in. After that stage of development, everything humans create, including the latest breakthroughs in bioscience engineering, the great works of art and the impressive literary masterpieces, the powerful social and economic theories, the latest breakthroughs in theoretical and particle physics, as well as the designing and creation of all the computer software and hardware that are the driving force of the current revolutions in information technology, are all the products of that basic phase of development" (Abdi 2002: 103).

In foregrounding the intellectual and metaphysical dimensions as the primary aspects from which developed or undeveloped states of being are manifested, Abdi invokes the process in which circumstances surrounding embodiment and knowledge determine not only possibilities, but capacities. This is deemed relevant for this study because it points to a constant symbiosis between the interior states of being, the physical environment in which development takes place and the meanings imbued or derived from such contexts. For the South African context still marred by deep inequalities, it provides a critical vantage point from which to prioritise the idea of development as a process in which both those who facilitate and those who receive initiatives are equally implicated in not only how they interpret their encounter, but accountable to the extent to which it can disturb or sustain historically embedded modes of marginalisation.

Outreach

The term outreach is understood by some as a process where an established institution, having identified a need or limited access to its practice, extends its function into a community context with the intention to influence progressive change (Soanes and Stevenson 2004). Often the service is offered with the view to complement, subvert or bridge specific gaps within mainstream or

government's approach to its delivery. Inevitably, the majority of organizations involved in outreach are non-governmental and subscribe to the values of activism (Hardy, Kingston and Sanders 2010).

However, the multidimensional meanings embodied when outreach becomes a "catchall term applied to any activity outside the main buildings of an education institution or organization" (McGivney 2000: 5) renders the term complex. The term becomes particularly murky when businesses use the term interchangeably with 'corporate social responsibility', which is a marketing exercise ultimately intended to enhance branding efforts, while yielding transient results on the part of the marginalised. Furthermore, formal education institutions tend to use the term "interchangeably with widening participation" (McGivney 2000: 5), which is often more extractive than empowering.

The contradictions surrounding the varying sentiments behind the use of the term outreach have been broadly problematized (Jamal 2010; Wainaina 2009). As a result of its vagueness, its unreflective capability to conceal its "elegant exercise of power" functions in maintaining innocence in the consciousness of ordinary people (Gronemeyer 1992: 53).

As part of critiquing the current neoliberal[11] economic position assumed from Mandela's administration, abandoning the socialist-inclined freedom charter values used by the ANC to campaign for the 1994 elections (Kasrils 2013), the term outreach is viewed as being rooted in capitalist practice in which the old exclusive economic order remains predominantly unchanged (Bond 2001; Terreblanche 2002). Moreover, there is also a recurring assumption conveyed in government policy documents where the term 'outreach' is presented and is assumed to mean the same thing to all people. This is manifested in the use of market-growth as the central marker to not only assess development initiatives, but human value. Within global class warfare, the question of who is able to give and receive help is "connected with the theme of deprivation and viewed as a process designed to draw those who are socially, economically and educationally disadvantaged in new forms of learning and skills exposure, with a view to maintain domination" (McGivney 2000: 5). Post-1994, policies have not been particularly supportive of the

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[11] Neoliberalism is an economic-based policy which emphasizes the value of global free trade and privatization of not only resources but the means of production (Bond 2005).

dispossessed, yet keen to perform the spectacle of equality, such views become an unavoidable bone of contention. Hence this study's focus on power dynamics.

The framework of outreach deemed relevant for the purpose of this study to evaluate, assess and critique Caversham's contribution to critical practice is the capability approach offered in *Development as Freedom* (Sen 1999). Here Amartya Sen critiques the side-lining of human capital and personal agency as one of the core challenges facing many post-colonial governments' approaches to development. His outline of freedom and unfreedom explores the interconnected contexts against which effective attainment of development should be measured. While not entirely against the orthodox approach to development based on raising income, he argues that it can have little to no effect on people who are still deprived in terms of access to quality health, education and general well-being.

Based on this view, he critiques the lack of a holistic integration of economic, social and political policy positions. Most relevant to this study's framing of outreach, is the definition of poverty he offers as a crucial departure point in gauging development initiatives. This definition is based on capacity, as opposed to income. In this poverty must be seen as the deprivation of basic capabilities such as dignity rather than merely on low income levels, which development policies use as standard criteria. Sen also links the intersection between the general well-being of a family, community and subsequently nation with women as carriers of advancement of freedoms and "active agents of change and dynamic promoters of social transformations that can alter the lives of both women and men" (Sen 1999: 189). Given the predominant demographics of Caversham workshops, which tended to be mothers and school-going youth, Sen's scope is also aligned with Caversham founder Malcolm Christian's thoughts[12] on the idea of networks created through mothers who then became "catalysts that just expand [and] multiply the impact" (pers. comm., 2016).

In its focus on the interdisciplinary nature of demonstrating the above approach, the scope of this thesis does not include detailed assessment of imagery produced at the selected centres. Particularly since the workshops attended by the project leaders in this study did not prioritise

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[12] See appendix A

artmaking skills training, but engaged the creative abilities as a means towards the often intangible and yet substantive elements of agency as well as self –realisation.

Outline of Chapters

Chapter one begins with a contextual overview of the purpose, intentions and hypotheses to be addressed in the dissertation. In this section I include and address the historical background of Caversham, contextualising Caversham's outreach programme, and a brief outline of selected community contexts to be studied. Relative to the scope of this study, I include a brief look at post-1994 policies and existing perspectives on art-based community development. The complexities surrounding the dominant combination of customary and constitutional governance within the context of the two communities selected for this study are also introduced. In this, relevant pedagogical scopes likely to frame processes of self-conception are explored. A brief ideological outline of art-based community development as an evolving field is included to not only highlight interdisciplinary features, but also some of the inherent challenges in measuring its impact outside the scope of the art 'industry'. This chapter concludes with a sub-section on the idea of positionality as it relates to the decolonisation debate. This expands from the question of: what subjectivities does the facilitator bring into the workshop?

In Chapter two I consider the tangible and intangible aspects of development within community-based practice. Here I synthesize different ideas relevant for this study to highlight various encounters and conceptual frameworks between development strategies and material cultural production. This attempts to offer a discursive map of psychosocial concepts against which subjects located within plural governance spaces might be said to assert their agency. Moreover, relevant ideas against which questions of self-reliance and dependency, which will be further engaged in the fourth chapter are established.

Chapter three grapples with the practical application of the critical framework proposed in the second chapter. It provides an outline of data collected and how the qualitative interpretive methods were adapted to suit contexts. This section also includes a brief discussion of the methodological and ethical challenges encountered.

In the concluding fourth chapter the conceptual frameworks explored in the second chapter are further applied to interpret the data collected. Here the research questions and hypothesis introduced in the first chapter inform the discussion points.

<center>**Chapter 1**</center>

Rationale and Context of Study

Against the backdrop outlined in the introduction, this study critically reflects on the impact of selected community-based interventions activated through Caversham Centre, particularly focusing on how the individuals who participated in the residency programme perceive the role of these initiatives within lived experiences. The purpose of this interpretive qualitative case study is to reflect on the people-centred elements of art-based community development within post-1994 context using critical feminist pedagogy as a scope to explore the impact of Caversham Centre-initiated projects spanning the 2008-2010 period.

While the post-1994 socio-political framework can be said to be conceptually ideal in terms of providing strategies for collective identification, state-centred participation based on nation-building and its pursuit of international economic relevance is prioritized. In this way outsider[13] imposed approaches to community as well as human development mostly reproduces inequality. In this people still come to be regarded as perpetual 'beneficiaries' and thus preserve dependency (Chambers 1999; Bond 2001; Zizek 2013). Furthermore, this dominance of outsider assessment of community and individual needs is sustained by the global north-south[14] economic relationship (Sachs 1992; Chambers 1997). In this, colonial patterns guised as economic assistance such as loans, aid and trade relations "showed little concern for the South's interests" (Lundestad 2010: 255). This relationship is premised on "the dominant school in the West, which has long been liberalist" (Lundestad 2010: 264), and reliant on the capitalist logic to construct mutual interest. This is further perpetuated within south–south strategies initiated by China, a geo-political approach articulated as a counterbalance to centuries of extractive north-south relations, but in reality expands what Patrick Bond (2001) called 'global apartheid'.

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[13] In Robert Chambers' *Rural Development: Putting the Last First* (1983), outsider is defined as "people concerned with rural development who are themselves neither rural nor poor. Many are headquarters and field staff or government organisations in third world. They also include academic researchers, aid agency personnel, bankers, businessmen, consultants, doctors, engineers, journalists, lawyers, politicians, priests, school teachers, staff of training institutes, workers in voluntary agencies, and other professionals." (Chambers 1983: 2)

[14] Global North represent the economically developed societies and the Global South represents the economically backward countries. While Global North countries are wealthy, technologically advanced, politically stable and aging as their societies tend towards zero population growth the opposite is the case with Global South countries. (Kegley and Wittkopf 1999)

The coloniality[15] of these policies, as noted in various critiques of neo-colonial development, replicates historical marginalization, widens economic disparities and legitimizes structural silencing (Gqola 2013; Wa Thiong'o 1986; Escobar 1995; Bhaba 1994; Ndebele 1991). Even more complex are the areas where this grand structure overlaps with local government, particularly the traditional leadership system[16]. Historically, local leaders became agents and partners to sustain the British Empire's indirect rule, which also capitalized on transient 'tribal' conflicts to enact ethnic polarization characteristic of South Africa's currently contradictive nationalisms, and, in many ways, land politics (Carton, Laband and Sithole 2008). It is within the often dictatorial ways in which this level of governance maintains obsolete notions of ethnic constructs, facilitates submissive citizenship, marginalizes and thus continues to collaborate in keeping African societies' capacity for self-government and self-determination suspended (Mbembe 2001).

In this study's threefold hypotheses I will argue that, firstly, the redress framework's straddling of the neoliberal development agenda and the state-centralized approach to community development does not adequately address the psychosocial fissures of imbalance at grassroots level. Secondly, the link with the reflective potential within the arts can prioritise an insider participatory model that can result in more nuanced perspectives, inspire self-reliance, self-creation and re-engage the question of liberation post-1994. Thirdly, the Caversham model, which is based on the affirmation of the individual, can bridge the existing pedagogical gaps between mainstream formal education institutions and the communities within which they are situated. Using "self-belief through self-expression" (Christian, pers. comm., 2006) as a mission statement, this model aligns itself with the tacit dimension of knowledge using visual art methods to provide rudimentary guidance and exposure to what is possible.

Case Study Background: A Brief History of Caversham

As part of the momentum that propelled the formalised ending of apartheid laws in South Africa, 1985 marks a significant moment for community-based visual art interventions, particularly the

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[15] Coloniality is an invisible power structure that sustains colonial relations of exploitation and domination long after the end of direct colonialism (Maldonado-Torres 2007, 240-270).

[16] What is known as 'traditional' leadership in South Africa has its history in pre-colonial Bantu societies who are known to have migrated into pre-colonial southern Africa around the late 1800s. Their hereditary role was to provide political, economic, cultural and spiritual leadership within various segments of the often clan-based chieftaincies. However, under the British's colonial expeditions and later the 1913 Native Land Act under Apartheid, their authority evolved to serve the maintenance of white domination (Beall and Ngonyama 2009).

use of printmaking as a language. Against the dawn of the tricameral parliament[17], another state of emergency, and the upsurge of both violent and non-violent forms of resistance and internecine conflict, printmaking as the most accessible medium dominated cultural production for black South Africans (Hobbs and Rankin 1997).

As a medium with the ability to duplicate multiple images, printmaking was invented in Western Europe to serve a rather dogmatic role and expanded into the aesthetic as well as the socio-political domains (Thompson 2003; Hobbs and Rankin 1997). Within the South African context, silkscreened poster prints such as those produced by the Medu Art Ensemble or the T- /shirt projects from the Community Arts Project (CAP) characterize the collective agency enabled by this medium.

In 1985 Malcolm Christian and his wife Rosmund elected to convert the church building (fig. 2) on their smallholding into what became the current Caversham Press (fig. 3). In terms of its location in a rural Balgowan environment and its printmaking facilities, Caversham Press can be said to share some of its ideological underpinnings with other printmaking and creative studios such as the Community Art Project (CAP) established in Cape Town in 1977, as well as the Evangelical Lutheran Church (ELC) Art and Craft Centre located at Rorke's Drift in 1962, which preceded it by decades. However, its community engagement model slightly differs in that while these prototypes produced artists, Caversham Press's model of using creativity towards leadership capacity includes community members who are not looking to become artists. In this sense it is "antithetical [of those prototypes] because it is actually [primarily about] building the humanist component" (Christian, pers. comm., 2016).

 The founding of Caversham Press was also influenced, in various ways, by the totality of Christian's previous experiences as both a student and lecturer. From 1971 to 1973, Christian had studied at the erstwhile Natal College for Advanced Technical Education (now Durban University of Technology), obtaining the National Diploma in Art and Design, majoring in Sculpture. He was awarded the Emma Smith Scholarship; which saw him enrolled at the London-based Croydon

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[17] The Tricameral Parliament was the name given to the South African parliament and its structure from 1984 to 1994, established by the South African Constitution of 1983. While still entrenching the political power of the White section of the South African population (or, more specifically, that of the National Party) (NP), it did give a limited political voice to the country's Coloured and Indian population groups. The majority Black population group was still however excluded (Desai 1996).

College of Art and Design for the National Certificate in Photography. However, on arrival he joined their international postgraduate printmaking programme even though he lacked experience. He spent a year working on etching, noting "The tangible processes involved in intaglio connected with my affinity for tactile sculpture processes and love of tools" (Christian 2010: 93).

In many ways, the work he produced on his return to South Africa provides a glimpse into how the opportunity to work with international artists allowed him to "appreciate the universality of core issues with the uniqueness of individual perception and expression" (Christian 2010: 93). In his implement series (fig. 4 & 5) for instance Christian incorporated "everyday implements as symbols of inclusion and separation. The formal juxtaposition of shovel and spade reflects nuances of difference and uniqueness, of application while giving dignity and icon-like status to something used for menial tasks. It recognised the patina of hands, reminder of how others' labour allows us the privilege of realising personal creative vision" (2010: 94). This series was produced during the dual role of teaching printmaking while pursuing his Master's degree in Fine Art at the erstwhile University of Natal, now University of KwaZulu- Natal (UKZN) in Pietermaritzburg.

As a result of participating in a sculpture competition in Durban, he was recruited by the University of the Witwatersrand (Wits), Johannesburg to come and expand their printmaking department, which had been offering etching as a minor. He went on to establish the screen-printing and lithography departments at Wits (Christian 2016).

Earliest Programmes: Printmaking

Caversham's earliest ethos was to naturally progress from the above involvements in that a cohort of predominantly white artists such as Robert Hodgins, William Kentridge and Deborah Bell were the first artists to work with Christian (Cooney 2010). This pattern shifted in 1993, with the formal establishment of the Caversham Press Education Trust, a non-profit organization providing print-based educational programming, artists such as Thami Jali, Joseph Manana and Sfiso ka Mkame were among the first KwaZulu-Natal artists to benefit from its artist-in-residence programme (Jali, pers. comm., 2015).

In 1998, the Caversham Centre for Artists and Writers (CCAW) was founded and began to run residencies for local and international artists and writers. This strand signifies Caversham's

extension beyond functioning merely as a professional printmaking studio, to include community-based initiatives called CreACTive Centres.**[18]** Though Caversham's community-based initiatives include the Senzokuhle project realized in 1999,[19] I focus on the work that emerged from the collaboration between the two visual artists Malcolm Christian and the late Gabisile Nkosi (1974-2008).

Gabisile Nkosi: linking Caversham and communities

Nkosi is an important link between Caversham and its community-based initiatives, which were her "heart-child" (Christian, pers. comm., 2015). For almost ten years, prior to joining the CCAW staff in 2002, Nkosi was associated with Art for Humanity (AFH), a non-profit organization "with the purpose of promoting the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and thus raising human rights awareness around the world by knowing them, demanding them, and defending them." (AFH 2012) This is facilitated through a twofold programme; which involves "mobilising artists and poets to create work around Human Rights and related issues and employ the art and poetry in the AFH Art and Human Rights public advocacy campaigns and school workshops programs" (AFH,   2012). Her creative advocacy is underscored in *Breaking the Silence* (fig. 8) and *Sisterhood* (fig. 7). These are the two linocuts she contributed as part of the two print portfolio projects, the *HIV/AIDS Billboard* (2002) and *Women for Children* (2005), respectively. Among the multifaceted elements that converged to influence and be influenced by Nkosi as a significant artist, is how she shared her interpretations of human experience beyond the subjective process of creating an artwork.

Jan Jordaan (2008) asserts how the presence of 'Breaking the Silence' as a billboard installed near Ezimbuzini taxi rank, "did break the silence…vividly questioning promiscuity and polygamy. Leading many people to engage with Gabi on issues of sexual behaviour and risk of HIV infection" (In Nyide 2008: 65).

In her artist's statement towards the Women for Children contribution, she said;

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[18] CreACTive™ Centres as unique places of creative interaction, refuge, reflection and renewal where the individual's full potential is nurtured through personal development and skills transference. 'Self-belief through self-expression' embodies the CreACTive vision, and the people who lead the centres are called catalysts. (Christian, pers. comm., 2008)
[19] See Appendix A

"As a female artist who has personally experienced domestic violence, it is my privilege to contribute to this campaign. This image is about the power of sisterhood. It derives from a trauma that my son and I experienced in 1998, an abusive relationship which left scars on both of our lives. Through the support of my metaphorical sisters, I found joy and strength. Instead of breaking under the pain, I decided to confront it as a challenge for a brighter future - for all children have the right to a happy mother no matter how much heavy baggage may weigh. The figure stuck to my back is a metaphor of my past abusive relationship and my healing process. By sharing my past with others, I heal myself, and the figure gets looser and looser from my shoulders. This image stresses the importance for domestic abuse victims to engage in dialogue and to find relevant ways of dealing with these situations. The repeating arms represent the different spirits which support me. The flying dresses symbolise the many roles I play as a woman – as daughter, as mother and father to my son, as a leader in my community. All women and children deserve to celebrate life" (Nkosi 2005 in Nyide 2008: 66).

Nkosi's memories of growing up in Umlazi, often incorporated in her multi-layered artworks, were particularly punctuated by stories from her seamstress mother, a figure whose voice would continue conversing with her long after its departure into the non-physical. Before her untimely death in a car accident, Nkosi's mother had constantly affirmed her daughter's artistic career choice, and made efforts to enrol her at Ogwini Comprehensive High School. Though far from her home, it is one of the few schools that offered visual art as a subject. It is here that she would be influenced by the recently departed Mr Ntshobeni and learn about the Saturday art classes offered by the Durban Art Gallery's then education officer Pat Khoza. After matric, she joined the African Art Centre's Velobala Fine Art course, subsequently enrolling at the erstwhile Natal Technikon. Here, she obtained her Bachelor of Technology degree in Fine Art, majoring in printmaking under the supervision of Jan Jordaan, who also directed AFH. Her community-based facilitation experience includes "conducting workshops at the African Art Centre as well as working as co-ordinator and art workshop facilitator for the Artworks Trust. In 2001 she co-ordinated art workshops for Love life" (Artsmart 2005).

On her appointment as studio and programme assistant at Caversham for Artists and Writers in 2002, Nkosi was keen to expand her former repertoire, thus finding resonance in Christian's reflections on finding ways to cultivate "meaning and ways to share with others the gift of personal significance and legacy" (Christian 2008). Ultimately, 2003 saw Christian and Nkosi approaching the school principal of Jabula Combined School situated within the nearby community of Lidgetton. The success of their proposal resulted in their being allowed to use a classroom

dedicated to what became the first CreACTive Centre called Ulwazi (meaning 'knowledge' in Nguni).

Nkosi's facilitation ethos at Ulwazi incorporated a combination of her dynamic use of art making as a tool to heal and a belief "that art and life's experiences are intertwined and when combined with the power of a person's passion and vision it can transform one's own and other's life" (in Nyide 2008: 64). She constantly asserted that "they [participants] all have different gifts, some of them have a gift for dramatic stage performance, some for writing, some for drawing, some for singing, music performance as well as beat boxing. It is nice to see this variety because when we were created, we were given different talents. So we always advise them to focus on their unique gifts, and not judge themselves based on other people's gifts" (Nkosi 2005: video recording). Workshops at Ulwazi thus accommodated various forms of expressions, ranging from story-telling, theatre, acapella, drawing, painting and printmaking, depending on the participants' preferences. Initially, the participants consisted of school-going youth ranging from seven to nineteen-year-olds, and later grew to include the unemployed as well as the elderly who mostly preferred gardening and ceramics.

The Caversham Hourglass[20] Residency: Inspiring Legacy

Ideas of linking unique personal significance with the broader collective legacy and vision were central to the hourglass residency workshop. Cognisant of "the huge challenge in coming out of the end of apartheid with its breaking down of the entire social structure" (Christian, pers. comm., 2016), the process encouraged "posing questions rather than presuming answers" (Christian, pers. comm., 2006).

The criteria for inviting participants was simply based on "generosity of spirit, [which is translated as] the need in the individual to complete yourself not in isolation, not based in an esoteric self-gratification, but through your giving to others that you find a completeness in yourself." (Christian, 2016: pers. comm) The premise for this residency model;

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[20]"The Caversham Hourglass process consists of four components. They are reflection, an inward journey of discovery and personal significance; dialogue, active listening as a source of recognition, affirmation, and contribution; CreACTion, which means combining a collaborative innovative attitude with creative action. These three components then lead to the fourth and final one: ownership, which is responsibility for the future, acknowledgement of the past, and engagement with the present." (Christian, pers. comm., 2008)

"..Was essentially that in working with creative individuals and the use of their creation as a means of affirmation of them no matter what age, no matter what educational level and giving dignity to every single one of those we work with. Because, as you say, there is this huge disparity between those that are formally educated at tertiary level with those with lifetime of experience-based wisdom pre-learning, you know, not having any of the formal education qualifications but still with substantial standing and understanding of wisdom within their own society, and to tap into these and to bring these two streams together." (Christian, pers. comm., 2016)

One of the important elements from this deconstruction of pre-established value of knowledge was the idea of Masabelaneni (let us share'' in isiZulu) which became the main theme within the two-week long hourglass residency frequented by the two centre leaders (Khululiwe Mabanga from Isipho CreACTive Centre- Mtubatuba and Nomandla Nodola from Ingcambu Ezikile- Harding) which I expand on in the fourth chapter. Masabelaneni also became an encompassing umbrella network (fig. 9) for all the community-based centres. This network is anchored on the "belief in empowerment through contribution" (Christian, pers. comm., 2008). Hence the participatory nature of this two-week-long residency program was anchored in the vision statement "inspiration in the individual and the individual as inspiration" (Christian, pers. comm., 2006). The residency prompted participants to the idea of leadership that is based on self-direction and the inherent power within that kind of agency to inspire others to do the same.

Different modes of engagement with these conversations included image-making and vision-mapping processes where notions of personal significance and leadership skills formed the basis for the creative processes.

Moreover, as part of the residency programme, participants visited Ulwazi with a view to contribute whatever creative skills they had as part of their interactions with the school-going group who attended. As a result of attending the residency, between 2008 and 2010 five centres were established in different rural low-income areas in KwaZulu- Natal, namely; Rorke's Drift (Shiyane), KwaMbonambi, Mtubatuba, Bulwer and Harding. Apart from Caversham's role of "supportive camaraderie and occasional financial enabler whenever possible" (Christian 2016), these initiatives unfolded in an organic and less structured manner.

A Brief Outline of Community Contexts: Harding and Mtubatuba

This is a brief contextual outline of the communities in which the two initiatives; Ingcambu Ezikile in Harding and Isipho in Mtubatuba, are situated. I focus on the common micro structural politics

around which modes of being and livelihoods are generally negotiated in these contexts.   Given how the ongoing decolonisation debate, because of many cultural capital-related barriers including language, tends to remain within institutions of higher learning, it is necessary for this study to consider the crucial entry points applicable to some of the realities faced by these communities. As a guiding rubric, a pedagogical perspective that looks at how past and present intellectual legacies, often manifested as political economies, shape prospects of individual livelihoods.   For instance, the extent to which the dominant traditional leadership discourse shape people's abilities to attain freedoms, such as economic and self-determination.

Like my own community in Nkwezela (Bulwer), both the abovementioned communities are affected by the conundrum of land ownership further complicated when "South Africa's former president F.W. de Klerk signed a secret deal to give the Zulu king control over land in KwaZulu-Natal in 1994" (Kantai, Mthembu-Salter, Ofori-Atta and Van Valen 2013: 22).   According to Hans (2018) this was signed on the 25th of April 1994, two days before the elections transition and did not lapse post-1994.   To this day, the right to access and use this land is entrusted to the Ingonyama trust headed by the 'Zulu king'.   The Trust was established to manage land owned by the government of KwaZulu, and is currently responsible for managing some 2.8 million hectares of land in KwaZulu-Natal.   The recent attempts at disbanding this trust, as tabled in the recent parliamentary report by the High Level Panel of Assessment of Key Legislation of Fundamental Change (Ndaliso 2018) is one of many unsuccessful formalities staged to remove the so called Ingonyama (or king) as sole trustee (Kerr cited in Land Rights under the Ingonyama Trust, 2015).

Considering the fact that both centre leaders selected for this study are women, it is necessary to look at the particular strands of representation that intersect as part of their day to day pedagogies[21]. To map the backdrop against which these strands can be said to manifest, the next paragraphs briefly outline the intellectual legacies connected to post-94 regulation of tradition.   Particularly how certain constructs of Zuluness, often imposed on South African citizens who happen to live in the KwaZulu- Natal region and speak isiZulu, are used to buttress claims to power.

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[21] The definition of pedagogy deemed suited for such intersectionality is that offered by Carmen Luke in Feminisms and Pedagogies of Everyday (1996). Here, pedagogy delves into cultural and identity politics in relation to everyday life, where familial relations bleed into community values as well as formal schooling systems. It "incorporates the notion of human beings' operation in a holistic reality that is [simultaneously] professional and sociological, while seeking to minimise the influence of the master narrative. [It includes] intersectionality as well as the divergence of experiences, worldview and aspiration" (Luke 1996: 206).

Regulation of tradition, and the 'authenticity' of identity as pedagogue

Tribalist narratives that tend to be employed to reinforce claims to power, particularly Zuluness, necessitate the problematisation of ethnic cultural production underscoring the post-1994 nation-building narratives. These contradictions are particularly pronounced in the province of KwaZulu-Natal where "the politics of culturalism complicates the [post-1994] ideal of unity" (Buthelezi 2008: 37). Moreover, the South African state currently "subsidises the activities of 10 kings and some 6,000 chiefs" (Mthembu-Salter, Smith, Ofori-Atta and Van Valen 2013: 27). In this, constructions of Zuluness are made to occupy the top of that hierarchy.

In *The Empire Talks Back: Re-examining the Legacies of Shaka and Zulu Power in Post-apartheid South Africa* (2008) Mbongeni Buthelezi unpacks past and present politics of what it means to be Zulu. He traces the construction and deployment of the Shakan symbol to support different and often contradictive narratives of Zuluness. Buthelezi focuses on four levels at which this deployment has been applied. Firstly, he uses the under explored concept of *izibongo* as his primary source to reveal the silencing of other clans that framed the construction of the Shaka narrative within the complicated precolonial histories of conquest. Questioning the default archetypal Zuluness that is imposed on South Africans who live in the KwaZulu-Natal province, he asks;

> "I, a Buthelezi, come from Zululand. Until 1820s, my ancestors lived in an autonomous chiefdom headed by inkosi Pungashe Buthelezi. They lived in Mcakwini, nestled in the Babanango hills, a region that bordered on the territory of the Zulu clan. The Buthelezi people controlled their own affairs until Inkosi Shaka ka Senzangakhona started to forge a kingdom and forcibly incorporated scores of amakhosi (inkosi pl.), among them, Pungashe and his followers. This process of conquest prompts a question: does the Buthelezi clan's subjugation by KwaZulu-Natal's famous empire builder make them (and me) Zulu today?" (Buthelezi 2008: 24)

The above history of self-determining clans, suggests that the author and millions of others who have never belonged to the 'Zulu' clan retain the right to self- identify only as citizens of a democratic country. That is to say not everyone is Zulu; if the author chose to self-identify though tribal affiliation, it would only be as a Buthelezi or in my case a Nyide.

The 2016 celebrations of 200 years marking the existence of the 'Zulu nation' (Khanyile, 2016) are linked to the second construct in which the notion of tribal classifications are rooted in the colonial project. These are mostly based on "the earliest accounts of Zulu [history that is centred on events of] conquest documented by English-speaking Europeans…. [in] vivid details of Shaka, the so-called insatiable despot, hungry for blood and booty. Although they exaggerated events with the intent to demonise their protagonist, their writings were treated as reliable facts in many studies of Zulu history" (Buthelezi 2008: 25). These are often sustained in tourist narratives as pseudo-history as well as the staging or re-enactments of 'culture' (Buthelezi 2008).

The third construct emerged from the second in that these classifications were deployed in the resistance against European dispossession. Hence "from mid-nineteenth century onwards, the many isiZulu-speaking Africans who might have directed protests or rebellions against Shaka's royal house opted, instead, to oppose European processes of dispossession and exploitation. In such anti-colonial contexts, in both "KwaZulu-Natal and elsewhere in South Africa and the continent was buoyed by Shakan symbols of autonomy and strength…. Leaders of Negritude and Black Consciousness movements hailed the archetypal Zulu king's military brilliance and cultural pride, which kept whites at bay" (Senghor, 1974; Stubbs, 1996 as cited in Buthelezi, 2008: 30). This symbolism would also feature in works of third generation 'black' South African intellectuals such as H.I.E. Dhlomo, whose work include literary and theatrical constructions of a new African modernity in the early 1940s (Masilela 2013). Contributing to a cultural synthesis similar to that articulated by a group of Nigerian visual artists known as the 'Zaria Rebels' (Onobrakpeya, 2013).

Within the fourth construct, this militancy becomes a touchstone against which the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) models itself. In this Shaka's symbol is made to frame one of the most brutal 1980s civil conflicts spurred by "the consequences of the enforced monopolisation of the construction of patriarchal Zulu culture." (Sithole 2008: xiv) In what became "escalating apartheid state-sponsored internecine violence between the IFP, on the one hand, and the United Democratic Front (UDF), the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) and, by the early 1990s, their recently unbanned ally, the African National Congress (ANC), on the other hand" (Sithole, 2008: xiv). In a 2005 speech given at Nsingweni near Eshowe, the IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi "implored his audience to preserve Zuluness…..to make our voice ring out across the

hills and valleys of KwaZulu. To let the rest of South Africa know that we are Zulus." (Buthelezi 2005 as cited in Buthelezi 2008: 23).

I add the fifth construct in which the essentialist incorporation of the above supremacist constructs as a backdrop for post-1994 nation-state narrative, Zuluness is made to legitimise the current state-looting patterns. For instance, in 2012, "the [so called] Zulu king received an extra R59m and an R18m palace for his sixth wife." When prompted to justify this, the king's adviser said "Zulus have a distinct history and pure bloodline and cannot be compared to other kings." (Mthembu-Salter, Smith, Ofori-Atta and Van Valen 2013: 27). This is the antithesis of the precolonial logic of the concept of chieftaincy, where it was bestowed as a result of sheer industriousness. In this, "wealth in livestock gave status and prestige to individuals, [thus] political power was based on the possession of stock, especially cattle. [However, this] status could be reduced to a mere nominal title if [the individual] lost [their] herds" (Guelke and Shell, 1992 as cited in Precolonial South Africa, UNISA Study Guide 2010: 78).

In all the above constructs, bodies of women and girls represent the apparatus through which concepts of power and control are re-encoded in public discourse. Antithetical to feminist principles, trickledown effects in terms of informing their everyday pedagogies of being, not only maintain insular colonial ethnic identities, but normalise gendered inequalities.

Development Challenges within Dual Governance

The National Development Plan (NDP) frames the development of rural areas as one of the priority areas for the government (NDP, 2017). However, there is resistance from traditional leaders who insistently "want to be part of the process and decide what's best for their ancestral land [thus] any effort intentionally pursued to side-line traditional leaders in developing their areas in not going to succeed" (Chiliza 2015). The complicated dual governance between chiefs and municipalities has been identified as one of the stumbling blocks preventing the implementation of the Integrated Development Plan (IDP), which is a local government framework derived from the NDP vision.

Despite broad research inputs confirming the contradictive social, cultural and psychological cost of maintaining traditional authorities post-1994 due to their "undemocratic recruitment into positions of authority is riddled with historical and cultural problems," (Zulu 1984: 2), the ANC

continues to defend traditional leaders. Regarding their role in the allocation of land and dealing with local disputes, the minister of rural development and land reform Gugile Nkwinti (2015) said;

> "It [the role of traditional leaders] is important because of the protection major. This is communal land, so it must be protected. So we think the allocation of land should remain with the traditional council. [Their role in resolving disputes is relevant] because courts will resolve problems [on a] technical [level] but socially they don't solve problems. Not always. So you need an institution which has always for centuries performed these tasks to continue."

Consistent with the framing of rural subjectivities within the previous colonial governments, the above justification equated being poor or uneducated, in a single dimensional western sense, to being unable to think and make choices. Patterns of perpetual under-development are perpetuated when "rural people somehow remain those who need to be told what to do. And we, in our posh offices, know what they need and we will do for them" (Simelane 2015).

Highlighting the often patriarchal and highly invasive nature of these relationships Khululiwe Mabanga, one of the centre leaders was recently summoned by an *induna* regarding a case submitted by a group of beadwork makers. Mabanga had just finished doing an order with the workers. She claimed;

> "Their case is that I was supposed to supply them with all the materials without them contributing. [What happened is that] because of the size of the order, I realised that I would not afford the material on time to meet the deadline. So I asked the client to provide the material which meant the price they would pay per item would be reduced. This is a group of people I taught, and so they know the prices. And whenever I have an order that is big enough I let them know so they can earn. [Despite having explained the arrangement with the client] they argued that I was supposed to provide all the material for free, and pay them the full price [they normally get]…They lost the case in that I was not forced to pay the full price they wanted, but I was left confused and even feeling vulnerable because the parting verdict was simply that I must not forget these people whenever I get work. No reprimand or truce" (Mabanga, pers. comm., 2017).

The above case typifies how the government's insistence to centralise power in traditional council at the expense of the people they serve, particularly women, and the vulnerable, applies detrimentally.

Prevalent Livelihood Patterns: Past and Present

Very little has been documented about the livelihoods of the 39% of the South African population that lives in rural areas (Mbatha 2017). In *Sustainable Rural Livelihoods: a framework for*

Analysis, Ian Scoones (1998: 72) defines livelihood as that which "comprises assets (including both material and social resources) and activities for a means of living. A livelihood is sustainable when it can cope with and recover from stresses and shocks, maintain and enhance its capabilities and assets while not undermining the natural resources".

In many ways, this definition accommodates the idea of livelihood as the complex interfacing of the human, social, political and cultural environments in the shaping of an individual's ability or inability to live holistic and dignified lives. In the case of multi-divergent value systems, such as those framing the economic history of South Africa, livelihoods are precarious and economic certainties are elusive. One of the critical encounters relevant for tracing unequal livelihoods common to the communities within this study are those produced from land dispossessions. Points of divergence were particularly marked when "interests of a viable farming class that had developed among Africans by the 1890s, began to clash with those of settler colonialists and resulted in harsh absorptions of those unwilling to conform as peasants (Amanor-Wilks 2009: 24).

Most families survived due to the migrant labour system, which, though condoned by chieftainship, saw male members leaving their villages in numbers to find work in the city, mainly Johannesburg. As construction workers, miners, domestic and industry workers, their labour created the lifeblood of a society whose means of production they and the majority of their post-1994 generations cannot yet lay claim to.

Although migration[22] to the city later evolved eventually to include women, the majority population within both communities, urban and rural, remains mainly constituted by women and children. There are a few municipal professionals, independent traders and a small percentage of self-supporting farmers (Amanor-Wilks 2009; Zulu 1984).

I am interested in the dynamic role of women as incubators of different types of knowledge, culture and livelihood strategies. Against the above dynamics, I argue that the processes of making creative work becomes a performative site of re-interpretation, providing alternative "symbolic spaces rather than always adopting established ones" (Hetherington 1998: 17). A creative space is

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[22] Labourers from the Bantustan homelands were regarded as immigrants when recruited to work in cities (Badat 2011).

one in which value is derived from the tacit, inward, raw, human capacity to imagine, feel and choose.

Feminism as a reflexive scope thus frames this thesis's exploration of the above questions. According to the general definition offered in Elaine Aston's *An Introduction to Feminism and Theatre* (1995), feminism is simply a critique of prevailing social conditions that formulate women's position as outside of dominant male discourse. These principles are propelled by "a keen awareness of exclusion from male cultural, social, sexual, political and intellectual discourse" (Dolan in Aston 1995: 8).

Critiques of the above conception, such as that explored in *Feminist Geologies, Colonial Legacies, Democratic Futures* by Alexander and Mohanty (1997) cite the supposed universality of women's experiences as problematic. Alexander and Mohanty depart from their experiences as black immigrants in America and describe critical connections between patriarchy, economic inequalities, and cultural supremacy. Their work subscribes to what has been labelled as black feminism, an extension of feminist thought which emerged in the 60s to express dissatisfaction with the domination of black male voices within the Civil Rights movement as well as the racially skewed representation of woman experiences in feminism. They maintain that post-colonial states are inherently masculinist in how they tend to police, discipline and mobilise the bodies of women in order to consolidate patriarchal and colonising processes (Alexander and Mohanty 1997).

Notable conceptions of black feminism can be traced in Alice Walker's prose *In Search of Our Mother's Garden* (1983). This text is considered one of the prominent precursors of what was to become known as womanism and/or black feminism. The essay invokes complex emotional, mental, spiritual and physical dimensions of occupying a black female body from slavery, the early 1920s to Walker's experience of Southern United States of America. Located in the visual manifestations of hopelessness typical in communities with scarce resources, the spitituality of the bodies described in Walker, for instance, is "so intense [yet] they…themselves [appear] unaware of the richness they [hold]…Creatures so dimmed and confused by pain that they consider themselves unworthy even of hope" (Walker 1983: 401). Against this backdrop, she highlights the inseparable need "to expand the mind through creative action" which can be located in simple daily acts such as gardening, sewing or works of art so distinct they have historically attracted categories 'anonymous or unknown artist'.

This absence of acknowledgement as represented in these categories highlights the urgency to self-determine against structurally distorted self-conceptions (Walker, 1983)

Though similar to Walker's conception in its critique of first-wave feminism for not seeing beyond Western societies and ignoring the contextual experiences of African women, the conception of African womanism popularized by the Nigerian literary critic Chikwenye Ogunyeni (1985) adds challenges deemed specific to an African context. These include "interethnic skirmishes, cleansing [rituals], religious fundamentalism, language issues, gerontocracy, in-lawism" and other beliefs typically practiced under the banner of culture or tradition (Ogunyeni 1997: 4).

Post-1994 Policy perspectives on Community Arts

The extent to which the narratives attached to the making of the postcolonial state find expression in institutionalised memorial discourse and is deployed as policy, is not peculiar to post-1994 South Africa, (Coombes 2003) but a typical feature of post-colonial nationalisms in Africa. However, the "dual legacy of colonialism and apartheid in South Africa means that such deployments are the locus of especially complicated tensions" (Coombes 2003: 4). Twenty-three years into a democratic government, it seems, as Gule's (2017)'s presentation reiterates, that the interpretation of these tensions within the policy framework for arts, culture and heritage institutions espouse "a bureaucratic fiction strategically deployed to legitimate" (Coombes 2003: 4) political rhetoric rather than engage prevailing structural mechanisms that affect real-life contexts.

The 1996 *White Paper on Arts and Culture,* which was drafted at the beginning of the democratic government, foregrounds issues of redress, participation, autonomy and freedom of expression. It states that the government shall ensure that in the arts play a role in (a) the correction of historical and existing imbalances through development, education, training and affirmative action with regards to race, gender, rural and urban considerations (b) the right of artists and the public to participate in all aspects of the arts, including participation in decision-making, and (c) the full independence of publicly funded arts institutions, organisations, and practitioners from party political and state interference (White Paper on Arts and Culture 1996).

Along with elements from the Freedom Charter (1955), there was in these principles a resonance with what most of the newly installed government cadre had witnessed in the ANC affiliated

creative collectives such as Mihloti and Medu or CAP (Seidman 2006: Hagg 2010). Initiated by marginalised artists within their communities, these gained momentum from the 70s as a framework for political resistance. Their practice was in many ways an antithesis of what they perceived as "the egotistic concept of the artist as expounded in western art making for alienating the artist from his or her community. They preferred to call themselves 'cultural workers' rather than 'artists'" (Seidman 2006: 120). Locating their practice within a Marxist paradigm, the term 'cultural worker' "implied that art-makers should not see themselves as elite and isolated individuals, touched by creative madness or genius, but simply as people doing their work, whether painting, music or poetry" (Seidman 2006: 120).

This paradigm resonates with the notion of cultural producer as explored in Chinua Achebe's (1988) consideration of the artist from an Igbo perspective. In this outline of the blurred sense of ownership attached to pre-historic African cultural expression, the creative individual is a spiritual vessel for a communal vision as well as a collaborative agent where the creative process is open to all sectors of his community. They could "come and sit with him and watch him carve…giving advice even though they themselves do not know how to carve, and he is not offended but enjoys the company" (Simon Ottenberg as cited in Achebe 1988: 58). From this very close communion, "the resulting art is important because it is both at the centre of the people, and can fulfil some of that need that first led man to make art. The need to afford himself through his imagination an alternative handle on reality" (Achebe 1988: 58).

The above is also linked to the extent to which the idea of cultural worker was perceived in Black Consciousness. This is best captured in Molefe Pheto's assertion of this cultural movement as;

> "To uplift Black life and present it through our own eyes; to interpret ourselves; to negate the slave mentality concept that a Black man is good only if a white man says so, in fact to prove the opposite to this time-worn 'norm'" (in Seidman 2006: 117).

As variously expressed in *Art toward Social Development*, an exhibition that accompanied the first *Gaborone Culture and Resistance Symposium and Festival* (1982), a substantial portfolio of posters reinforced this discourse. The conference brought together about 2000 people, mostly South Africans, including those who were exiled elsewhere and in Botswana. This was a rare and significant opportunity to openly debate how to resist apartheid and motivate for the use of art in a way deemed relevant (Peffer, 2009). Through this platform, the ANC "was keen to politicise culture in SA in order to broaden the struggle against [the] apartheid state" (Peffer 2009: 76). Thus

the subsequent Culture *in Another South Africa Conference in Amsterdam* (1987) and the *Zabalaza Festival* in London (1990), formed part of the ANC-organized forums in which cultural production became a critical part of the resistance movement. Inevitably, the articulation of arts and culture policies in their post 1994 government, particularly the scope of community art centres, would draw from these conceptions (Campschreur and Divendal 1989; Hagg 2010).

However, at present, the positions occupied by the ANC cultural workers is no longer as clear-cut as during the apartheid era. The conditions from which the visions that shaped the historical community art centres' ideological framework are far more complex. The evolved scope of possibilities and priorities requires more nuanced perspectives. The disjunctured scope behind post-1994 community art centres perhaps reflect the complexities of crossing over from the place of opposition occupied under apartheid, to that of facilitating democracy.

Between 1996 and 2000, in line with the Reconstruction and Development Programme[23] (RDP) policy, the government built 42 art centres with the view that "they should become models of sustainability" (Hagg 2004: 53). The building of these state funded centres was "predicated on an assumption that local and provincial government would maintain and develop the infrastructure to support programming costs" (Gaylard 2004: 70).

However, these centres' continuing struggle to make meaningful contributions to the communities in which they are situated exemplifies the tendency for government-led interventions to prioritize infrastructure and ignore reality-informed needs. Further, these interventions failed to ensure that facilitators were either properly trained or sufficiently engaged in the prospective projects at hand. In his essay *From the Culture of Bricks to the Bricks of Culture: Towards a Policy Framework for Arts and Culture Centres* (2004), Joseph Gaylard attributes this to the fact that "government officials entrusted with developing these centres tend to operate on the management dictum that 'what cannot be measured cannot be managed', investment in bricks and mortar provides an attractive measurable to report on. Missing the ends to which these means are harnessed" (Gaylard 2004: 74).

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[23] The Reconstruction and Development Programme is South Africa's socioeconomic policy framework embraced by the first democratically elected government. It represents this government's "attempts to integrate development, reconstruction, redistribution and reconciliation into a unified [redress] programme." (Cameron, 1996: 283)

The uncritical application of the neoliberal aligned Integrated Development Plan[24] (IDP) as the key framework against which the success of community art centres are gauged "engenders ideological discomfort characterised by the traffic in knowledge suggesting a north-south dependency" (Gaylard 2004: 74). One of the international concepts appropriated by the IDP is the notion of social cohesion currently popular in government programmes. As the main scope for the Department of Arts and Culture's strategy towards 'nation building', the phrase 'social cohesion' is defined as:

> "The degree of social integration and inclusion in communities and society at large, and the extent to which mutual solidarity finds expression among individuals and communities. In terms of this definition, a community or society is cohesive to the extent that the inequalities, exclusions and disparities based on ethnicity, gender, class, nationality, age, disability or any other distinctions which engender divisions, distrust and conflict are reduced and/or eliminated in a planned and sustained manner - this with community members and citizens as active participants, working together for the attainment of shared goals, designed and agreed upon to improve the living conditions for all" (Department of Arts and Culture 2016: 1).

The ideals within this concept are directly derived from the United Nations educational, scientific and cultural organisation (UNESCO), "established in 1946 to contribute to peace and security by promoting collaboration among nations through education, science and culture in order to further universal respect for justice" (UNESCO, 1995).   The frequent use of this concept is often upheld "with little reflection by leaders and others in politics, business, labour, education, sport, entertainment and the media" (Ballantine, Chapman, Erwin and Mare' 2017).

Most of the RDP centres remain forlorn (Hagg, 2010), pointing to a need for government representatives responsible for implementing policy to find effective ways of bridging the glaring chasm between theory and implementation. These representatives should instead privilege a search for meaningful capacity building projects, particularly in relation to those who remain short-changed by the ripple effects of the colonial projects, such as the Native Land Act in 1913, Group

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[24] An Integrated Development Plan (IDP) is a super plan for an area that gives an overall framework for development. It aims to co-ordinate the work of local and other spheres of government in a coherent plan to improve the quality of life for all the people living in an area. It should take into account the existing conditions and problems and resources available for development. The plan should look at economic and social development for the area as a whole. It must set a framework for how land should be used, what infrastructure and services are needed and how the environment should be protected" (Local Government Action 2016).

Areas Act of 1950, and most importantly the Bantu Education Act of 1953 remain woven within South Africa and its contemporary discourse (Jansen 2009).

Art Education and Self-actualisation

Under section 29 of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, the state is obliged to provide basic education. (The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996). However, in the absence of an implementation framework to effectively address centuries-old patterns of oppression embedded in South African schooling, the legacy of two unequal education systems thrives (Jansen, 2009). Schools have largely remained the same in how they mirror the kind of human capital entrusted with facilitating education, who are themselves products of that system (Lushaba 2017).

For instance, I have been observing that the scope of education currently received by my nieces and nephews aged between seven and seventeen is very similar to what I experienced in the late 80s, though their teachers trained post-1994. Though no longer solely based on race but class, low-income communities, which remain predominantly black, continue to be recipients of an inferior education. Issues such as poor physical infrastructure, inadequate teacher capacity, lack of access to basic materials constitute some of the major patterns as a result of which "pupils from these communities learn less than what is expected for them to access or function within the increasingly globalised context" (Majgaard and Mingat 2012: 124). Within such circumstances, quality art education is likely to be accessed only by urban citizens and the well-off "twenty percent of functional schools within the deracialised middle class population" (Jansen 2009).

Between Policy and the Provision of Quality Art Education

The core mandates to provide art education, a joint responsibility of the national departments of basic education (NDoE) and that of higher education and training (DHET), reflect this neglect (VANSA report 2009: 173). These mandates include (a) growing audiences, consumers of as well as growing future talent within the arts, and (b) addressing areas of scarce critical skills lacking in the industry, such as arts administration, management and entrepreneurship. The latter is linked to the provision of work-based training at tertiary level.

Since the dawn of the democratic dispensation, education policy has seen several methodological modifications. Curriculum 2005 (C2005) replaced the previous Outcomes Based Education

(OBE) curriculum, which was ambitious and yet out of context. As an imported experimentation in which knowledge production was regarded as open-ended, OBE did not address the specific education needs for the South African context (Taylor 2013). After this was reviewed by a task team appointed by the then minister of education, a more traditional revised curriculum called the Revised National Curriculum Statement (RNCS) was adopted in schools in 2002. As part of this curriculum visual art was grouped under the learning area Arts and Culture, which includes music, dance and drama. Apart from being called Creative Arts, this grouping has remained the same within the implementation of the current revision, characterised by more subject specific outlines and known as the Curriculum Assessment Policy Statement (CAPS). In this, the purpose of Creative Art is;

> To develop learners as creative, imaginative individuals who appreciate the arts and who have basic knowledge and skills to participate in arts activities and to prepare them for possible further study in the art forms of their choice in Further Education and Training (FET) level (National Department of Education 2009).

Though these curriculum modifications were accompanied by the inclusion of arts and culture/creative arts as a compulsory component of formative to grade nine levels, the teaching of "quality visual art is becoming endangered" (Westraadt 2011). Schools are made to choose two of the four disciplines as focus areas of specialisation. Given that a maximum of two hours per week is allocated for the teaching of both, visual art usually falls by the wayside as teachers and schools tend to choose a combination between music, drama and dance (Yani, pers. comm., 2016)

Mapping the implementation challenges from the initial post-1994 curriculum change, where the NDoE offered workshops to initiate the prospective arts and culture educators, Johnson observes that;

> "…teachers who selected to receive training in the Arts and Culture learning area were not necessarily the teachers who eventually taught the integrated four disciplines….as this learning area was generally bestowed on teachers not for their interest, skill or expertise, but for their free periods on the timetables. Launched in April 1997, C2005, instead of heralding a brighter educational future for all, brought educators into a quagmire of poorly understood curricular dreams and promises that were almost impossible to fulfil in a regular classroom (Johnson 2007: 2 as cited in Westraadt 2011: 160).

The potential of the recent Artists' in Schools programme initiated by the Department of Arts and Culture (2011) has unfortunately not benefited all schools. Its rationale states that the intention is to promote

"The development of interventions throughout the education system to ensure measures to provide basic resources in schools; support and develop the skills of educators; ensure access for learners to all that the sector has to offer; identify and develop talent; influence choice of career path; develop appreciation and therefore audiences" (Department of Arts and Culture 2011).

At the time of writing, my enquiries into why the programme was never implemented in most KwaZulu-Natal (KZN) schools (Mabaso 2016), including the two communities within the scope of this research, has not yet been responded to. When I enquired about the matter from Mr Khuzwayo*, a teacher from one of the schools, he said;

"The problem we have is that politicians are given responsibility for these portfolios, and often their idea of growing the arts is to give money to popular musicians. At the school level there are no efforts. Since the beginning of the curriculum change, the only art form this school has been able to provide has revolved between music and dance. Mainly because that's what the teachers tend to know. We have never offered visual art" (Khuzwayo, pers. comm., 2016).

A substantial cohort of teachers who were instrumental in providing visual art education in many low income KZN schools trained at the erstwhile Ndaleni Art Teacher training college. This space was established in 1948 to serve the black population. It folded in 1982 due to political disruptions in the region of Richmond and surrounding areas, including Ndaleni itself as part of the *udlame*, the internecine battles that raged especially in Richmond and elsewhere in Natal (Leeb du Toit 1999). Though "in relative isolation from the main stream of artistic production" (Bell 1999: 1), its historical significance as a community art education model from which many remarkable art teachers and artists were shaped cannot be ignored. More than 50 visual art teachers from across southern Africa were trained each year (Leeb du Toit 1999; Magaziner 2016). While this is commendable compared to the status quo, the value of the mandatory period of two years in which the trainees were required to collaborate in the Bantu curriculum complicates the significance of Ndaleni. Particularly given the preconceived upward mobility prospects for both these teachers and the pupils they interacted with beyond Ndaleni.

My interest in Ndaleni has two dimensions. The first dimension is concerned with the elements that contributed to the success of the model, which cannot be ignored. Mainly the concentrated blocks of time dedicated to practical exercises and learning the whole scope of art history seems to have produced a more rounded calibre of visual art teacher. Furthermore, the stories

documented in ARTTRA, a journal Lorna Peirson[25] edited in collaboration with the teacher trainees, suggest that the experiences of making art within the confines of the college represented a unique world unlike that awaiting them outside - a world in which self-expansion was possible (Magaziner 2016). The second dimension has to do with the complicated contrast between the glowing accounts within the micro interpretations of Ndaleni's significance, and the social materiality of that period. Within this contrast, it is possible to celebrate the resourcefulness of students in a context that had "no adequate necessities to meet our expectations" (Khoza 1999: 63), in ways that mirror the post-1994 elements of ignoring uncomfortable questions associated with inferior service. Within this pattern, terms such 'resilience' are used to euphemistically speak about people's capacities to endure suffering, (Msimang 2015) romanticising inhumane conditions and making a virtue out of necessity.

It is important to indicate that Ndaleni was never intended as a community art centre, but a teacher training centre.

A Brief Map of the Field

The field of arts-based community development, as defined in the introduction, represents an evolution of a global practice that emerged in the 60s and became known as 'community arts'. Its Neo-Marxist-influenced aims mark the shared ideological synergies between the international, particularly England and America, and the South African community arts model expressed within the 'independent' centres. These were particularly spurred by the 70s and early 80s encounters with the black consciousness movement and 1976 upheavals and their posture biased towards African self-definition (Mutiwana and Walters 1985 in Van Robbroeck 2004).

As a strand of cultural activism, these centres used artistic expressions within the community setting to not only oppose political domination but issues of access and representation within the fine art industry itself. Themes typically explored include interactive activities that engage members of the community, often those economically marginalised, who may not normally engage in mainstream art practice (Kelly 1984; Van Robbroeck 1991). For instance, the central principles

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[25] Peirson was the teacher in charge of the one-year Special Art Teachers' Course at the Ndaleni Training College near Richmond, Natal. A position she occupied from 1963 to 1981. Between 1982 and 1985, she became senior lecturer in charge of art at the Ndumiso college (Leeb-du Toit 1999)

for collectives such as Mihloti and Medu, in the 1970s South African context, were to create work that mobilized and conscientised their immediate communities.

Contrary to the above sentiments, the top-down origins of Polly Street established through the Johannesburg City Council in 1949 and Rorke's Drift founded by the Swedish Evangelical Lutheran Church (1962) and initiated by Konstfack teachers and practitioners in 1962 reflect the "liberal-paternalistic origins of South African community arts [as well as] deep rifts and ideological fault-lines that became particularly critical in the radically polarized arena of the 80s" (Van Robbroeck 2004: 42). These pioneer centres are recognised for their role to "establish modern 'black' art praxis, generate employment and provide recreational facilities and in the case of some missionaries' projects, to foster and revive creative traditions within black communities" (Van Robbroeck 2004: 42).

Most of the existing body of knowledge produced on the South African community-based visual art initiatives focus on the community art centre model in relation to its historical and professional artistic output (Falken 2004). Comprising of studies on centres such as Polly Street (Sack 1988) and Rorke's Drift (Hobbs and Rankin 2003) and Ndaleni (Leeb-du Toit 1999; Magaziner 2016), these not only map the socio-political relevance of community art centres, but highlight the encounters between Western modernist concepts of art making and art's social function and the South African black creative voices. While the archiving of these voices is invaluable, the common thread in terms of perspectives reinforced is problematic. They often foreground the flawed dichotomist ethnographic[26] narrative evidenced in how knowledge production on Africa continues to exist within the borrowed, transplanted and dominated frameworks (Mbembe 2001; Dudgeon, Oxenham and Grogan 1996).

The common limitation cutting across South African studies of art-based community engagement, particularly within the rubric of the historical 'community art centre' model, is how a historiography in which 'the people' are "faceless masses who experienced apartheid the same way, suffered the same way, and fought [or resisted] the same way" (Dlamini 2009: 19) is reinforced. In this, complex textures of life navigated through very diverse localities, such as those crafted in dual governance contexts outside the metropolis, are silent. Moreover, the extent

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[26] Critical reflections on the particular function of ethnography within the discipline of anthropology link it to the construction of colonial and neo-colonial societies. (Pels and Salemink 1994)

to which this historiography isolates apartheid from colonialism, promotes a singular mode of dispossession in which the totality of pre and post 1994 'black' life is shaped.

In *Art and Revolution*, a biography of Thami Mnyele, Diane Wylie (2008) critiques the prescriptive elements of what became known as 'resistance' or 'protest' art. A creative dilemma where a deeply personal and private search for, and birthing of self was conflicted, and eventually sacrificed for the collective as "the ultimate site of agency" (Wylie 2008: 57).

Prefixes 'protest' or 'township' represented this extreme position, which became the sole pinnacle from which the 'other' could be contained through 'art market' manipulations (Shibase 2009). This institutionalisation of cultural production amounts to what Njabulo Ndebele (1991) called 'functional participation'. Here a liberal idea of a standardized frame for freedom (Sachs 1991) was handed over to the oppressed to convincingly live up to. Outlining this frame, Ndebele (1991: 54) said;

> "It indicts implicitly, it is demonstrative, preferring exteriority to interiority; it keeps the larger issues of society in our minds, obliterating details; it provokes identification through recognition and feeling rather than through observation and analytical thought. It calls for emotion rather than conviction."

In art history and fine art; the credibility of such prescriptive frameworks are maintained in paternalistic classificatory binary paradigms explored in Lize van Robbroeck's *Writing White on Black: Modernism as Discursive Paradigm in South African Writing on Modern Black Art* (2006), and characterized by the casting of African voices as peripheral beneficiaries "digesting the west" (Kasfir 1999; 9). Terms such as 'craft', 'traditional', 'folk', 'naïve' and 'township' art; therefore, serve as reservoirs for this paradigm, and often homogenized experiences of a very complex encounter. In light of the above, it must be noted that this is not a study of 'craft' interventions in KwaZulu-Natal or community art centres, but rather an inquiry into how the selected interventions question and interrupt the often single-dimensional master narrative[27] mould within which art-based community development has been researched, interpreted, framed, received and distributed. Within this mould, in which the conventional academic discourse is anchored, multidimensional facets of lived experience, varied personal agencies as well as deeply personal aspirations are

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[27] The term 'master narrative' typically refers to pre-existing socio-cultural forms of interpretation. They are meant to delineate, silence and confine local interpretation and agency in individual subjects and social institutions. (Bamberg 2004)

filtered through the dominant centre (Hall 1993; Foucault 1972). The question of equalizing knowledge fields might only be realised in the distant future, but consciousness of the cultural currencies in which oppressive subjectivities are maintained is necessary for the kind of social justice that engages the decolonisation debate in a meaningful way.

Existing literature on art-based community development projects located in KwaZulu-Natal is limited in terms of how knowledge as cultural currency intersects with the livelihoods attached to peripheral institutions of power, such as customary law that is predominant within the two communities sampled in this study.

Bronwen Vaughn-Evans's MAFA dissertation '*A Study of Selected Community-based Art Projects in KwaZulu-Natal'* (1997) provides an extensive overview into how the emergence of community art centres as an alternative art education space shaped the evolution of various centres in KwaZulu-Natal. She acknowledges the "isolated development [that] is problematic in that much of the rural and semi-urban population of KwaZulu-Natal has been denied access to arts and culture infrastructures and has consequently been marginalised" (Vaughn-Evans 1997: 1). Though she mainly discusses the community art centre model in term its provision of alternative space for aspiring and practicing artists, the extent to which this study considers the capacity for the community art centre model to bridge the existing gap between the exclusionary formal system and art education needs within marginalised communities is relevant for this study.

In Louise Hall (1991 2006) and Theresa Giorza's (2001) studies of *The Development of Dynamic Women's Enterprise in Business and Art (DWEBA)*, issues of income generation are contextualised. Their summative evaluation[28] of the transformative and participatory potential of visual expression, particularly drawing in a facilitation context, affirms the holistic potential of incorporating creative expression in a development context. Dweba infused this potential as a tool "to address the divergent and broad goals of economic empowerment whilst engendering creative, personal and organizational development [.....] Using the metaphorical and expressive

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[28] According to Bless and Higson-Smith (2000; 52) summative evaluation set out to determine the extent to which programmes meet specified aims and objectives. This information is used to gain credibility with various groups, particularly funders and target communities. The more the designers of the programme are able to demonstrate scientifically that their programme has had certain positive effects, then people are likely to be enthusiastic about being part of the programme.

potential of visual language together with a participatory approach to facilitation, DWEBA sought to concurrently address the technical and social dimensions of generating income" (Hall 2006: 1).

The effectiveness of drawing as a visual language is measured against the context of learning, where an argument for its transformative potential includes "a critical discussion of the nature of visual language as a right-brain hemisphere function and its potential to be a highly charged medium of expression that allows reflection to take place" (Hall 2006: 1). There are synergies in terms of Caversham's and Dweba's workshop ethics that incorporate reflection and biographical details. However, the intentions are antithetical in that the latter was mostly geared towards product development, while within the former, these processes privileged the inward, reflective benefits to be gained by participants.

In terms of this study's focus on ideological blind spots, intentionality and thus a conscious exclusion of detailed assessments of images produced at the selected centres, Lize van Robbroeck's (1991) *The Ideology and Practice of Community Arts in South Africa, with particular reference to Katlehong and Alexandra Art Centres,* is particularly relevant. This comparative study of two centres, Alexandra and Katlehong, represented two ideological extremes - with the former politicized and the latter "consciously apolitical" (1991: 4). Departing from the radical aims offered by English and American community-based artists who were reacting to the domination of 'high art' as a rarefied capitalist commodity, this study explores various definitions of 'community art', eventually focusing on those aligned with the South African context (1991: 2).

In light of the current democratic political context when former anti-apartheid 'cultural workers'[29] within that socio-political fabric occupy the very positions of political power they revolted against, it is necessary to re-envision and re-articulate what a newer scope of art-based community engagement might entail. Thus, this study expands on not only the self-help and community development elements about which Van Robbroeck asserts much research still needs to be done,

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[29] As previously mentioned, South African community-based artists preferred to be called cultural workers, a term which located them within the worker's struggle (Van Robbroeck 1991).

but complicates these through the plural governance[30] lens against which rural subjects negotiate livelihoods.

Furthermore, the interdisciplinary nature of this study, combining the psychosocial aspects of community development, education and cultural production, partially supplements Kim Berman's PhD dissertation *Agency, Imagination and Resilience: Facilitating Social Change through Visual Arts in South Africa* (2009). Particularly, her foregrounding of (a) an interdisciplinary leniency in which formal 'fine art' education departments can contribute to meaningful social justice, and (b) the extent to which she highlights the psychosocial aspects observed within the black students' dynamic profiles and agency. However, this study deviates from detailed discussions of work that resulted from the workshops, and instead prioritises the psychosocial scopes in which the selected projects can be said to not only highlight blind spots in terms human development post-1994, but potentially activate decolonising pedagogies.

In foregrounding pedagogical elements particularly framing traditional government-dominated contexts, this study contributes to the understanding of intersecting power dynamics involved in the initiation and reception of art-based community development by NGO's. The primary question for this study is, therefore, to what extent can the non-prescriptive people-centred elements within Caversham Press's outreach offer possibilities for sustainable self-reliance? Secondary questions address; (a) how does Caversham's outreach model address the dependency cycle that mainstream community development is understood to perpetuate? (b) What constitutes the intersectional scope connecting the Caversham model, formal education and the communities within which they are situated and which aspects of the model best bridge pedagogical gaps between these? And (c) what subjectivities does the facilitator bring into the workshop in terms of influencing content as well as the level of engagement with the power dynamics involved?
As will be shown in the fourth chapter, the semi-traditionally governed contexts render the idea of balancing power between the initiators and the recipients of development initiatives difficult, elusive and paradoxical. Given the many unresolved contradictions, the depth of conversations and paradigm shifts enabled despite the inherently different levels of awareness between initiators and recipients activates potential.

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[30] The combination of customary law asserted by traditional leadership and that offered in the constitution (Mbatha 2017).

Conclusion

This chapter has contextualised the study, particularly zooming into how the post-1994 government has neglected the human element. It unpacked the hypothesis that the redress framework's straddling of the neoliberal development agenda and the state-centralized approach to community development does not adequately address the psychosocial fissures of imbalance at grassroots level. Against the values of self-determination that framed various African liberation movements, the chapter introduced some of the structural grey areas, particularly attached to the retained traditional government, and how they perpetually limit livelihood possibilities of the historically dispossessed. The defunct and unequal state of education, specifically art education, which could potentially facilitate a liberatory pedagogy, was also highlighted.

While the next chapter further grounds these themes in theoretical and conceptual frameworks, particularly mapping the extent to which development discourse shapes how people not only come to know themselves but interpret the post-1994 transformation scope.

Chapter Two: Tangible and Intangible Aspects of Development

Introduction

The previous chapter provided the context in which this study is situated.   This chapter partly expands from two questions posed therein. Firstly, the primary question: to what extent can the non-prescriptive people-centred elements within Caversham Press's outreach offer possibilities for sustainable self-reliance? Secondly, elements of what constitutes the intersectional scope between the model, formal education institutions and the communities will be explored. Assuming a context in which the reproduction of historically designed inequalities persists, both tangible and intangible elements of how subjects in this thesis can be said to be self-reliant or create a sense of who they are informs this enquiry.

Thus, the purpose of this chapter is to further explore the conceptual frameworks through which individuals, both initiators, and recipients of development, as sites for intersubjective meanings might be said to enable or disable opportunities for sustainable self-realisation. Departing from a position in which self-reliance is understood to be largely constructed through dominant discourse, the human capacity building dimension of development as articulated by Amartya Sen (1999), will be central. This will particularly focus on the shaping of lived experience within plural government contexts, where subjects oscillate between traditional and civic contexts.

Given the bipolar character of these contexts, it is important to note that the complex interconnectedness of micro and macro elements within this context necessitates "a non-linear analysis that is aligned with aspects of reality in which changes do not occur in a linear fashion" (Byrne 1998: 14). Moreover, this approach accommodates the fact that the projects in this thesis have never had a fixed agenda.   Thus, a discursive non-linear analysis which further grounds the notion of self-realisation within the psychosocial framework, is employed to explore various entry points to these complexities.

Development and psychosocial fissures

The question of development as particularly illustrated in the lived context of the two project leaders in this thesis suggest a lack of significant change between Apartheid and post-1994 aligned allocation of basic amenities.   The common element in both leaders' response to what development means for them, cited infrastructural elements such as roads, housing and access to

electricity as the main indicators they associate with the term (Mabanga and Nodola, pers. comm., 2017). On one level this highlights not only how, in terms of these indicators, change has been minimal to non-existent, but the extent to which human development is neglected in development interventions aimed at lives of the majority of underclass South Africans whose hopes were raised by the imminent change signalled by 1994. On another, the democratically elected government seemingly deploys the visual potency of these indicators to simultaneously secure its legitimacy while entrenching historically located dependencies in which choices and aspirations of the dispossessed can be monolithic (Ndebele, 2017). It is thus necessary that the next paragraphs briefly elaborate on the post-1994 context of development from which this sub-section proceeds.

The concept of the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) fuelled the anticipated socio-economic programme to correct centuries-long spatial, economic exploitation and socio-cultural alienation, as presented by the ANC during its election campaign leading up to 1994. According to the White Paper on the Reconstruction and Development Programme (1994) five strategies were to constitute its redress policy programme: - (a) create a strong, dynamic and balanced economy; (b) develop human resource capacity of all South Africans (c) ensure that no one suffers racial or gender discrimination in hiring, promotion or training situations (d) develop a prosperous, balanced regional economy in Southern Africa, and (e) democratise the state and society. However, against a market-centred neoliberal definition of growth, the plan's attempt to prioritise urgent social services such as housing, welfare, and other social grants were not conducive (Gumede 2012).

Over the years in which post-1994 economic policies have evolved, the GDP based reports of economic growth have been based on the transfer of wealth through Black Economic Empowerment (BEE), which benefits a few, mainly the ANC aligned upwardly mobile professionals (Gumede 2012). A process in itself fraught with the common tokenistic practice of fronting[31], in which beneficiaries of the colonial project defraud the redress systems (Qunta 2016).

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[31] Fronting Practices includes cases in which black people are appointed or introduced to an enterprise on the basis of tokenism and may be:
•   Discouraged or inhibited from substantially participating in the core activities of an enterprise; and
•   Discouraged or inhibited from substantially participating in the stated areas and/or levels of their participation. https://www.thedti.gov.za/economic_empowerment/fronting.jsp

The sentiments captured in *Conversations with My Sons and Daughters* by Mampela Rampele (2012) represents the disillusioned majorities whose hopes were pinned on the realisation of the RDP ideals. In capturing emotions emanating from the gap between unfulfilled expectations and the glaringly unchanged patterns of mostly ill-gotten economic power, Rampele theorises the extent to which the paradigm of trauma or 'woundedness' tends to be compounded by senses of betrayal affecting the psyche of these majorities (Ramphele, 2012).

Widened psychosocial fissures can be gleaned in Richard Ndebele and Virginia Monageng's stories[32] captured in the recording of RMF/ FMF movement dynamics offered in *Fees Must Fall: Student Revolt, Decolonisation and Governance in South Africa* by Susan Booysen (2017). Here, voices of Ndebele and Monageng underscore some degree of fatigue and quiet rage accumulated over observing the coalescence in how both the old and new governments seem to regard marginalised lives as passive objects of policy (Dlamini 2009). This blending of old and new regime bias is also highlighted in Mabanga's (pers. comm., 2017) response to what development has meant post-1994 where she said; "we continue to be on our own here …it's like [1994] flew over us. [It] did not happen in the 'reserve' side of KwaMsane." Furthermore, her anxieties about the education of her children so they might have better prospects than she had, mirrors Ndebele (in Ntshingila 2017). Common to all three are lives patterned out of oscillating between the publicly imposed spectre of 'being freed' that is in constant disharmony with private lives in perpetual waiting and yet struggling to imagine or actualize futures significantly different from their own parents' (Ndebele in Ntshingila 2017).

In Angela McRobbie (2007) the impact of neoliberalisation on individuals, particularly women, is located in this hyper publicisation of freedom, abundant access to choices and levels of cultural capital. This brand of freedom is often stripped of social welfare resources, and tends to "leave the individual to self-blame when success eludes him or her" (McRobbie 2007: 7). Its market-centred view would position the subjects within this thesis as part of the 'unskilled' sector whose lack of cultural currencies such as access to quality education, cyber space or other "self-monitoring [tools] and practices such as the career pathways, a life plan or [even] a diary" (McRobbie 2007: 7), and therefore blame for such deficiencies in a 'free' South Africa. In this,

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[32] Ndebele and Monageng are part of a large 'blue collar' workforce who participated the Fallism protests. Their voices are incorporated in Susan Booysen's *Fees Must Fall: Student Revolt, Decolonisation and Governance in South Africa (2017).*

choice becomes "a modality of constraint [in that] the individual is compelled to be the kind of subject who can make the right choices and skills. By these means newer marginalisation lines and demarcations are drawn between those subjects who are judged responsive to the regime of [market-aligned] personal responsibility, and those who fail miserably" (McRobbie 2007:8).

The possible intergenerational cost of this sense of failure and misalignment between material realities, abilities and socio-cultural currency is critical to this study's concern with intersectional layers. Particularly if these layers are regarded to partly frame the socio-relational dynamics against which Caversham's interventions were received or mediated. To what extent can the discourse of freedom explored above weave itself into the workshop space, to potentially impact a sense of how participants and facilitators construct something of themselves? It is necessary to then zoom back into the conceptualisation of self-realisation captured in the introduction as both self-causative and circumstantial. In this, the pursuit, creation or imagination of development is located in external material conditions as much as the visceral tacit levels of embodiment.

Between nostalgia and implicit bias

The underlying argument in several psychosocial observations on embodiment processes framing post-1994 South Africa, where ways of thinking or being, generated for over three hundred years have become obsolete in the last two decades, cite nostalgia as one of the predominant dimensions attached to visceral and often implicit navigation of the present (Dlamini 2009; Jansen 2009). In Jacob Dlamini's *Native Nostalgia* (2009), nostalgia transcends binary historiography and thus can, depending on variants such as socio-economic positioning, be infused in the spectrum of emotions accompanying grievances about the present as much as it can point to yearnings for what was.

The likely patterns of nostalgia as theorised by Svetlana Boym in *The Future of Nostalgia* (2001) clarify what can be said to constitute the continuous ways in which postcolonial contexts engage the past as part of self-definition, both on personal and public levels. She identifies two types of nostalgia; restorative and reflective, which do not necessarily manifest as absolutes. Restorative nostalgia puts emphasis on *nostos*[33] and "proposes to rebuild the lost home and patch up the memory gaps. People who suffer from this kind of nostalgia tend not to think themselves as

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[33] Greek for 'return home' (Boym in Dlamini 2009)

nostalgics, rather believing that their project is about the truth" (Boym as cited in Dlamini 2009: 17).

On the other hand, reflective nostalgia dwells on *algia*[34], which is characterised by longing and loss. In this imperfect process of remembrance, "sufferers tend to 'linger on ruins, the patina of time and history, in the dreams of another place and another time.' Unlike the illusion of truth-making' dominating restorative nostalgia, reflective nostalgia is not interested in creating monuments out of memory. it "cherishes shattered fragments of memory and temporalises space…..and it reveals that longing and critical thinking are not opposed to one another, as affective memories do not absolve one from compassion, judgement or critical reflection" (Dlamini 2009: 18).

Varied engagements with the recent students' movement, highlight how nostalgia as one of the dominant modes of relating to the past can contribute to contradictive conceptions of what constitutes positive social transformation or intentions informing interventions attached to such. In challenging the project of 'transformation' and how its gestural artifice of expanding demographic representation often lacks the necessary interruption of the institutional production of colonial patterns, the movement can be said to highlight consciousness gaps, both within post-1994 society and the movement itself. For instance, intra-movement allegiance included one faction insisting on initiating a radical critique of the state and prepared to directly challenge the political elite, while in contrast, "another strand still owes allegiance to the ANC, and is therefore less critical of state complicity" (Mpofu-Walsh 2017: 84). Moreover, this sense of unease, consciously or not, of being caught between overcoming the past while embracing a newness that is far from credible is captured by Booysen (2017: viii), who describes the varied participation patterns within the academic context as follows;

> "Responses vary from diving in holus-bolus to 'wait and see', with many points and ways of behaving in-between, which may include participant observation, non-participant observation, activist scholarship, 'embedded' scholarship, disinterested observer, hostile critic, and so on […] All hold dangers: a loss of historical or contemporary perspective, a failure to grasp detail or significance or to distinguish them in the hurly-burly of the everyday; a failure to capture the lived fabric and significance of a social movement; and of course the *ad hominem* judgements, aimed at those not in the charmed circle, or those

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[34] Greek for 'longing' (Boym in Dlamini 2009)

too deeply in the charmed circle, or those too critical, too uncritical, with wrong politics, the wrong class, the wrong skin colour, and so on."

In this split combination of eager, hesitant, passive and indifferent perspectives, are pointers to bedrocks against which personal responses to social realities can be measured or even considered problems worth acting on, depending on positioning. While experiences of sustained race-based prejudice underscore the students' grievances, levels of activism in response to the movement also reveals the inherent complexities in that, the required effectiveness in challenging the status quo cannot be solely determined by skin colour.

Conscious agency and awareness of implicit biases from which human relations and institutional changes are forged are some of the recurring pedagogical approaches suggested in hooks (1996), and to some extent Fanon's work on decolonisation. The idea of mimicry as explored by Fanon (1963), for instance, engages how the ruling African elites can become emulators of colonialism both in how they view themselves, their subjects and their role within the newly gained independence. Here, Fanon suggests that it is possible to have intellectual knowledge of how modes of oppression function while still embodying patterns that sustain colonial subjectivities. Thus in the next paragraphs, the body and embodiment as it relates to the making or unmaking of worlds is briefly explored.

Though located in correlation between cosmology, religion, culture and sociology, an anthropological perspective offered by Mary Douglas's book *Natural Symbols: Explorations in Cosmology* (1996), produced against the backdrop of student uprisings of the late 1960s, provides a general entry point to discuss ways in which the social and physical elements of the body can diverge. In discussing the social element Douglas draws correlations between how the social world as a symbolic system derives from cosmology in creating rituals of order which are imposed upon bodies through an apparatus of order such as religion. In this the body is conceptualized as "an organ through which society communicates… [and] furnish[es] a natural system of symbols" (Douglas 1996: xxxiii) that inform the ordering of the world as well as its categories of judgment and group allegiance. Illumining the embeddedness of a social order that asserts itself in consensus-generating modes, she also points to the possible plurality of embodiment located at visceral levels.

This resonates with the theorisation of the body from psychosocial perspectives, where its materiality is not isolated from its surroundings, and is thus understood to not only constitute world-forming pedagogies constantly pressed upon it, but influences the question of which bodies become foregrounded (Latimer 2009).

Given the problematisation of the above question, alongside other invisible set of ideals implicitly manifested as preferred social attitudes or modes of knowing, during the RMF protests, it is necessary that the next section maps the historical blueprint that can be said to constitute the dominant patterns against which human development, particularly the provision of education, was reproduced in post-1994 South Africa.

In *Being Black in the World*, Chabani Manganyi (1973) contextualises the history of structurally inscribed yet implicit socio-cultural remnants addressed by the RMF movement.   Influenced by Frantz Fanon, he reflects on his experience as the 'first black' clinical psychologist in South Africa and examines tribalisms of whiteness and blackness as socially rooted in the body as a medium for asserting and regulating modes of power. Manganyi asserts that;

> "[This] arises out of the recognition of the body's central position in existence. We make our approaches to the world through our bodies, the body is movement inwards and outwards. To what extent does the body determine the experience of being-black-in-the-world or being-white-in-the-world? ….An individual develops a personalised, idiomatic mental (image) concept of his body. This is what I describe as the individual schema. If he should be black, like me, he begins to know, through various subtle ways, that his black body is unwholesome; that the white body is the societal standard of wholesomeness. This later development in body awareness I describe as the sociological schema. Each one of us lives with two schemas- co-operative or at odds with each other. These two schemas (images), I believe, have a lot to do with the experiences of being-black-in-the-world and being-white-in-the-world" (Manganyi 1973: 6).

The levels of power attached to these schemas and the extent to which they retain their obsolete significance in post-1994 socio-cultural spaces is gleaned in experiences of institutional racism cited by not only the South African, but also the Euro-American RMF protesters.

In the emotive momentum stimulated during the protest, there was an intergenerational thread along similar lines as that described by Doris Lessing in her autobiography *Under My Skin* (1994). Here Lessing explores the extent to which parents' feelings about events can be viscerally re-enacted as part of their offspring's libraries of emotions.   Born to parents directly wounded, both emotionally and physically, during the First World War, Lessing reveals how the effects penetrated

daily language as well as predominant expectations about the future and social attitudes as they attempted to rebuild their lives in mid-20th century South Rhodesia (presently Zimbabwe).

In *Knowledge in the Blood: Confronting Race and the Apartheid Past*, a case study of the post-1994 relational dynamics focusing on Pretoria University, educationist Jonathan Jansen (2009) contextualises intergenerational transmission of knowledge and maps the reproduction of South Africa's unequal social schemas.

Jansen's qualitative study provides a thick description of how second generation offspring of both survivors and perpetrators of the colonial enterprise, particularly apartheid, remember and enact the past as part of post-1994 subjectivities.   Drawing from the Holocaust literature on similar manifestations, he highlights the extent to which the transmission of memory from one generation to another is less based on pathology or direct experience, but rather carried in sustained scopes of self-knowledge.   Reiterating Lessing (1994) Jansen highlights that though not having directly experienced the events that marked their parents' navigation of the racially divided world, the events tend to overshadow and overwhelm the offspring's lives.   Though often manifested as implicit bias, the extreme cases such as the bodily acts in the infamous Reitz video[35], or the throwing a bucket full of excrement over the statue of Rhodes at the University of Cape Town by a black student who was nine-years-old in 1994, highlight the relationship between the knowing bodies and the materiality of lived interpretations.

Jansen's data also highlights the complex divisive modes in which South Africans remember and how this is often a selective process in which moral and economic intricacies attached to what constitutes perpetrator or victim is devoid of any semblance of accountability, or critical engagement with how the terms of transition affect lives. In this, Jansen highlights the paradox of how transmitted knowledge is expressed in conscious and unconscious supremacist ways of being accompanied by selective distancing between past and present.   In pursuit of the clean slate discussed in the preface, this distancing is marked by a "flight from responsibility [which] is indeed one of the more common expressions among children of apartheid perpetrators: whatever happened in the past happened [but] we were not responsible for it and we cannot, therefore, be

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[35] Four white Afrikaans-speaking males, who did not live during apartheid, protested against racial integration at the University of the Free State and urinated into food which they got five black workers to ingest (Marais and de Wet 2009)

punished for it. We therefore demand the same access as blacks to jobs in the economy or placed in higher education or financial support for our studies" (Jansen 2009: 56).

In this premise, not only was the previous generations' upward mobility buttressed by merit, but the perpetrator is

"Restricted to politicians who designed and enforced apartheid, or those who acted on military command or responded to political demands to defend the system. [It erases the fact that] South Africa was a white democracy in which every white person could vote and elect the party that governed and by obvious extension, created the laws and policies regulating the lives of every black South African. It would be disingenuous, in this context, to portray white citizens as innocent bystanders to apartheid; white people created, defended, and nurtured the system of racial rule from its inception, and returned the dominant party, the all-white National Party, to government with every election" (Jansen, 2009: 59).

While it would be unjust to apportion parents' levels of complicity on the second generation, and simplistic to homogenise the extent of the transmission, Jansen's data and the students' movement reveal a consistent discourse in which bastardising interpretations of the uneasy terms of transition adopted in 1994 is not limited to the white population. Its desensitised obliviousness to the psychosocial fissures maintained within the current "economic relations [that] still largely reflect [historical] inequality" (Jansen 2009: 58) is captured in *Always Another Country* by Sisonke Msimang (2017) when she says

"Today, suffering and poverty, once noble, are not only commonplace (they have always been), but acceptable. We no longer rage against them. We have come to look past the pain of black people because it is now blacks who are in charge. The wretchedness of apartheid is ostensibly over, so the suffering of blacks, under the rule of other blacks, is somehow less sinister- which does not change the fact of its horror" (2017: 3).

In lived realities of the communities selected for this study, the artificial power ascribed to idea of 'blacks being in charge' is so far limited to "a government which presides over social grants and public works projects" (Mangcu, 2013). Its currency remains caught in narratives of heroism (Msimang 2017) and a kind of "buffoonery that, in history, has underscored the contempt for the 'black' by its opposite, the 'white'" (Ndebele 2017). In further elaborating on this image of a buffoon, Njabulo Ndebele (2017) highlights its psychosocial manifestation;

The history of uneven power relations between master and slave has seen the emergence of a particular kind of buffoon. The buffoon is the intelligent 'black' who masks his intelligence in the pretence of stupidity. But this buffoon is really no buffoon. He is a

person who, by playing the fool, endures the inner pain of self-degradation in the business of arousing the amused superiority of those with absolute power over him. Cowering outside, but simmering with rage and shame inside, he survives another day. In South Africa, it has taken [more than] 200 years to produce and nurture him" (Ndebele, 2017: 14)

Here, the socially located construction of this image, in which both its producers and consumers are implicated, lends support to the foregoing discussion of psychosocial elements of being South African, and I posit that gaps of consciousness, in terms of what needs to change, exists. Such gaps can for instance be traced in the contradictive principles marked by the seemingly undigested connotations attached to 1994 where most South Africans agree that apartheid needed to end, but are not prepared to engage practical re-adjustments likely to disrupt accumulated benefits. This pattern is similar to that observed by Lessing (1994) in her experience in the communist and trade unionist parties in Rhodesia and Johannesburg, where most of her settler colleagues, like slave abolitionist in America, argued for the lifting of discriminatory practices against Africans, but did not agree on changing living arrangements or the disruption of hierarchies through which generations of economic and cultural power was secured. In the next paragraphs I discuss the extent to which the rootedness of such patterns in the Enlightenment project can be said to impact or delay self-reliance in the context of community development.

The Dependency Mode

Among the multidimensional scopes from which the case of development has been argued, none, as is the case for most post-independent African countries, present a favourable picture for South Africa (Escobar 1995; Bond 2002; Terreblanche 2002). Of particular interest to this study is how various development scopes have manifested as templates for not only socio-cultural and geopolitical relations but determined human value.

Within the current embrace of western neoliberalism as a rubric against which contemporary society benchmarks the idea of progress, the term development is rooted in the 18th - and 19th – century Eurocentric notions of material and economic progress. It was during the early 20th century that notions of progress were theorised in terms of modernisation theory[36] (Sachs 1992).

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[36] Modernisation theory is used to explain the process of modernisation within societies. Modernization refers to a model of a progressive transition from a 'pre-modern' or 'traditional' to a 'modern' society. Modernization theory originated from the ideas of German sociologist Max Weber (1864–1920), which provided the basis for the modernization paradigm developed by Harvard sociologist Talcott Parsons (1902–1979). The theory looks at the

Within this perspective, systems of progress, such as industrialization[37], which had been deemed successful in the West were implanted into other societies perceived as 'underdeveloped'. The interconnected concepts that constantly frame this development discourse include "production, the notion of the state, equality, and poverty are some of the key concepts…. projected on the rest of the world. Each of them crystallises a set of tacit assumptions which reinforce the Occidental worldview" (Sachs 1992; 5). This would be made to frame the kind of socio-cultural capital produced in formal schooling and most importantly, the church in which supremacist dependency modes were produced, inscribed and regulated (Buthelezi 1972) to determine human value.

In the context of this thesis, the above mode represents one of the pedagogical resources which subjects in this study may deploy to construct something of themselves in relation to modes of self-determination. The extent to which South African formal education institutions sustain structural ideals upon which oppressive modes thrive, gave rise to the RMF protests against colonial narratives. These narratives may be less glaringly asserted post-1994, but the perceptual and structural undertones cited in the movement's mission statement mirror those which a concept such as social Darwism would endorse.

Elements of social Darwinism[38], enlightenment and Christian ideology manifested in what was viewed as a duty, such as that expressed in 1895, when the British colonial secretary announced that "[it is] not enough to occupy certain great spaces of the world's surface unless you are willing to develop them. We are the landlords of a great estate; it is the duty of the landlord to develop his estate" (as cited in Moore 2000: 658) In 1899, three years before the birth of Dr Verwoerd, British High Commissioner for South Africa Alfred Milner and Governor of the Cape Colony between 1897 and 1899 summarised the aims of Britain in South Africa when he said "the ultimate aim is

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internal factors of a country while assuming that with assistance, "traditional" countries can be brought to development in the same manner more developed countries have been. Modernisation theory was a dominant paradigm in the social sciences in the 1950s and 1960s (Bernstein 1971).

[37] Industrialization is the period of social and economic change that transforms a human group from an agrarian society into an industrial one, involving the extensive re-organization of an economy for the purpose of manufacturing. As industrial workers' incomes rise, markets for consumer goods and services of all kinds tend to expand and provide a further stimulus to industrial investment and economic growth (Bairoch 1995).

[38]Social Darwinism, the theory that human groups and races are subject to the same laws of natural selection as Charles Darwin had perceived in plants and animals in nature. According to the theory, which was popular in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the weak were diminished and their cultures delimited while the strong grew in power and in cultural influence over the weak. Social Darwinists held that the life of humans in society was a struggle for existence ruled by "survival of the fittest," a phrase proposed by the British philosopher and scientist Herbert Spencer (Claeys 2000).

a self-governing white community in control of the economy, supported by well-treated and justly governed black labourers" (in Ntantala 1992: 169).

The common thread in the above past and present remedial interventions have not been to counter the above scope, but to rationalise the perceived sub-human qualities and impose a unilineal pedagogy of development through which semblance of full humanity can be salvaged (Mbembe 2001); Lushaba 2006). Hence, to be developed is to assimilate and become modernised in a singular western sense. The deliverance message in the work of missionaries' tends to be particularly resuscitated in uncritical post-1994 non-governmental organisations (NGOs).

The Problematics of the term 'participation' in the NGO sector

Within South Africa's exclusionary development scope, non-governmental organisations (NGOs) have been at the forefront of extending participation beyond the minority and often elite population. The initiation and facilitation of these platforms included collaborations between black and white leadership structures such as chiefs and the so-called 'liberal' groups, such as the missionaries. While some of the infrastructural and technological expansion that resulted from these interventions are arguably commendable, the extent to which the cultural as well as structural power dynamics of their development approach, that complemented the colonial model, is contentious. Viewed against the conception of participation promoted by Chambers (1997; 953) as "methods to enable local people to share, enhance and analyse their knowledge of life and conditions, to plan and to act," such development approaches are found wanting. This is identified particularly in how they imposed the idea of culture and knowledge only as the invention of Western modernity and contributed in the delegitimisation of what would have been organic manifestations of a cultural encounter. Proponents of Black Theology, an intellectual and political framework formulated to challenge the extent to which the Christian doctrine was asserted as a moral justification of colonial attitudes, for example, criticised the missionary position. At the centre of this criticism was how the symbolism within this doctrine was devoid of questions arising from lived experiences of blackness. In this, ethnographic elements in which an African outlook was fixed as a backdrop to authenticate a European view (Buthelezi 1972).

Similar patterns have been observed in how uncritical uses of the term participation, particularly within the NGO context, becomes instrumentally used by liberal forces to legitimise their views rather than change their approach (Mkandawire 2001; Woons 2013). In *Silences in NGO*

Discourse: The Role and Future of NGOs in Africa Issa Shivji (2007) argues that this is reinforced by the often apolitical outfit of NGO contributions. He infers that the ideological, economic and cultural position occupied by NGOs within the neoliberal context parallels that of missionaries as agents for colonial conquest.

Where missionaries were a product of conscious acculturation and economic change, NGOs and their delivery of projects that "are motivated by charity and pity, and doing things for people (who implicitly cannot do them for themselves), albeit dressed up with the verbiage of participatory approaches" (Shivji 2007: viii) expand and consolidate neoliberal hegemony both within a global and grassroots scale. A view that implicates not only the imperialist settler forces but confronts "the willing collusions of the local elite class" (Shivji 2007: ix).

Various observations of the South African context suggest the domination of an approach that constantly departs from a deficiency, rather than engaging existing assets or values (Wainaina 2009), and assume paternalistic tones in which initiators of development are more concerned with demonstrating their credibility than engaging the glaring need for counter-socialisation (Mphahlele 2002). Within this discourse of deficiency "people are not only presented as incapable of doing anything intelligent by themselves but also as preventing modern do-gooders from helping them" (Rahnema 1992: 169). Furthermore, professional development practitioners operating from the northern perspective "impose their methods in participatory projects within southern communities and dismiss their southern partners as passive, lazy and lacking in commitment" (Bazz 2005 as cited in Kessi 2013; 19). In this NGOs contribute to maintaining a society in which "the overclass has multiple interlocking privileges, securities, and advantages which keep it on top; and the underclass has multiple interlocking disabilities, vulnerabilities and deprivation which hold it under" (Chambers 1993: 9). Moreover, the dominant language of transformation as the signifier of the post-1994 discourse further foregrounds this violence when its invocation does not go beyond adding the previously oppressed into the system without any attempt to change the oppressive structure (Dlakavu 2015).

In addition, the mission statement of the RMF students' movement cast aspersions on both past and present roles of white South African liberals in ameliorating the problem outlined above. The movement reiterates the Steve Biko's criticism of what is seen as a prevalent commitment to facilitate change in 'others' without a willingness to critically engage with the root cause.

Along the same line, the functionary ideological posture from which black pseudo-bourgeois sensibilities created by post-1994 neo-liberal policies, can be said to work against the self-direction of lower and under class majorities. Views of oppression as intersectional reject paternalistic approaches in which colonial subjectivities are kept alive (Crenshaw 1991), as in patterns where, for instance, "black South Africans….take advantage of the [prevalent] valorisation of blackness to enrich themselves or gain positions" (Dlamini 2009: 156).

Considering the Subjective Consumption of Development

The above paragraphs have critiqued the narrative of deficiency, highlighting some of the flaws in which ubiquitous superiority and inferiority complexes reproduce the lens through which development tends to be implemented. To get to the central elements of this study's argument, which is that marginalised bodies are far more active than is assumed and featured within that discourse, it is necessary to explore subjectivity.

Subjectivity has been theorised as emerging in a world in which language is always already established" (Lacan in Mansfield 2000: 39) and its construction involves both tacit and explicit ways of knowing; public, private, past, present, real and imagined self-conceptions. Michael Polanyi's conception of tacit knowledge points to the idea that "we know more than we can tell", drawing attention to "the deeply personal and action-based nature of knowledge that defies [external] articulation and communication. In this sense, it is a form of 'knowing' that is inseparable from [the body] because it is constituted through action" (Orlikowski 2002 as cited in Lam 2014: 94). Its location beyond outwardly imposed modes renders "the 'individual knower' the principal agent of knowledge creation and application" (in Lam 2014: 94). In terms of centralising the tacit paradigm as a reflective tool for self-growth Polanyi says:

> "The capacity for deriving from a latent knowledge of a situation a variety of appropriate routes or alternative modes of behaviour amounts to a rudimentary logical operation. It prefigures the use of an articulate interpretative framework on which we rely as a representation of a complex situation, drawing from it ever new inferences regarding further aspects of that situation. Latent learning is transformed into pure problem-solving when the situation confronting the subject can be taken in by it from the start. [Within this] learning becomes then an act of 'insight'" (Polanyi 1966: 74).

The argument forwarded by some social cognitive theorists such as Vygotsky, 1978 and Reber, 1993 (as cited in Lam, 2014), that individuals acquire their cognitive abilities and inner experiences by internalizing the meanings and patterns of thoughts current in their culture and

society, suggests that the relationship between tacit and explicit modes may be more constitutive than not. One of the main distinguishing factors is the distance between the knowing body and the reference object of knowledge. While the explicit is propositional, declarative and pre-determinable, the tacit mode is not separate from the knowing subject's body as it does not necessarily rely on words but is accessed through inward modalities such as feelings, emotions, and hunches (Polanyi 1966).

Given the often innately skewed development relations explored above, in which the knowledge paradigm used to facilitate initiatives favours the expert or facilitator, the autobiographical nature of the creative process can become a tool to link the tacit and critical practice paradigms, such as feminism. In John Dewey's *Art as Experience* (1934) the complexity of this link is explored in how art production is theorised as a form of holistic labour and links the experience of touch, as the hand-brain dialogue. In this, the sense of touch becomes an elemental way in which humans are able to develop a sense of recognition about where they are (Dewey 1934).

However, as reinforced in the findings and observations in Chapter 3 of this dissertation, the implementing of such ideals is often accompanied by contradictions in traditional and patriarchal contexts similar to the communities in this thesis.

Typical elements of such contradictions at macro levels of South Africa, past and present, are highlighted in a feminist paradigm advanced by Phyllis Ntantala's *Womanhood and Liberation* (1984). In this essay published in Sechaba [39], Ntantala questions the singular interpretations of oppression she witnessed within the ANC as the supposed liberation movement. She was responding to the ANC declaration of 'The Year of South African Women' in 1984 (Sechaba 1984), and observed that "black women occupy the lowest status position in the racist dominated society. Firstly, as members of the colonised and nationally oppressed groups, they are victims of White racism, secondly as the 'second sex' in a patriarchal society" (Ntantala 1984: 4). Her discussion was centred on the organisation's treatment of sexism as a sub-oppression: -

> "An unfortunate attitude has taken root in the movement against what people loosely refer to as feminism and sometimes women's lib. More often than not, this attitude shields and is a convenient cover for traditionalist attitudes against the rights of women and masks the fear and inadequacies of men who feel threatened by the loss of power they at present

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[39] Sechaba was the African National Congress's journal. It was first published in 1967 and aimed at documenting the struggle, from the organisation's perspective.

exercise over women. Consequently, many women in these movements tow the party line and continue to do so" (Ntantala 1984: 3).

Because participation in feminist initiatives was "dubbed by some of their male colleagues as 'broomstick brigade', many of the [ANC affiliated] women often felt undermined by male contempt" (Scott, Kaplan, and Keats 2013: 323). Capturing the extent of such attitudes, Baleka Mbete and Martheanne Finnemore claimed;

> "When they went into the negotiation process, within delegations, within the media, within their families and organisations, they experienced many hostilities and obstacles. The culture had already been established, and women were not part of that" (Mbete as cited in Scott, Kaplan, and Keats 2013: 323).

> "I didn't envisage the tough battle that lay ahead or the barriers that would have to be hurdled if the women were to achieve their aims…..During the first phase, the gender oppression directed towards some of the women was quite awesome. Unbelievably, one male delegate would get up and walk out every time the female counterpart spoke" (Finnemore as cited in Scott, Kaplan, and Keats 2013: 323).

In the ostensibly progressive neo-liberal outlook that is staged in the post-1994 context, public production, regulation and the representation of women, as well as children-related issues tend to be engaged at a rather artificial level. Within this engagement, there is the archetypal aspirational new South African woman produced and represented in South African media such as television dramas and soapies, "the woman we should all transform into if our dreams come true" (Gqola 2013: 54).

Post-feminism[40] conceptualises this single-dimensional spectacularisation of femininity and its relationship with neo-liberalist sensibilities as well as global popular culture (McRobbie 2007). Through popular cultural vocabularies, ideas of an empowered woman that is self-governing, self-disciplining and often entrepreneurial are performed.   In this, post-feminism theorises about how globalisation constructs new gendered and classed subjects across boundaries of nation, region and traditional feminism trajectory (McRobbie 2007).

It is not uncommon for South African political leaders to publicly condemn violence against women while being privately implicated in the same patterns. In the straddling of hyper-progressive material positions while asserting a traditionalist frame of thought, there is a constant

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[40] According to Misha Kavka (2001) the term post-feminism was first used in the 1980s to describe a backlash against second-feminism. It has come to be one of the critical ways of understanding the changed relationship between feminism, popular culture and femininity.

migration or simultaneous reproduction of what Mahmood Mamdani (1996) conceptualises as a bifurcated[41] state of citizen and subject. He asserts that for post-independent African states, this unsettled sense of identity constitutes one of the critical blind spots preventing the realisation of the ideals of decolonisation.

This blind spot is particularly pronounced in the psychosocial context of the communities in this study, where frameworks of justice tend to fall through the cracks. The function of law according to the original design of bifurcated governance reserved the status of 'citizen' for European settlers to be governed by principles of 'modern' society laws. In turn, their dispossessed African counterparts were given the status of subjects ruled by tribal customary law. The latter was simply divided into four areas; namely powers of chiefs, punishment, as well as inheritance, while the former recognised the autonomy of individual citizenship. Alongside this, ideas of urban and rural were made to frame the spatial constructions of these divisions.

Mamdani's analysis is particularly relevant for this study in how it contextualises the post-1994 "paralysis of perspective" and provides a critical frame for considering decolonisation as it relates to dual governance communities and power relations today, highlighting post-1994 as "the deracialisation of [a] civil society which was previously white" (Lushaba 2017). In this, elements such as sustained patterns of land ownership and unequal education, mimic the colonial government in how most dispossessed people remain locked within the status of subjects (Mamdani 1996).

The idea of mimicry as conceptualised by Frantz Fanon (1963) is necessary for this study to further zoom into the shaping of postcolonial subjectivities. His analysis of how the postcolonial leader as the intermediary subject functions as a site for colonialism to reproduce itself is apt for the post-1994 nationalism. Particularly the contradictory attitudes in how those who claim the forefront of anti-colonial struggle mimic the very system they were against, and how for the rest of the population, particularly the underclass, justice is deferred, remaining something that is always about to come but never arrives (Fanon 1963).

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[41] A bifurcated state refers to the dual colonial governance system of divide and rule devised by the English in response to the native question surrounding "the problem of stabilising alien rule" (Mamdani 1996: 3). It was pioneered by Lord Lugard in Uganda and Nigeria" three decades earlier.

Based on his immersion in Liberia during French colonialism and the observations he encountered as part of his practice as a psychiatrist, his ideas reflect a timeless depiction of the postcolonial psyche. In identifying fault lines within how pseudo-solidarity compromised the socialist agenda in the Algerian revolution, he simultaneously projects how the pattern would unfold in other newly 'independent' third world states. Capitalism and imperialism are critiqued as the main enemy in retarding progress and maintaining the colonized status. Outlining a vicious cycle within which these systems reproduce the oppressor and the oppressed subjectivities, he argues against narrow-nationalism built on symbolic restitution to often exclude rural peasants. He suggests that deliberate programmes that seek social consciousness as a goal should replace nationalism (Fanon 1963).

Social psychology and counter-socialisation

Psychosocial conceptualisations of African identities tend to fall within debates that are either characterised by the myth of originary narrative (Coombes 2003) or anchored within the materiality of present experience (Ratele 2004). Within the former, there is a nostalgic revival of essence believed to be anchored in pre-colonial subjectivities and explores diverse ways in which cultures within inter- and intra-class dynamics might overlap. Elements of this determined search for positives, transcendental and mutual attributes within the past, have been criticised for obliterating active participation of all South Africans within the socio-historical development processes informing present post-1994 realities (Collins and Ratele 2004). Furthermore, the ways in which this view seeks harmonious and communal relational dynamics perpetuates an uncritical analysis of precolonial Africa. For instance, the presumed ethnic solidarities in which individuals are perpetually attached to "an ongoing association of men and women who have special commitment to one another and a developed distinct sense of their common life" (Coetzee 1998: 276) denies the existence of tribal conflicts, violent conquests and absolves Africans from self-interested collusions with the settler enterprise. Moreover, in rendering the African subject passive participants without personal preferences, there is a legitimisation of the concepts of inferiority and paternalistic relations that Steve Biko (1978) criticised.

A hybridising point of view makes way for acknowledging the active participation and the complex subjectivities involved. This testifies to layered encounters which include both historical and current collusions, coercion and collisions in the construction of newer ways of being and

knowing. In this, reflections on the materiality of current realities confront systematic tensions, retaining disparities between worlds of remarkable opulence and perpetual deprivation (Ndebele, 2017). Moreover, opportunities for a more honest process of counter-socialization, critical emancipation[42] as well as empowerment that unfolds from a less paternalistic manner can influence productive conversations (Collins and Ratele 2016).

This idea of counter-socialisation is conceptualised by Eskia Mphahlele in *Education as Community Development* (1990). In his discussion of South African social psychology, Mphahlele (1990) deplores the extent to which the isolation of injustices inflicted upon black people, where the fact that the system made everyone look at the world in a certain way, misses the indivisible nature of oppression in which ubiquitous illusions of superiority remain unacknowledged. He argues that dehumanising modes framing racialised knowledge production suggest that all South Africans should be equally concerned with counter-socialization

The concept of counter-socialization further resonates with the theorisation of the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM). Though the definition of blackness within the BCM is not necessarily limited to physical racial characteristics, the movement emerged as a political cultural philosophy employed by blacks in South Africa in an effort to shake off mental oppression and to reinstate essential humanity. Biko (1978) articulated these conditions and the urgency for counter-socialization when he said;

> After the 1963-64 political emasculation of the black population, there was no articulation of aspirations. The opposition of what the state was doing to blacks came mostly from white-led organizations such as the liberal and progressive parties. Having joined the Natal University in 1963, me and my friends saw this as an anomaly. We were of the view that any possible change can only come from a programme organised by black people themselves. The main enemy we identified as the most urgent within the programme was the psychological feeling of inferiority which was deliberately cultivated by the system. So, equally too, whites in order to listen to blacks needed to first defeat the problem of superiority.

The legacy of the BCM is that it provides a vocabulary and an attitude to re-imagine a profound sense of self, a sense of agency to articulate and lead the struggle. Its inclusive scope for self-realization beyond physical identification is relevant for this study's hypothesis that while South

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[42] Critical emancipation involves the simultaneous development of a certain state of mind (feeling powerful, competent, worthy of esteem) and most importantly the modification of structural conditions in order to reallocate power. (Ka Sigogo and Modipa 2004)

Africa has made some progress in terms of physical infrastructure, less work has been levelled at the intangible human capital.

The formulation of the BCM represents a different approach to that advocated by the banned liberation movements. Where these movements had focused on the overt nationalist struggles, the psychosocial rigour that defines the BCM is in line with Frantz Fanon's formulation of the internal and relational mechanisms of power. The overarching tenets of the movement engaged the philosophy of holistic well-being, self-determination, self-reliant development and continuously strove to "elevate the level of consciousness of the black community by promoting awareness, pride, and capabilities" (Mangcu 2004:119). Based on collectively identified priorities, this self-help programme, which included literacy campaigns, co-operative farming schemes, home industries and art centres, provides a relevant rubric against which this study maps self-reliance. Against the definition of humanism expressed in the exclusionary elements of post-1994 policies, the historical debates around the significance of such projects is a continuous discourse in which a cosmetic progression from pre- to post- 1994 is challenged.

Interpretations of Humanism

Humanism simply bases itself on rational negotiation of existence and values collective and individual agency of human beings that prioritise a secular standpoint as opposed to blind acceptance of dogma or superstition (Walter 1997). The next paragraphs map its deployment, first as an intellectual movement and then in terms of its psychological scope.

As a Modernist intellectual movement, humanism emerged from the Renaissance school of thought. Its conceptualisation of personhood is based on the renewed value and power of the individual to reason as appropriated from earlier works of Greek and Roman philosophers. Though viewed as progressive in comparison to medieval orthodoxy, the departure point of this Eurocentric interpretation was constructed around the existence of a universal truth. Capitalist individualism and secularism were core values within this interpretation (Mphahlele 2002).

Common to definitions of humanism from anti-colonial perspectives is the view that human beings were not economic entities to be measured against industrial and technological prowess, but spiritual creatures not separated from the process of creation. The now excessively commercialised and morally eroded concept of *Ubuntu* promoted as part of the Mandela 'brand'

is presented as part of this view (Mphahlele 2002). However, this version lacks the practical and ethically-rooted gravitas of the original definition in which ideas of 'we are therefore I am, or a person is a person through others' were assessed against ethicality of relations with fellow human beings. In contrast, the dominant post-1994 franchise of Ubuntu has mostly meant legitimising the narrative of complacent turning of the other cheek, which has so far served as protection of ill-gotten property rights (Ntsebeza and Hall 2007; Chigumadzi 2017) instead of addressing land reform and activating other urgent social justice issues such as education (Jansen 2009).

Past and present practicalities of various African articulations of humanism, which emerged as a combination of enraged intellectual opposition, suspicious coalescence, psychosocial trauma and indifferent insularities are part of continuous debates. It is thus impossible to disconnect the present discourse from the earliest conversations prompted by intellectual and psychological encounters with culturally dominant settler values, manifested around collisions and collusions with colonial projects as generous vanguards for Christian humanism (Fanon 1967; Mphahlele 2002).

Recognising the psychosocial role of cultural expression in the naturalisation of these projects, the rise of Negritude marks a publicly promoted attempt to activate a positive Afrocentric sense of being in the world. Characterised by the deliberate appreciation of African history and deconstruction of various Western constructions of blackness, its proponents sought to affirm a collective black experience of colonialism through cultural production and daily life (Cesaire 1972). However, the rejection of Negritude has been centred on the perceived homogeneity and unrealistic promotion of essence, which in its extreme form, was said to replicate that which it sought to oppose (Soyinka 2017). According Ntone Edjabe (in Jamal 2010) both in its past and current forms Negritude represents "a revivalist 'church of blackness'…and fails to address the complexity of Africanity because it remains a hollow counter to an ongoing and controlling perception of Africa and Africans as lost to reason, unaccountable for their actions, and incapable of explaining their own lives" (Edjabe in Jamal 2010).

A similar contradiction of becoming that which was initially opposed can be said to apply in most African liberation movements who emerged to embody a period of emancipatory politics concerned with the elimination of structural dehumanisation. Within post-1994 South Africa, disenchanted views about the dwindled credibility of the ANC have come to echo those that led to the founding of the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC). This outfit was marked by an opposing

intellectual space whose tenets argued for Africans to lead the programme to address effects of colonial conquests on the African population (Kondlo 2012). Though predominantly erased from the post-1994 definition of anti-colonial subjectivities, their contrarian positions survive within the increasingly disillusioned South African identities.

Human value and social capital

The above sections have attempted to highlight the predominant organising principles informing the socio-cultural and geopolitical inscriptions of human values. The following paragraphs consider elements of capital building along which elements of Caversham's contribution can be said to be cognisant in engaging human development gaps, particularly where the interventions sought to decentre human value as produced through dominant social systems, for instance the extent to which the model consciously prioritised indigenous tacit knowledge.

In *The Forms of Capital* Pierre Bourdieu (1986) offers a conceptual consideration of the three overlapping forms of capital; the social, cultural and economic as determinants of power and progress, or lack thereof. In this, he maps the extent to which cultural currency functions as a symbolic web in which the quality of basic education, inherited family socialization, access to higher education, professional training and basic amenities determines progress.

The potential for reciprocity and networking within social capital, as conceptualized by Putnam (2000), is particularly useful for considering the circulation of value and the meaning-making process in art-based development. For "each individual act in a system of reciprocity is usually characterized by a combination of what one might call short-term altruism and long-term self-interest….but which together typically make every participant better off" (Putnam 2000: 135). As a scope for agency, social capital helps drive productivity, boosts education, safety and the economy beyond the predominant culture of distrustful silos. Moreover, it provides both the ethical and practical framework to consider the transactional symbolism behind development interventions.

Within this enquiry, this transaction is located in a set of material cultural currencies, including modes of knowledge, social status, and language. This is echoed within the pragmatist scope, which conceptualises the balance between the inward and material. In this scope, any offshoot of development interventions should merge with a view that living is attempting to make practical

adjustments to one's surroundings (Hewitt 1979). This theory is framed by questions such as; what is truth? What is good? What is knowledge? How do we acquire knowledge? Its proponents emphasize the general notion that the truth of an idea or the meaning of a statement is dependent on its practical consequences. Living organisms are viewed as "oriented to meet the demands of their environments in practical ways" (Hewitt 1979: 11). It is thus necessary to explore a framework suitable to map the possible signification modes within lived environments, particularly to make sense of development as a socio-cultural exchange. The following paragraphs explore the idea of facilitators and participants as signifiers whose interface within the space of development can simultaneously function in a transient psychosocial negotiation of meaning

Semiotics and development

In terms of the Caversham model's consciousness around the workshop process as a space in which a two-way power exchange is both implicit and explicit, the framework offered in semiotics accommodates an open-ended meaning making approach without a fixed agenda. A semiotic enquiry into development initiatives makes it possible to consider those who initiate and receive development as constantly negotiating newer meaning within both established and an open-ended web of codes, indexes, icons, and symbols. In this, the supposed universality of development models and the meanings structurally ascribed to them, are edged beyond the dialectics of ideology, or textual understandings (Tomaselli 1996).

As "positioned subjects" (Rosaldo 1989: 19), facilitators and participants within development initiatives are engaged in a process where their backgrounds render interpretation provisional and in many ways continuously created as it is transactional. As positioned subjects "who are prepared to know certain things and not others…their analyses are always incomplete" (Rosaldo 1989: 81).

To further consider the role of public imagination in inculcating modes of value, I draw from the conceptualization provided in *Appropriating Images: The Semiotics of Visual Representation* by Keyan Tomaselli (1996). He asserts that this process incorporates not only how things come to mean, but how prevailing meanings are the outcomes of encounters between individuals, groups, classes and their respective cosmologies and conditions of existence. This is based on his first experience in 'ethnographic film-making' comprising an assignment to film *izangoma* within the Transkei Bantustan in 1976. His case builds on the ethics, the biased crew-community relations

and inevitable cultural misconceptions observed from a white South African male perspective. Though focusing on filmic authorship, his account dissects past and present South African ethnographies as well as the exploration of what he calls the 'anthropology of visual communication'[43] benefits this study in how it provides a power relations scope to consider the reception of workshops held within the selected semi-traditionally governed communities. The line of argument particularly relevant in this scope is the incorporation of semiotics as a tool to consider paradigms of interpretation and how they are developed to endorse ways of seeing instead of accommodating plurality as well as the reality in which multiple interpretations are a norm. Here semiotics builds onto the transient psychosocial negotiation of meaning as contextualised as follows;

> [It is] the study of how meaning occurs in language, pictures, performances, and other forms of expression. The method incorporates not only how things come to mean, but how prevailing meanings are the outcomes of encounters between individuals, groups and classes and their respective cosmologies and conditions of existence. These social and cultural categories are crisscrossed by other lines of tension such as gender, psychology, religion, language, ethnic and nationalist forms of domination and/or resistance. Overlaid on all of these is culture- how specific groups of people encounter, make sense of, and ascribe meaning to, the respective social, mental and physical worlds into which they are born, in which they live, and where they usually die. These encounters and conflicts are manifested in a semiotic struggle (Tomaselli 1999: 29).

In foregrounding these struggles, Tomaselli problematizes homogenizing assumptions where, historically, seeing or conducting research has meant understanding and knowing lives. Here, semiotics magnifies the politics of symbolic forms and the need to realise the viewer, or in this case the recipients of development and their position in the initiative. In this, the recipient becomes an active participant in the meaning-making within a layered cultural con-text. Thus to privilege the initiator's intentions and interpretation to the exclusion of the recipient's subjectivities not only renders the meaning-making process incomplete but writes out other modes of seeing. Furthermore, I am interested in how Tomaselli highlights an interplay between constructions of authenticity, agency, and accountability in both the facilitator and recipient. In this, the materiality of development and its layered political economies of value become a two-way process, constantly

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[43] Tomaselli uses anthropology of visual communication to look at how film and television are used by dominant and dominated societies, classes and groups in resistance or cooperation, to maintain, discredit or contest representations of social identities. He examines the results of that contestation and how audiences respond to the variety of competing images that have documented their lives.

produced and consumed by all involved. This particularly applies in how personal signification objects, which are further explored in the fourth chapter, constitute a central element in the Caversham methodology.

Conclusion

This chapter has explored conceptual frameworks of self-realisation as it relates to the dominant development discourse, considering the geopolitical, socio-cultural, material and embodiment levels. The discussion presented entry points into some of the modes through which power-related grey areas within post-1994 realities of forging development can be explored along the contours of how individuals come to relate to, or know what they know and interpret their surroundings. The psychosocial make-up as it affects varied understandings of the project of social change and self-embodiment was discussed in relation to pedagogy.

Chapter Three: A de-centering paradigm

Based on the conceptual framework explored in the previous chapter, this study's research methodology draws primarily from the reflective critical paradigm offered within the postcolonial psychosocial scope, particularly linking the decolonial frame offered by the RMF students' movement. There was, however, an unavoidable paradox in thinking about how to incorporate this frame in thinking about elements of self-determination, while this very study is located within a colonial paradigm that, in many ways, renders me an outsider. Moreover, the insider-outsider position outlined in the introduction is further problematised by how, even though I employ the feminist scope of self-reflexivity and personal narratives to challenge this dominant paradigm, I had to translate these from isiZulu and isiNtlangwini to English. The extent to which I become enmeshed in the "epistemological trap of representing subaltern's complex voices." (Spivak in Buthelezi 2008) is reiterated in Njabulo Ndebele's (1986) *The English Language and Social Change in South Africa*. Here Ndebele conceptualises the English language as a site of assimilation into colonial subjectivity. He highlights the currency of this language within the South African context and how its centrality became a tool through which even the idea of freedom became standardised.   It "promised an attractive world of 'freedom and opportunity' to all those who entered that world. Yet, many of those who entered, mainly as colonial subjects had to give up much of what constituted [their] own sphere of freedom" (Ndebele 1986: 104). This remains true in the post-1994 currencies of English accents expressed in the extent to which the "cache of being black and articulate in a certain way" (Msimang 2015) facilitates access, and confirms Ngungi Wa Thiong'o's observation that "the cultural currency in the very sound of English becomes associated with intelligence" (Wa Thiongo 2015).

Furthermore, in my consideration of methodology I had to be mindful of the representational scope that connects the material cultural objects produced in both centres to those historically incorporated into ethnographic and anthropological studies as artefacts of othering through museumification (Karp 1991). The function and political significance of writing as a colonising tool in these processes necessitates a reclaiming method. In line with the tacit paradigm of knowledge discussed earlier, the idea of privileging alternative literacies as conceptualised in *Writing without Words: Alternative Literacies in Mesoamerica and Andes* (1994) by Elizabeth Boone and Walter Mignolo offer a relevant scope. Boone and Mignolo consider the social context

of writing during the colonial period, challenging lopsided conceptualisations of art, writing and literacy.

From this scope, the 'cultural' objects from the two centres in Harding and Mtubatuba can be read as a reclaiming of the pre-alphabetic form of literacy, and thus a narrative that predates colonial imposition. In this regard, the inclusion of personal narratives as part of the dissertation body, retaining as much essence of the conversation as possible became part of the methodology to deal with the many contradictions I represent as both an MA Art History candidate located in a colonial academic context and a descendant of a different way of knowing.

In pursuit of an approach suitable for the reclaiming of repressed narratives, I heed Carmen Luke's approach in *Feminisms and Pedagogies of Everyday* (1996). Here, the use of raw personal narratives captures the material cultural experience of Australian aboriginal women and thus challenge modes of knowledge production in which they were erased and silenced. The adaptation of this approach in this study attempts to privilege the way individuals think about their agency, lived experience and what it means to be human, aiming to get a holistic view of feelings, needs and meaning-making (Hollway, Lacey and Phoenix 2006). I also incorporate elements of a qualitative interpretative approach to discursively look at the interconnections between the internal world of the individual and their external world, in order to consider how groups or individuals can be said to self-realise.

Here, qualitative research refers to an inclusive label that refers to "a variety of research techniques and procedures associated with the goal of trying to understand the complexities of the social world in which we live, and how we go about thinking, acting and making meaning in our lives" (Ellis 2004: 25). The use of the qualitative interpretative paradigm will adopt Laura Ellingson's (2009) idea of crystallization. This framework engages multi-genre work in a way that accommodates interdisciplinary enquiry and challenges the "hegemony of traditional social scientific work that pervades the academy" (Ellingson 2009: xii). This is characteristic of how it "privileges story over theory" (Ibid. xi) and accommodates the co-existence of the researcher's positionality (the 'I') within or alongside conventional forms of analysis that may adopt pre-existing texts to highlight pattern in data. Moreover, crystallization accommodates the complexities located at the intersections of various knowledge systems framing not only the selected cases but the interdisciplinary nature of this study (Ellingson 2009).

Data collection tools

Because I am reflecting on the 2008-2010 time frame, I relied on archived data ranging from pamphlets, video and audio taped workshops as well as residency processes. It was relatively easy to access Caversham and Ulwazi archives as most projects were documented. However, accessing the other two spaces Ingcambu Ezikile (Harding) and Isipho (Mtubatuba) was a challenge because they have not had documentation tools. They are also similarly challenged in terms of their particular administrative capacities. As indicated above, my research in all sites prioritised personal narratives, which I have translated or transcribed to incorporate retaining as much as possible.

In terms of fieldwork, unstructured observation was adopted as the main research instrument. In this, the researcher enters the field with general ideas of what might be significant, but not of what specifically will be observed. This way the observation is holistic, unstructured, and natural and thus enables recording of behavioural patterns as well as the engagement with the art-making material (Rule and John 2011).

The idea was that my visits would coincide with each centre's workshop programme, where my observations would include an interactive engagement with the art making process. I envisioned that this holistic observation process would primarily engage the question as to what subjectivities the facilitator brings into the workshop and how this influences relational dynamics.

However, there were ethical and time factors that necessitated adaptations. For instance, in formulating the above tool, I had overlooked the fact that the centres' limited financial resources do not allow a consistent programing. Since the programmes are funded from their leaders' meagre income, to expect an invitation to a workshop within the period I had set aside for fieldwork was unrealistic. I then suggested that the leaders think of a workshop drawing on my skills, which I would contribute as part of my visit. The first attempt, which was at Egugwini proved both useful and restrictive. Useful in that I was able to organically engage with both the participants and the centre leader. And restrictive in that my attention to observe with a view to answer the research question concerned with the facilitator's subjectivities and power dynamics was split. Hence the need to adapt this aspect at KwaMsane (Mtubatuba), where my observations beyond the centre became more substantial.

It is important to mention that, firstly, this will not be a comparative analysis of the two projects, as their organic and individual growth did not follow a particular template, instead I will (in the next chapter) discuss them against the contours of the questions I raised in relation to the Caversham model. Secondly, as mentioned in the first chapter, the residency programme attended by both centre leaders (Mtubatuba and Harding) did not teach any artistic skills, but used creative processes such as drawing and printmaking to prioritise self-belief in relation to leadership skills[44]. Thirdly, my field research was specifically based on the attached observation schedule (Appendix B). This focuses on how the workshop facilitators interfaced with not only their participants but their community environment. As mentioned in the introduction, the particular character of these environments as influenced by traditional governance is of interest to my analysis. And lastly; I am aware that the work produced at both centres could be categorised as pseudo-traditional both in term of the function and the material used. However, the authenticity of the work is outside of the scope of this dissertation. The main interest here is how the process of re-enacting its historical significance can be read within the pedagogical framework.

In the following paragraphs I first describe findings from both KwaMsane and Harding, particularly how the two different modes of data collection methods unfolded. For Ulwazi (Lidgetton), I mostly relied on documentary data such as video recordings and photographs. In this, I have focused on extracting personal narratives. My selection was mostly informed by wanting to highlight both the community members' and facilitators' common search for personal and collective meaning. Following this criteria, the interview with Malcolm Christian (attached in appendix A) is transcribed from our verbal conversation.

Findings and Observations

Ingcambu Ezikile CreACTive Centre: Gugwini (Harding)

My observations at Gugwini are divided into two; the workshop process, which I co-facilitated and the tour around the museum.

In the process of the workshop, I realized that my suggestion to conduct a workshop somehow inspired expectations of the outcomes to resonate with the kind of work I had done as a representative of Caversham. This was expressed by two participants who had participated in a

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[44] See Appendix A

workshop I coordinated in 2008, and it was worth noting because their expectations may suggest specific value they attach to the processes facilitated by Caversham.

All the participants are school-goers aged between nine and sixteen. The recruitment process is organic in that new participants are introduced to the centre through those who already attend. Others have been exposed to Nomadla Nodola's *Amcufe* annual cultural festival in which the community is invited to experience her work. The only restriction mentioned, which Nodola draws from "the Chief and the community" is to promote values to "encourage good conduct and prevent the spreading of HIV". In terms of this "girls who have lost their virginity [as well as those] who drop out of school do not attend the workshops…as they might influence others" (Nodola, pers. comm., 2017).

The workshop space resembles the conventional classroom in how tables and chairs are positioned to allow the facilitators to move in and around the participants. It also reinforces an atmosphere that suggests the authority of the centre leader of Ingcambu Ezikile, who the participants listen to with intense respect. Explaining the relational dynamics, Nodola emphasized that she "treat[s] the participants as part of my family members." Furthermore, "I try to engage the minds of the participants [while] showing them what I need in the workshop which [eventually become] part of the library, museum and the annual cultural festival……it also increases [their] knowledge in some school subjects and activities [such as] arts and culture (Nodola, pers. comm., 2017).

As soon as I finished introducing myself and the purpose of my research project, I was immediately made aware that English words are not allowed in the space, as the leader prefers IsiNtu[45]. This challenged my code-switching tendencies which I realised happen unconsciously. Because our activity was based on drawing, the fact that some of the 'conventions' of mark-making do not have Nguni equivalents became heightened.

The drawing activity began with the cognitive drawing exercise, in which participants were asked to imagine that their pencils were dancing on paper without looking at the page or lifting the pencil from it. The aim of incorporating this mode as a research tool was to explore the extent to which precognitive mark making can emerge. In line with John Dewey's *Art as Experience*, explored

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[45] Any language that belongs to a family of languages that originate from proto-bantu; the reconstructed common ancestor of Bantu languages that are thought to have originally been spoken in West and/ or Central Africa (Bryan 2017). In the context of this workshop, IsiNtlangwini, IsiBhaca, IsiMpondo and a bit of IsiZulu dominated.

in the previous chapter, drawing recruits innate capacities, and functions as a tool that privileges the connection between the body, mind and the world (Dewey 1938).

From the initial mark-making, which appears chaotic, participants began looking at whatever images they could make out from the entangled shapes. In many ways, this process of looking and finding enabled a dialogue where the drawing 'spoke' back. The process also became an engagement with the present in how the participants used the recognisable elements to think of their ultimate cognition (fig. 29 a-h).

It was not surprising that the majority wished for houses, modes of transportation and businesses or job opportunities which the participants believed would improve their lives or the situation in their homes. According to Nodola, some of the most common complaints expressed by Egugwini residents include lack of job opportunities, housing, bad gravel roads as well as the prevalent mushrooming of taverns which has "led to death of some people" (Nodola, pers. comm., 2017). It can thus be said that the workshop was useful in terms of allowing insight into the participants' personal "hierarchy of needs." (Maslow 1954).

 In a vision accompanied by a symbol (fig. 12, developed at Caversham in one of the residency programmes she attended in 2008, Nodola expressed a desire "to inspire the youth, with knowledge and a passion for their culture through workshops, activities and her museum collection." The symbol of the tap root Nodola connects her personal history with that of the Ntlangwini people, under the jurisdiction of Chief Mgqigqelwa Fodo. She says it is an inspiration to her, and represents the three main people who were instrumental, encouraged and contributed to her when she was doing the research into the Ntlangwini peoples. Though those three people have since died, the idea of a root in her symbol represents their support from which she draws strength to grow her vision (Nodola, pers. comm., 2008). In terms of notable post-1994 development indicators, Nodola said "there is a little bit [of development] because there is electricity…. water is on and off" (Nodola, pers. comm. 2017).

The museum section of Nodola's intervention is registered under the name Impande Ejulile (deep root in isiZulu). The museum display is divided into two main sections; one is a combination of a library as well as the artefacts that have come from workshops and the other combines Nodola's personal history and that of the Ntlangwini people. She re-enacts the oral historical records she started collecting from her grandfather at a young age. Beginning in the mid-1800s, it traces the

Nodolas as descendants of Nodola Jokweni who was the senior warrior of Fodo Dlamini, the founding chief of the Ntlangwini. The story of the caves at Gcebeni as the tribe's palace and the social symbols that marked that time are central to the display.

Nodola Jokweni inversely became one of the earliest Christian converts whose status in the palace grew from warrior to chair of the traditional court. Through his newly acquired education, he was instrumental in the building of a school as well as the Wesleyan church in the area. Nodola's father was to inherit elements of Nodola's status in that his access to education enabled him to become interpreter for the chief of his time. The display thus gives a glimpse of how he was able to procure a decent lifestyle for his family. In many ways, Nodola's current close relationship with the royal house sustains her family's aristocratic status, which the chief and his cohort of 'warriors' honour in her annual Amcufe festival (fig. 25 & 26).

Among the significant events informing the display is a replica of a coffin that buried the first chief who died in 1864. Most of the social historical records are captured in Nodola's own clay sculptures (fig. 24 & 25) as well as artefacts from the family's history, including photographs, clothes, wirework, drawings, and beadwork. Drawings and beadwork are particularly realised at the workshops she runs whenever she has means.

It is worth mentioning that a large part of the museum is located inside the family house (fig. 21), blurring the lines between the display and day-to-day living or rendering this part of its meaningfulness. Nodola mentioned that land to build a separate facility has been allocated next to her homestead. However, lack of funds to build were delaying the process.

The variety of audiences that frequent the museum include random tourists, community members and school groups. Nodola mentioned that on the day of my visit, the current Zulu monarch King Zwelithini and one of his wives had visited the museum. When large groups such as school children visit, which is often, adult female neighbours sometimes come to assist as informants and in the preparation of refreshments if pre-arranged.

While commendable, elements of women empowerment in this project are not without contradictions, and perhaps serve to highlight the complicated pursuit of agency. For instance, one of the questions I was curious about but never asked during the interview regards what I

recognised as a layer of respectability politics[46] expressed through the wearing of below-knee-length skirts by all female participants.   There seems to be a hankering after modern Christian ideals that contradicts the somewhat revealing 'traditional' Ntlangwini short 'skirts' worn during AMCUFE (fig. 24).   In this the re-enactment of cultural self-representation, which is also advocated in the content of Nodola's workshops, including the insistence that only isiNtu be spoken, co-exists with a moral framework that is in many ways located in the hegemony of Christian world-making.

Worth noting within the above co-existence, which I have also observed in my own community, are elements of what W.E.B Du Bois (1903), and later Franz Fanon (1952) called "double consciousness".   In this regard, respectability politics as an element of black feminism overlaps with Negritude in how both are concerned with the presentation of the black body in a 'positive' moral light, which was often intended as a political tool to negate discriminatory social and religious constructs.

Isipho CreACTive Centre: KwaMsane (Mtubatuba)

In planning my visit to the second site, KwaMsane, I decided to abandon the idea of offering a workshop.   Instead of a weekend, I arrived on a Tuesday, to find two middle-aged women and three school-going youth making commissioned beadwork pieces for a fashion outlet in Cape Town.   In the organic conversation that ensued, I learnt about product development as well as the centre's successes and challenges in line with its vision.   Though I got a general sense of the various issues affecting the surrounding community, the issue of rape and how it relates to the virginity testing that is practised at the centre and which is allied to the beadwork produced at this centre dominated the conversation.

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[46] Respectability politics is a term coined by 19th century historian Evely Brooks Higginbotham in her seminal book titled *Righteous Discontent: The Women's Movement in the Baptist Church 1880- 1920* (1993). The term was intended to describe morally focused work done by the women's convention of the Baptist church. An organisation of black Baptist church women that did important work at the turn of the 20th century, but framed a great deal of this work on demanding respectable behavior as both a moral mandate and as a political strategy.   Higginbotham observed that "they felt certain that respectable behavior in public would earn their people a measure of esteem from white America, and hence they strove to win the black lower class 's psychological allegiance to temperance, industriousness, thrift, refined manners and Victorian sexual morals…" (Higginbotham 1993: 199)

The practical part of the workshop process at Isipho is mainly around making objects. The ethos is organic in a sense that there is no formal instruction. Depending on the complexity of designs, demonstrations are exchanged between the young and older participants. This sense of flexibility is expressed in how the programmes are not limited to making objects, but organically engage with issues affecting the surrounds. Because of my unstructured programme here, I was able to briefly explore a sense of place beyond Isipho, particularly other issues affecting the broader Mtubatuba community that is under traditional leadership.

My visit to Mtubatuba coincided with a protest where residents of the Fuleni area, not far from KwaMsane, were marching against the establishment of a coal mine which was set to be built near their homes. Some people's homesteads had been removed to make way for the mine. In a video recording captured by the Global Environmental Trust at the end of 2016, residents argued that the mine would have adverse effects on not only their health and livelihood, particularly faming, but the area's natural resources. Counter to the local municipality's claims that the community was aware of the proposed mine and that consultations are ongoing, the community complained that the local 'chief' had bypassed consultation and approved the mine without their consent. During the proposal stage, which necessitated the allocation of land for the mine, motivation for residents to relocate was accompanied by promises of jobs and compensation. However, when the mine was operationalized, people were brought in as labourers from outside the community. This angry crowd, ranging from young school-going to the elderly, appealed to the Zulu monarch to intervene:

> "We appeal to the king and the government to come here and see what we are faced with. That we are being removed from our land without being informed" (*Manyathi 2016).

> "It is a usual thing for corporates and other people from outside who come here and take advantage of the fact that we were not able to get educated. They utter promises which they don't commit to" (*Zondo 2016).

> "We have seen this at Somkhele [a nearby community], where a mine is already operating. Their livestock has been dying. Poverty is becoming rife as they no longer have ploughing and grazing land. They feel like their lives were better before the mine. The people who were removed there did not even receive compensation" (*MaNqele 2016).

> "People are abused in the manner in which their loved ones' graves are relocated. The source of pain is not only the hastened improper exhumation and reburial, but the fact that we cannot longer identify our graves" (*Zikode 2016).

> "The anxieties from this is further expounded by the fact that this is not the first eviction. We were evicted from another village called Ocwaka and brought here without our consent.

When we were given this land, we were warned not to give it to anybody else as there is no other land to give. So people got scared when this mining company just came to dig on their ploughing field without consent" (*Mkhwanazi 2016).

"In the community where the mine is already in operation, the houses are cracking whenever the blasting takes place. The amount of dust produced by this process interrupts the small grazing patched they are trying to sustain within our homesteads, causing livestock to suffer. People are undernourished and tuberculosis cased are rising…..All of this it happening under the watchful eye of the 'chief', who gave this mining company the authority to come and work here" (*MaZitha 2016).

These voices capture the prevalent neo-liberal environment within which the project exists. Furthermore, as explored in the first chapter, the sustained culture of distorted entitlement, generally displayed by traditional leaders over land, remains one of the threats to constitutionally inscribed rights.

Ulwazi and Caversham (Lidgetton)

During the two and a half years that I lived at Lidgetton, traces of the living dynamics could be glimpsed in a typical morning of traveling the narrow symmetrical streets. Images of adults en route to various jobs dominated by blue collar workers, mainly constituting the labour force for surrounding farms, and various Midlands Meander[47] and retail businesses. Along unattended cows punctuating the movement of cars and the idle gait of the unemployed, purposeful movements of uniformed school youth represented potential.

Through the narratives attached to the various visual art activities[48] at Ulwazi, the unfavourable dominant economic plight was palpable. For instance, I discovered that the nine-year-old Zinhle whose colourful pastel depiction of her 'angel' holding a 'modern' house, came from the informal settlement located on the edge of Lidgetton. In this settlement, most families, including Zinhle's, were obliged to use pit toilets and wash their clothes in a nearby river. Her single mother was unemployed and did not qualify for the government grant because she didn't have South African

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[47] The Midlands Meander is a route situated between the city of Pietermaritzburg and the uKhahlamba-Drakensberg Park World Heritage Site.
It began in 1985 when several potters and weavers came together to create an arts and crafts route through the region. Today more than 150 talented and creative individuals welcome visitors to their rural environs to view furniture, rugs, pottery, stained glass, leatherwork, kites, quilts, hammocks, ceramics, decor, wind chimes, weavers, bistros, restaurants, B&Bs, lodges, guest houses etc (midlandsmeander.co.za)

[48] Since inception, Ulwazi programmes were not limited to the facilitator's skills or area of interest. Participants were encouraged to tap into their preferred mode of expression. Which tended to include dance, music, poetry, drawing and printmaking.

citizenship. In attending Ulwazi, which is located within the 'better' part of Lidgetton, she had defied this class segregation. The newspaper images (12 January, 2016) of a despondent mob from her community blocking the nearby R103 with tree trunks, branches, boulders, and burning tyres coupled with the throwing of rocks towards the outnumbered police officers, was a reminder of the community's plight. This was a depiction of yet another service delivery protest (Umraw 2016).

Ulwazi was a space for participants to imagine a different story about themselves, as teachers from schools from which participants hailed observed considerable improvements in the group who frequented its programme (Mabaso 2016).

Explaining the challenges the school is facing with arts and culture as a subject, the principal, Mr Mabaso (2016), explained that the only time that the school has had a visual arts teacher was when Mr Sibiya*[49], who had trained at the erstwhile Ndaleni teacher training college, was around. And so Ulwazi was a mutually beneficial addition to both the school and the community.

With the economic situation at Lidgetton being one of poverty, the relevance of Ulwazi was envisioned to go beyond the learner population and address broader community issues, such as unemployment. However, the attendance of out of school community members were inconsistent because they were looking to generate income and tended to be less interested in the long-term potential of the project.

Reflecting on the benefits of the programme, Mr Mabaso said;

> "I use to attend the Saturday workshops, sit, listen and wish that something like this was available for us while growing up. During these drop-ins I would say I also benefited a lot and could see the benefits in the learners that were part of the programme. It was not only their academic performance that improved, but their levels of understanding themselves as individuals was impressive. One skill I am grateful for learning at Ulwazi, which proved useful to apply in my teaching is making films with a cell phone. I still use it to this day" (2016).

The above reflection gives some shape to the abstractness of 'self-belief through self-expression' and its application within marginalized contexts. It also highlights the intersection between the model, formal education and the community.

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[49] *name changed to protect identity.

The Ulwazi programme consisted of bimonthly Saturday workshops, and no prior art-making background or experience was required, just a willingness to explore creative expression. This intention privileged the idea of providing a safe space for creative self-exploration more than feeding into pre-determined tangible outcomes (Nkosi, 2009: video rec.).

Gauged against the mainstream market-based rubric, this unstructured nature of the programme can be said to go against the idea of sustainability. Furthermore, its open-ended approach to recruiting and engaging member who are not necessarily interested in becoming artists deviates from the elitist politics of access.

Some of the workshops were conceptual extensions of the local and international residency programmes at Caversham, with various local and international artists and writers contributing their skills and experience to the programme at Ulwazi.

In the last garden project we did before Gabisile Nkosi's[50] tragic demise, we worked with the elderly, some of whom were guardians to Ulwazi participants. Below are four of the stories shared as part of presenting their significant objects. I extracted these from a video recording, where they were shared in IsiZulu;

MaNzama* (73) brought an old blouse she has had since she was a young bride. Sharing its significance she said;

> "I remember one dusk in 1979, Richmond, when the birth of my fourth child, the first boy, brought feelings of joy for the whole family. It was even more special for my husband because it guaranteed the continuation of the clan name….The next morning saw him rushing to the local shop to get us whatever provisions we needed. Because of the political violence that had been going on lately, I don't pay much attention to distant gunshots I heard while going about light morning chores. However, a local policemen arrives to inform us that my husband was badly wounded in a shooting exchange between the police and local youngsters, and died before they could reach the hospital. No one was tried or arrested. Since then, I had to provide for my children, and later grandchildren. Besides ad-hoc domestic work, I later revived my agricultural skills passed onto me by my mother. In addition to my pension, this is how I sustain my family" (MaNzuza 2008).

Thandiwe* (49) brought a picture of her three children, and said;

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[50] The constant message in Nkosi's approach to workshop interventions always centred on personal stories. Using metaphors from her own life story as captured in her work, participants were encouraged to look at their own lives. This is where the idea of a significant object as a tool for self-reflection became central.

"I would have liked to bring something that depicts the complete story of my life…. Growing up, it was a norm for girl children to be withdrawn from school. So when my parents decided to stop paying for my education at STD 4, I was supposed to accept. But determined to carry on, I approached a local farmer for part-time employment. And this enabled me to continue with my schooling, until STD 9, earning myself the status of being the very first girl in my home area to have reached this level. However, a pregnancy at this point fast-tracked the much anticipated lobola negotiations and marriage.

Now faced with contributing towards making ends meet for my growing family, I enrolled for a 3-month course as a switchboard operator. Whilst waiting for this course to commence, a neighbour urged her to join a free one week sewing course. Desperate to expand my prospects beyond house-wife, I took this opportunity. With much effort to bury my uncertainties, I became absorbed in the course. Encouraged by the facilitators, I began to challenge myself by cutting things from scratch, starting with a man's shirt. That is when I began to embrace sewing as my talent.

This is when I began to make connections with the hand work classes during my primary school years, particularly an assignment to sew together pieces of cloth. For that assignment, I had decided to make a miniature dress. Coincidentally, a boy in my class had carved a doll the same size as my dress. As this boy's sculpture became a mannequin for my creation, the admiration and encouragement with which this work was received by both teacher and students did kindle a spark I never attempted to chase. Until joining that sewing course. My talent was further confirmed when I managed, at first attempt, to put together a complicated life-sized parachute with great success.

Affirmed, I applied for financial assistance to enable me to turn my talent into a business. A funding scheme in Umgababa was captured by my zeal, but they were sceptical, mentioning how my gender and tender age might affect my performance. It was therefore proposed that funding would be given to me on condition that my progress be closely monitored by one of their representatives.

I began supplying a local kid's shop at Mthulini garage, near which I had begun renting space. At this development, I was ecstatic as my dream had turned into a reality. However, this momentum was abruptly broken as my husband began to express disapproval, citing the inappropriate time I was spending with the male representative from the Umgababa funding company. Both family sides joined in, taking my husband's side. It became an issue so big that I felt caught in between keeping my family and letting go of the business. I eventually chose to close the business completely. And this devastated my spirit.

At this point, I am a mother of three daughters, and I began to single- mindedly place my focus on ensuring that my children get the best education so as to enable them informed career choices at an early stage.

My oldest daughter was recently chosen as a runner-up in a visual art competition, and when asked what had inspired her to become and artist, she related about how, as a child, she would attempt to draw her mother's creations. As she got absorbed in this, the seed was planted and has she never looked back" (Thandiwe 2008).

Zitho* (23) brought a sunflower

"I'm the oldest of my single mother's seven children. I grew up in what I wish was not such a common environment for many kids around here; Between piece jobs trying to make sure we had something to eat, my mother was also trying to find us a father. At some point in this journey, she became sick. When it got worse, I ended up having to skip school to take care of her and my siblings, two of whom had their own children.   When she passed away in 2001, I completely quit schooling. By the end of that year, my sister became sick and died, leaving six children.

This experience facilitated my introduction to groups of HIV/AIDS affected and infected youth where I was able share my family's story as a way of creating awareness.

The realities of being a young unemployed guardian to hopeless and vulnerable children, landed me in an agricultural group of elderly women called Sizakancane. Here I was one of the few young people who later formed the youth brigade. We are a group of 10 young women.   And we don't only do gardening, but seek potential sponsors to fund our educational activities.

My experiences have taught me to be responsive to any empowering activities that take place in the community. From whichever direction, I wait to listen, open my eyes and ears with a receptive and positive outlook to whatever other women are doing to get rid of poverty whilst empowering themselves" (Zitho 2008).

Constance* (71) brought inyanda, a miniature bundle of wood

"After the father of my six kids called it quits to our 8-year-long marriage, my ignorance began to peel off as I became solely responsible for raising my family. Circumstances eventually forced me to leave our house in Transkei and move back with my mother at Lidgetton.   Both my mother and I tried doing piece domestic jobs around the farms, but the mountain of financial challenges we were facing was just too much. We sat down and agreed that selling beer and dagga would be a quick way to make ends meet.

When my mother eventually passed on, I continued to embrace my life as a sheebeen queen. Promising myself that once I've put all my children through school until at least matric level, I would give up the business.   I learnt that to try and overcome my poverty in exclusivity is not enough, but rather that, a war jointly fought by and for everyone's benefit is the worthiest and effective way to defeat this dilemma.

There are so many impoverished families here. When my load became lighter, I began inviting orphaned children, as well as vulnerable poverty-stricken families, to share in what my family could share.   When the community chose me as its ambassador to take up courses ranging from home-based care, small business management and gardening, my talent as community worker began to really shine through.   After finishing these short courses, I organized groups of five at a time to come to my house and learn what I had learned so they could own and apply these skills in their individual development. Although several were inspired to start business initiatives, these became impossible to sustain, due to the urgency to provide for their families. Many of them resorted to work at the nearby

farms. Although the money is not good, at least they can provide for their kids. The organization that offered the courses I attended was working with different communities. So I guess it is difficult for it to follow up and continue to support us" (Constance 2008).

The above accounts capture what I observed to be common challenges in other two communities (Mtubatuba and Gugwini) as well, and seemed to contribute in the shared economic and skills support challenges which need urgent attention. The inevitable urban exodus that sees youth migrating to reachable urban centres as soon as they finish school prevents any potential capacity-building strategies, which could be actioned by way of attracting skilled but unemployed youth to voluntarily align with the centres' areas of need. Visual documentation, administrative record keeping, proposal and report writing are some of these areas.

Methodological Challenges

In addition, another challenge arose from attempting to map some of the variables based on the 2008-2010 time frame in which my study is located. I could not locate most past participants as they no longer live within the community or contact details have changed. This meant I could not conduct follow up interviews, and have thus partly relied on documentary analysis where records were available.

I found that the process of looking at this data was in many ways influenced by my personal experience of some of the processes. Apart from co-facilitating community-based workshops, I assisted in the studio during residency programmes and collaborated with artists and writers. During the Masabelaneni residencies, I often played the role of translator during collective processes where participants did not speak the same language. Therefore, in looking at and listening[51] to data, particularly in response to the questions in Appendix C, there was an intermingling of memory and subjective speculation.

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[51] In addition to the interviews, which were conducted both in person and followed-up via telephone, pre-existing data included video recordings, photographs, artworks and attendance registers

Chapter 4: Reflecting on the Model

To map the impact of the Caversham model, it is necessary to revisit the questions posed in the first chapter. The main question considered the extent to which the non-prescriptive people-centred elements within Caversham Press's outreach offer possibilities for sustainable self-reliance. This question is in many ways dependent on the elements of the second sub-question which questioned how the model can be said to address the dependency cycle that mainstream community development is understood to perpetuate.   The third sub-question was; what constitute the connections between the Caversham model, formal education and the communities within which they're situated and which aspects of the model best bridge pedagogical gaps between these? And the last was; what subjectivities does the artist facilitator bring into the workshop in terms of professionally influenced content and power dynamics?

In addition to the discursive conceptual framework outlined in chapter two, data from the interviews and the documentary analysis processes are incorporated to answer the above question. Furthermore, themes that emerged from observations or interviews, but don't directly respond to the questions will be considered as sub-sections.

Non-prescriptive Elements

Elements of non-prescription can be gleaned not only in the descriptors such as an 'enabler' or 'collaborator' Christian adopts to explain his contribution beyond the studio but speak to the autonomous and organic ways in which each centre has developed. He described his role as follows;

> "My role is to work with one individual at a time or a small group and allow the process to unveil to reveal itself and what that content is going to be, directed through conversation finally clarifying what the destination is going to be. So you just provide a structure and process and then allow the individuals to take it to where it should go. So just an enabler, yes and a caretaker of this facility.

The model can also be said to echo Amartya Sen's definition of development which goes beyond the need for income. Instead, it foregrounds the deprivation of basic capabilities such as dignity rather than merely on the low income level, which dominates post-1994 rubrics for community development.

"While one understood wholeheartedly the need for that outcome, in some ways it was saying 'what are the other things that you need', and…[realising that] you actually need a house a home, you need food, but you [also] need a song for the soul. And it is the song for the soul that we were looking at. It's that without a soul everything else is mechanized and in some ways commodified, and I think that is what we as artists do in a way. When I think back to what was I trying to do with artists, I remember realizing that not all artists would be ideal catalysts, would fit into that catchment" (Christian, pers. comm., 2016).

To have a pre-existing methodology to facilitate this process would belie the inwardly located process. It is the very conundrum that highlights the importance for people to engender their own priorities. In this, the facilitator cannot be in a position to bring solutions but be simultaneously engaged in the same process, thus countering the dependency mode.

The Caversham model as counter to the dependency cycle

Although the Caversham model prioritises inward elements such as self-belief and imagination, a consideration of how its ethos might be read against the outward discourse of development which frame particular localities is essential. The centre leaders' responses to the question of development reveal elements of the reproduction of dependency, as explored in the second chapter. Responding to the question of what the term development has meant to them or their communities, the centre leaders Khululiwe Mabanga and Nomandla Nodola said;

 "We hear about intuthuko (isiZulu for development), but it has not yet happened for us. We continue to be on our own here. 1994 did not happen in the 'reserve' side of kwaMsane. It's like it flew over us. We are waking up in 2017 and nothing has changed here. Maybe other places have experienced development. Despite the many megaphone announcements calling the community to meetings about intuthuko, I have a hard time even trying to formulate what that word means for me. The municipality tends to implement things in the location across the N2. That is the more affluent section of kwaMsane. Residents pay rates and their kids go to better schools in town. For instance, we have come to accept that if the electricity outages include that location, the matter gets resolved sooner. But if it's only this side that is affected, it can take a week or more to have it solved. One has to call the Pietermaritzburg branch to solve it. Because the only nearest schools, both primary and high, is located that side, where people can afford fees, the government has kept it that way, regardless of the fact that it's only the kids from our less economically able part of kwaMsane that attend and thus should be exempted from paying" (Mabanga, 2017: pers. comm.).

"People complain about lack of job opportunities, the non-existent allocation of decent housing, bad condition of the road, which remains gravel and the proliferation of tavern

places which have led to several deaths.   Indicators of development are really minor; there is electricity, but water is on and off" (Nodola, 2017: pers. comm).

The above responses confirm that post-1994 lived experiences of development within these two communities have maintained exclusionary patterns. The provision of services is still administered according to colonial spatial segregation. More focused on the narrative of transformation, which has meant adding more blacks into middle class, the ANC government has not problematised the extent to which the idea of rates as a historical tool built into urban planning justifies unequal allocation of privilege (Mbembe, 2017). The "megaphone announcements" are synonymous with the campaigning crusades that often take place close to elections, where a standard idea of development becomes part of the political rhetoric.   That both centre leaders associated the idea of development with signifiers such as roads, running water, and electricity can be said to reveal the dominant grouping of priorities that accompany these campaigns.

Furthermore, the curtailing of individual voices as well as the re-enact forced removals expressed in the case of the undemocratic authorisation of the mine highlight the dominance of the patriarchal traditional leadership. It also sustains the political history of not only regulating and disciplining bodies, but controlling their access to land as well as the livelihoods attached to resources on it (Wa Thiong'o, 2015). In this, women's self-expression is often prescribed within readily assigned roles and destinies associated with the very symbolism of their clothes.   One of the common elements I observed within the two and a half years that I was involved in running workshops at the CreACTive Centres is that women's roles have remained at the bottom of the power pedestal, seldom acknowledged or even involved as active agents in socio-cultural policy-making.

The often progressive and constitutionally enshrined legislature in defence of women's rights remain part of the paper-bound national chauvinism. In reality, the majority of woman remain receivers of 'readily cooked' laws. It became clear that, whether at a home environment or beyond, development often happens around them, or through them. They are seen as cultural-vessels, susceptible to being containers, rather than definers of culture.

What then constitutes the non-prescriptive scope within the Caversham model, particularly the Masabelaneni residency project, is the extent to which it disrupts such structures through "...affirming them as individuals no matter what age, no matter what educational level..." (Christian, 2017: pers. comm.) The project was based on creating an umbrella-like network

(fig.10) of support in which the residency became a think-tank. By prioritising an individual's area of interest as springboards for centre leaders to formulate their contributions, the application of the model at community level facilitated a space for silenced expression, providing micro opportunities to reshape and disrupt the dependency patterns within the macro scopes of development. On the impact of being part of the residency, the centre leaders Khululiwe Mabanga and Nomandla Nodola said;

> "The main thing I got out from Caversham was that you must have confidence in what you do. And I find that this is important. It's an enduring kind of confidence…, which I think helps me find a way to not only put my dreams to action but impart what I know in my own way." (Mabanga, pers. comm., 2017)

> "One element of the Caversham program I have incorporated is reflection; in the first workshop of every year I give the children a chance for raising all kinds of workshops they will need for the whole year. They are also affirmed when their work is displayed in the museum…Through the Caversham residency I learnt a lot; such as how to plan and manage the centre. Most of all, I learnt to own my vision" (Nodola, pers. comm., 2017).

Alongside such success has been inevitable economic challenges. One of the common patterns I observed during the time that I co-facilitated workshops was that the general appreciation of the effectiveness of the workshops often expressed by the participants in terms of foregrounding the inward, was almost always accompanied by the urgent need to generate income. Explaining a similar pattern, Mabanga (pers. comm., 2017) said;

> What pains me is that a substantial number of people I have taught still live in poverty. Yet they know how to bead. The common complaint is that there is no market. I have told them that they must align themselves with the reed-dance clients that frequent Isipho, but they remain in the same position. Sometimes I feel like I wasted my time…It would have been nice to see the people I taught improving their situation. Knowing how desperate their economic situation is, I thought they would think of it like I did. For instance, I was able to take my daughter to boarding school. Year after year people come back and leave, sometimes I am left on my own….What keeps me going is that I don't give up. I won't rest until I have achieved whatever I want; I don't throw in the towel easily. My thinking is that so long as I have made the work, I have the money. I don't care whether it has been bought or not.

The above set of values that both centre leaders derived from Caversham are aligned with the principles of autonomous and interdependent action incorporated within the residency workshops they attended. As a collective visioning space, these residencies became think-tanks that in many ways allowed Christian to 'gain an understanding, and then find ways to enable that potential to be realized' (Christian, pers. comm., 2016). In this, the institutional structure both in terms of

what formalises the centre or grants permission for it to operate is secondary since 'the institution [is] not ultimately important [in and of itself] but as [functions as] the battery that enables… a vehicle to go from one place to another in line with an individual's vision' (Christian, pers. comm., 2016).

Subjectivities: The Artist as Workshop Facilitator

In making sense of what it means for artist to use their work as a tool to practically engage social dynamics and how that process relates to their subjectivities, Bill Cleveland's essay which was a culmination from an interview with Gabisile Nkosi, captures this where he says; "she was as excited about working with those kids as she was about making a new image" (2008:167).

This quotation provides a pointer to think about the community-based workshops as an extension of art-making, rather than a separate activity. It is in line with the premise of art production as a form of unalienated labour, as outlined in chapter two, based on John Dewey's ideas in *Art as Experience*. The ways in which art making and workshop facilitation involves the heart, hand and brain dialogue can be said to engage the fundamental ways in which humans develop a sense of recognition about where they are. In this, the facilitation and reception of the workshop becomes a collaborative space in which inward tacit landscapes, outward materialities and aspirations merge.

The following paragraphs contain brief discussions of these elements in Christian, Nodola and Mabanga's work. I also include a brief discussion of my own incorporation of the informal workshop ethos in my teaching role. To further tie my reflection into the autoethnographic position outlined in the preface, I connect the lessons learnt from being involved with facilitating community-based workshops from 2008 to 2010 to the potential of a decolonising methodology I think Caversham's model can be said to contribute to.

Malcolm Christian

Christian's statement about his earlier *Implement* series (fig. 4&5) is a relevant departure point to revisit for the purpose of further connecting his artistic pursuits to the later social contributions;

> "[I used] everyday implements as symbols of inclusion and separation. The formal juxtaposition of shovel and spade reflects nuances of difference and uniqueness, of application while giving dignity- icon-like status to something used for menial tasks. It

recognised the patina of hands, reminder of how others' labour allows us the privilege of realising personal creative vision" (2010: 94).

There are parallels, particularly grappling with themes of social injustice or injustice, between the above statement and the following conception of the residency programme attended by the two centre leaders selected for this study;

> "[With the] Caversham Hourglass[52] residency models it was essentially that in working with creative individuals and the use of their creation as a means of affirming them as individual no matter what age, no matter what educational level and giving dignity to every single one of those we work with… because, as you say, there is this huge disparity between those that are formally educated at tertiary level with those with a lifetime of experience-based wisdom pre-learning. You know, not having any of the formal education qualifications but still with substantial standing and understanding of wisdom within their own society, and to tap into these and to bring these two streams together. You know, somebody like yourself, a young artist with a qualification working with somebody like Khululiwe Mabanga with very limited formal education and actually understanding how do we bring these two together and how do we make this the conduit for the youngsters coming up, so that you generate respect , not only for those with paper qualifications, something which already exists in many ways is false, but also to provide respect to those individuals with wisdom, life experience and commitment and through this to show how you do care for and show respect to the elderly" (Christian, pers. comm., 2016).

One of the things I observed in my first experience of the Caversham residency in 2006 was how Christian spoke about privilege in relation to his experiences as a white South African male. I found that this made the dialogical scope of the residency more open and honest. In retrospect, I think when I accepted the internship opportunity, that kind of honesty made it possible to look at the outreach programme as always a two-way transaction in which privilege was always relative. Much like the process of making an artwork, the idea of "constantly posing questions as opposed to presuming answers" (Christian, pers. comm., 2008), which would frame most of his contributions when we discussed both internal and outreach projects, best captures the exploratory nature of Christian's contribution.

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[52] Marion Arnold (2010: 16) contextualizes the hourglass as follows;
"In 1998, Malcolm Christian adopted the hourglass as a logo. Container and conduit, as a signifier this object does more than identify a successful project: it symbolizes Caversham as a unit with two equal, connected structures functioning as mutually transformative. The hourglass is transparent, allowing the spectator to view and measure time passing. Shaped with precision, it responds sensitively to the angle of orientation, allowing fine grains of sands to run freely back and forth, ensuring an infinite capacity for beginnings, endings and renewals…..It is a human story and a story of art as process, played out as a statement Masabelaneni- let us share."

On invitation, participants would be asked to bring significant objects through which they could share who they are. The residency distilled the idea of vision mapping as a tool to consider one's potential contribution to their immediate community. Encouraging the idea of seeing oneself as both a conduit and a container of meaning. Qualities of being able to give and receive inspiration, or in Christian's words 'generosity of spirit' were central in that they informed not only the residency process, but regarded an important criteria for identifying participants. This curving of individual and collective journeys of envisioning meaning resonates with the principles of African humanism, particularly the version of Ubuntu envisioned in post-1994. Christian observes that;

> There was that huge challenge in coming out of the end of apartheid with its breaking down of the entire social structure. You had appalling things happening to gogos and mkhulus; you know the elderly, and trying to find a way that you could remedy this through building a re-awakening and awareness of the power that rests in life experience as the source of wisdom that is equitable and contributory to our education, to our sense of knowledge and its application. So in lots of ways it was going back to a form of humanist dynamic, that we're born dependent, grow independence and that eventually when we get old, we become dependent on our children, but in some ways we're still always remain custodians of our life experience, something that you cannot get in any other way but by living it.

Christian's initial idea of extending these principles into communities sought;

> "To grow visionaries who are based in practicality and application…. [Within this] the CreACTive centre is a person [who becomes a] catalyst. And what does a catalyst do, it creates a reaction but is not part of the reaction, in scientific terms. So it causes something to happen. But that which happens is not reliant on it. So you can go in and you can create change, build momentum of that change and it not be dependent on you…its longevity is not reliant on you as an individual. It's reliant on the need that it fulfils. Because sustainability is based in need. If there's not a need, it's not sustainable.

The next paragraphs highlight how the two catalysts (Nomandla Nodola and Khululiwe Mabanga) who participated in several residencies, can be said to have taken ownership of or adapted the above ideas to drive practical contributions within their communities.

Nomandla Nodola

As part of her first experience of the residency and thus an introduction to the hourglass process Nodola worked the symbol of a tap root, about which she said;

> "It represents the three main people who were instrumental and encouraged me when I was doing research on the Ntlangwini tribe. They represent the main root from which I grow. My vision is to inspire the youth, with knowledge and a passion for their culture through workshops, activities and a museum" (pers. comm., 2008).

The use of personal stories related to cultural objects as the basis to explore collective history continues to not only frame Nodola's approach to the workshop, but the museum display. In this, her interpretations and relationships with Ntlangwininess are central.

In its focus on the cultural identity of a place, including using natural resources from the surrounding landscape, the display follows the model of an Eco museum[53]. This model is largely based on capturing local material culture as a way of "inspiring the youth, with knowledge and a passion for their culture through workshops, activities and the museum collection" (Nodola, 2010).

A large proportion of this museum collection is constituted by ceramic sculptural pieces which Nodola produced during her residency at the University of KwaZulu-Natal's Centre for Visual Art (ceramics department), which was followed by the first workshop (31st March-11th April 2008) she attended at Caversham. Nodola was introduced to Caversham while working at Ardmore, as an extension of her UKZN residency. Ardmore being a few metres from Caversham, Nodola and Nkosi met while commuting from their shared residential neighbourhood. As part of her experience of that first workshop, Nodola recalls that;

> "I and my colleagues were asked to think of a significant object, and mine was an ubendle apron. And when I told the story behind that object, Malcolm Christian suggested that I start a mobile museum…..I have set up a museum in a two-roomed space my family has dedicated for my community and own work. I have very strong ties with my history of Ntlangwini tribe and am driven to research it. I also explore this in my art, as well as in the work that I do with the youth at the CreACTive Centre. Through this permanent display, I invite the youth and the overall community. Not only to experience 'self-belief through self-expression', but immerse themselves first hand in a story by, for and about themselves. I want the youth to understand and take full ownership of Ingcambu Ezikile CreACTive Centre's vision, which is why they are responsible for arranging this display. Money remains our challenge, but that does not stop us from pursuing our dream, instead, I allow all my problems to push my dreams forward" (Nodola 2010 & 2017).

There is a strong element of promoting the preservation of IsiNtu incorporated in both the museum display and the programmes. During workshops, Nodola constantly encourages participants "to use their mother tongue" (Nodola 2017).

An event held in December 2008 at Nodola's home to celebrate her return, marks the beginning of what has become an annual cultural festival called Amcufe, an opportunity to showcase the

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[53] A community-initiated museum space that prioritises self-generated narratives about their heritage. Thus, becoming a laboratory to think, act, socialise, research and participate in this inclusive process of re-enacting and preserving meaning.

significance of the museum. In addition to having daily access to the growing display of not only Nodola's creations, but the school going participants' visual stories created over the years, people from Egugwini and beyond experience the creative festivities offered in Amcufe.

Apart from the sculptural ceramics from the UKZN, the cultural artefacts and children's drawings, the display also features pieces from her family's private collection. Its significance is layered in that it features a personal history connection Nodola not only to her lineage as a Ntlangwini but the history of Egugwini as well as the materialities of the country defining that particular time and space.

At the time of writing, the challenges attached to lack of funding and space remained. In addition to the two-rooms, Nodola's display had expanded to the lounge area of her family's main house. Woven into the family's daily space and memorabilia, it becomes a collective site for re-enacting history as well as making newer meanings. Viewed within the feminist lenses explored in chapter two, the personal enquiry of her Ntlangwini-ness as a point of departure frames the display as autobiographical text. Its multimodalities expanded through the workshop initiative, where, as material culture and the accompanying oral histories, it becomes a springboard for collective and individual significance.

Khululiwe Mabanga

Mabanga's vision has always been "to instil a sense of pride in children and women of [her] community, through beadwork, drawing, painting and education in general. The significance of naming my centre *Isipho,* which simply means 'gift' represent how I seek to play this role" (pers. comm., 2008).

In Mabanga's work, the dynamic snowballing of the personal, social, economic and cultural elements is organically informed by her interaction with KwaMsane. School-going youth as well as middle aged and elderly women, mainly heads of their household, constitute a considerable number of the participants that have benefited from Isipho since its inception. The creative programme is designed around making traditional artefacts from local natural resources, recycled as well as bought materials.

The centre has evolved from a tiny timbre shelter to a bigger a concrete slab structure both built from Mabanga's very limited pension fund.   Summing up her determination, she said;

"Isipho has grown bigger from that tiny room we started with. My work here has direct effect to my family. Despite having to adjust some of their deep-rooted beliefs, like my full-time role in the kitchen as a mother, they have been very helpful and supportive of my vision, which I still wish to grow. In our recent project in Isipho, we have been sewing together grass-woven pillows. The women from whom I learnt the weaving used an industrial machine, so when I said I would go home and use hand sewing to put them together they laughed at me. But we have done it and it is successful despite bruised fingers. Isipho is always like that; we try out even those things deemed inconceivable by people" (Mabanga 2010).

One of the main driving factors attached to many of the women's involvement at Isipho is their economic positioning. For instance, Mabanga was able to put all her three children (now aged 32, 28 and 19) through primary to tertiary education levels. For the past four years, she has been providing for three girls (aged 13, 8 and 5), who, as toddlers, started following their young mother to Isipho.

Over the years there has been growth in terms of product development and market expansion through word of mouth. This is how the centre has sustained itself. However, the skills to keep tab of this progress and project a market-based strategy have remained informal. Though registered as an NPO entity, administrative skills necessary to operationalise Isipho remain one of its challenges (Mabanga 2017). For instance, despite its NPO status the centre has never applied for funding, and the lack of access to mainstream market language into which their products feed keeps it at the level of informal trading spaces around the area, susceptible to exploitation.

The hand to mouth scenario characterising the informal trading stalls alongside R618 constitute the dominant method of generating livelihood in Mtubatuba (Khumalo 2015). The speedy growth of this industry as experienced post-1994 offshoots from the lopsided economic growth in which lack of technical expertise maintains barriers to access to formal business streams (Masonganye 2010). The prevalence of this sector within third world contexts has been found to be mostly aligned with the response of the female population to crises arising from poor leadership imposed on their lives (Ping 2010).

The 'off tangent' patterning of this micro-economic sector, often unaccounted within formal structures, reveal the disjuncture between the imagined and the often private real state of affairs. When I visited Isipho as part of my fieldwork, three adult women and three school-going youth making two sets of orders-; one for a Cape Town-based fashion design company and another for a group of local women who ordered for the purpose of attending a traditional function. Generally,

their work aligned with such functions; particularly virginity testing, which the centre is sometimes used for.   Because of the controversial nature surrounding this practice, it ended up dominating the interview. Though a topic for another study, justifications of the practice, which continue to be widely debated for being at loggerheads with women's constitutional and human rights, the adults involved cited many cases where the practice helped identify incest rape victims.   The recurring pattern is that girl children born outside wedlock will remain with grandparents when their mothers marry a different partner, and tend to be the most vulnerable (Mabanga 2017).

 The extent to which Isipho's alignment with urgent issues affecting the community goes beyond just making the items to sell, but engage their meaning within a lived context is evidenced in their collaboration with local schools, clinics, social work services as well as the police force.   Out of her own pocket, Mabanga facilitates consultative camps where she invites representatives from these institutions to engage youth overnight.   These forums are themed around the questions posed by the kids who attend Isipho.   Worrying numbers of pregnant school-going children, levels of school drop-outs and HIV infections regularly form part of Mabanga's agenda.   This is partly compiled from several cases where, "out of fearing their guardians and parents, some children will confide in me." In several cases where young women disclosed cases of rape within their domestic spaces, relatives or parents chose silence, often "accusing the victims of lying" (Mabanga 2017). Hence the necessity for summoning the above local services' intervention.

These intensive multidisciplinary collaborations with non-art sectors position Isipho as a link between these formal institutions and the communities in which they are situated. Thus connecting the arts to the broader health of the community. In this, the understanding of people's values is derived from participation and personal narratives become a significant components in revealing inbuilt limitations within the state's implementation of its strategies.

The centre's relationship with the municipal department of arts and culture is not as consolidated as the above institutions.   For instance, a few minutes after I arrived to conduct interviews at the centre, there was a call from the municipal representative who wanted to let Mabanga know that the department will be hosting an event the following day, and that the centre must bring best work to showcase.   The three women started recounting similar cases suggesting patterns of tokenistic rather than reality-based engagement. The prevalent bureaucratisation of access to government services keep projects such as Isipho disadvantaged.   I noticed that there are connections in some

of the patterns these women were recounting and those identified within the RMF movement. Bringing me to a realisation that one of the shortcomings in the activation of the decolonisation debate is that it has tended to be mostly reserved within higher learning spaces. Those who do not have access to not only those spaces but the language in which the debate is unfolding remain shut out. Viewed through the lens of embodiment, and to some extent mimicry as offered in the second chapter, such patterns of exclusion can be said to signal the artificiality with which the post-1994 'transformation' narrative has been translated. In this, colonial scopes of human value inevitably reproduce psychosocial fissures through which exclusion is normalised.

Bridging the Gap between Higher Learning Spaces and Marginalised Communities

One of the ways in which the Caversham model has engaged the gap between the higher learning space and marginalised communities, in terms of access, was through a partnership with the University of KwaZulu-Natal's Centre for Visual Arts. This was through bi-annual workshops led by the late renowned artist Gabisile Nkosi and the then lecturer in printmaking Vulindlela Nyoni, for aspiring and self-taught artists from the surrounding Pietermaritzburg 'townships' such as Imbali and Mafakatini. Some of the CVA students would join the workshops, creating a dynamic exchange.

The idea of creating visual interpretations of personal stories was one of the main features in the few workshops I co-facilitated. The next paragraphs highlight how it would become part of my facilitation tools later, when I was contracted to teach the visual art component of the Bachelor of Education (B-Ed). This is a four-year undergraduate programme that prepares students to become professional teachers.

As it has come to be expected in the South African education context, a large percentage of teacher-trainees in my class had not been exposed to any form of art at school level, and at the beginning of the course they were often apprehensive about their ability to make and talk about art. The incorporation of personal stories, for instance, in an activity I titled autobiography-zine, became a central part of enabling them to not only transcend rigid perceptions about what constitutes art, but also explore education as an act of self-authoring. Responses included the following;

> "I was sceptical about visual art as I don't have any background. The one time that I have
> seen an art exhibition I just couldn't understand some of the things…I knew it's supposed
> to stand for something, but I thought I needed to understand more about the different

categories of art. This exercise helped demystify the idea of what artists do. I was excited to see the simple story about my family becoming an artwork. The fact that I could use lines to say even the stuff I have never verbalised was eye-opening." *Zama Mfeka (pers. comm., 2016)

"We are in the process of preparing for teaching practice, and I knew that visual art is a no-go area for me. But I now realise that from this angle it is possible to design activities using just personal interpretation of the world. The idea that it's not necessarily about being able to draw in the traditional sense, but that personal symbols and honest expressive lines can carry so much messages" Nosamkelo Nkala* (pers.comm., 2016).

Mfeka's Mina no mama (fig. 27) came from a story between her late mother and herself, including generations of women in her family. In *Intsika* (fig. 26) Nkala explores human potential and uses the metaphor of a tree stump.

I borrowed the term autobiography-zine from an exhibition titled *My Life is an Open Book* held at the University of Chicago in 2013. The idea of autobiography-zine became popular in the 1970's as part of the underground movement. I was interested in the de-centering process enabled by elements of self-curated knowledge by, about and for the marginalised.

Against the sustained extractive relations between the Higher Learning Spaces and the communities in which they are based, the above examples capture the potential contribution of a community-based scope of engaging multiple ways of knowing, at least at the level of curriculum design. Most importantly, it highlights the value of situating knowledge in the students' lived experience, which is one of the tenets of Masabelaneni based on;

"The use of their creation as a means of affirming individuals no matter what age, no matter what educational level and giving dignity to every single one of those we work with… [Bridging the] huge disparity between those that are formally educated at tertiary level with those with a lifetime of experience-based wisdom pre-learning. [It is about recognising the] substantial standing and understanding of wisdom within their own society, and to tap into these and to bring these two streams together" (Christian, pers. comm, 2016).

The grievances reiterated by the majority of students at the onset of RMF, regarding the sustained colonial curriculum, renders the above personal story-centred approach in which different strands of knowledge are given equal value, a potential entry point for change.

To further explore the Caversham model from the facilitator's perspective, the next observations reflect on the lessons I gleaned within the 2008-2010 period of being part of Caversham Centre.

The hindsight afforded by this research project facilitated a realisation that there was a constant way in which the facilitation process reflected back not only my level of ignorance about the different community contexts I was exposed to, but the layer of self that emerged.

For instance, because my initial facilitation experiences happened in a classroom setting at Ulwazi, the pressure to emulate the authority of teachers as I had experienced since the beginning of my schooling career emerged and became heightened in ways I had not anticipated.   This was in immediate conflict with my quiet nature, as I simultaneously wished to speak less and instead let the process happen on its own.   Though the creative process is in many ways amenable to that mode, my training in Fine Art could not have prepared me for the dynamic urgency involved in having to develop a unique approach to each of the seven community contexts; namely Lidgetton, Rorke's Drift-Shiyane, KwaMbonambi, Mtubatuba, Bulwer, Harding and Pietermaritzburg. Particularly because Caversham's community-based interventions were antithetical to training participants to become artists, but prioritised the use of art-making processes as entry points to inspire active self-creation.   Given this set of intentions, which were in line with my motivation to join Caversham, as outlined in the preface, my approach to facilitation involved a lot of unlearning, constant review of intent and mostly to becoming aware of my biases.

Moreover, for me, the skill to strike a balance between the levels of leadership required to mediate developmental initiatives as a tool for capacity building, while deferring the action-based process of interpretation in an open, non-prescriptive and enabling manner, can only be continuous.

It is this reality-based opportunity to constantly review not only the relationship between theory and practice, but a constant awareness of the framework through which the facilitation is applied that I believe adds value to the potential realisation of a decolonising methodology.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have attempted to reflect on the Caversham model. Revisiting the questions posed in the first chapter, I set out to isolate these into sub-sections looking at non-prescriptive elements, the Caversham model as countering the dependency mode, subjectivities of artists as workshop facilitators and bridging the gap between higher learning and marginalised communities.   This included an attempt to apply an autoethnographic lens as outlined in the preface.

Data from interviews was also incorporated in keeping with the conceptual and theoretical framework explored in the second chapter. This begins to map some of the implications of this study on the practice of art-based community development as two-way. The next concluding section attempts to further ground these implications while briefly reviewing the thesis.

Conclusion

In this thesis I have set out to critically reflect on the potential impact of art-based community development intervention activated through Caversham Centre during the period 2008 to 2010, when I was in its employ. I particularly focused on how two project leaders located in Mtubatuba and Harding perceive the role of these initiatives within lived contexts. Drawing upon critical feminist pedagogy as a framework for intersectional self-reflexivity and using an interpretive qualitative approach, I considered how the people-centred elements of the initiatives engage some of the crucial psychosocial imperatives towards self-reliance. Against the widely documented inequalities reproduced in post-1994 South Africa, I considered the potential of art-based community development, particularly within the non-governmental organisation (NGO) sector, in not only addressing patterns in which historically marginalised people are regarded as perpetual 'beneficiaries' but offer decolonising methodologies.

This study's threefold hypotheses argued that, firstly, the redress framework's straddling of the neoliberal development agenda and the state-centralized approach to community development does not adequately address the psychosocial fissures of imbalance at grassroots level. Secondly, the link between the expressive agencies within the arts can prioritise an insider participatory model that can result in more nuanced perspectives, inspire self-reliance, self-creation and re-engage the question of liberation post-1994. Thirdly, the Caversham model, which is based on the affirmation of the individual, can bridge the existing pedagogical gaps between mainstream formal education institutions and the communities within which they are situated.

The findings indicate that the practical application of the mission statement 'self-belief through self-expression', in which the Caversham model is framed, contributes to the activation of a liberatory pedagogy and foregrounds the plurality of tacit dimensions of knowledge. Within the extent to which this challenges the dominant ways of being and knowing, market-based scopes of human development criterion dominating post-1994 neo-liberal policies are de-centred.

As someone who not only grew up and was raised in a community where traditional leadership prevails, but also have a home and family based there, the reflective nature of this thesis forced me to confront the gap between the realities of that context and what ideally it could become. For instance, the neo-colonial reality of land ownership affecting community members in Fuleni (Mtubatuba), sampled in chapter 3, reminded me of a case that occurred early 2014 while my

mother was in the process of preparing the maize fields our family has used since the late 1960s. On seeing the preparations, a representative of the local chief informed her the she was no longer allowed to use that piece of land because it had been earmarked for a residential site and sale. On consulting the chief with the hope of being allocated an alternative site, she and others similarly affected were told that their case was closed as no such provisions could be arranged.

When bodies who have experienced what my mother and her contemporaries who were born in 1948 South Africa, the emotions attached to the above lack of recourse can find resonance with the kind of human value already entrenched by that social history. From that psychosocial standpoint, the foregrounding of tacit knowledge, as cultivated through the Caversham model in this thesis, provides invaluable entry points to self-creation and re-imagination.

The evidence presented in this thesis also highlighted power implications of the autonomous relationship maintained between the centre leaders and Caversham. In this, the deference of leadership to the individual, allows for much needed scope for self-determination.

Furthermore, the extent to which the model reveals blind spots within the post-1994 dispensation can serve as a useful tool to improve the disjuncture between policy and implementation. The replicable nature of the model makes it ideal for a bottom-up rethinking of community development strategies that are not limited to creativity-based projects.

Lastly, the sense of identity and purpose captured in the vision mapping captured in the CreACTive centre symbols which emerged from the Masabelaneni residency becomes part of the motivational factors as the centre leaders forge their way to what is possible. Both centre leaders constantly go back to it and have it displayed in their respective spaces. A combination of their tenacity and the significance derived from the symbols created during their residency, the two centre leaders keep their contributions running close to ten years, despite economic difficulties.

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Interviews

Christian, M. 2016, interviewed on 19 April

Christian, M. 2008, conversation during a residency in March

Christian, M. 2006, conversation during a residency in August

Jali, T. 2015, interviewed on 8 March

Khuzwayo, Z. 2016, interviewed on 19 April

Mabaso, S. 2016, interviewed on 19 April

Mabanga, K. 2017, interviewed on 17 September

Nodola, N. 2017, interviewed on 1 April

Illustrations

Figure 1. Map of KwaZulu-Natal Province

Figure 2. Caversham in 1984

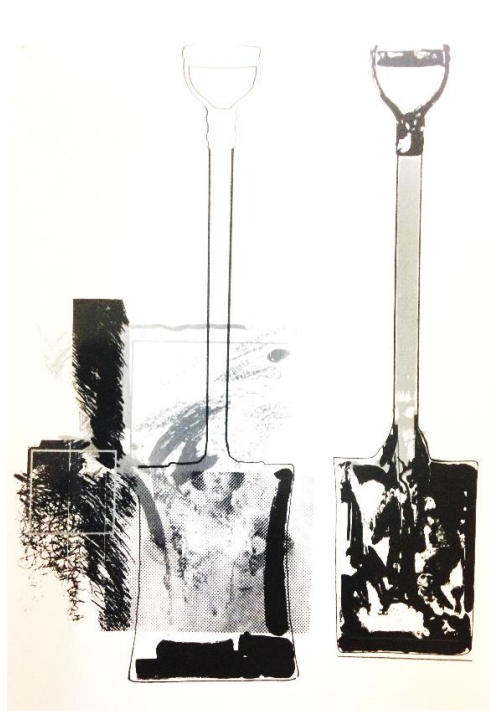**Figure 3.** Aerial view of Caversham now

Figure 4. Malcolm Christian, *Implement Series I, Spade*, 1980, screen print, 1.20 m X 80m
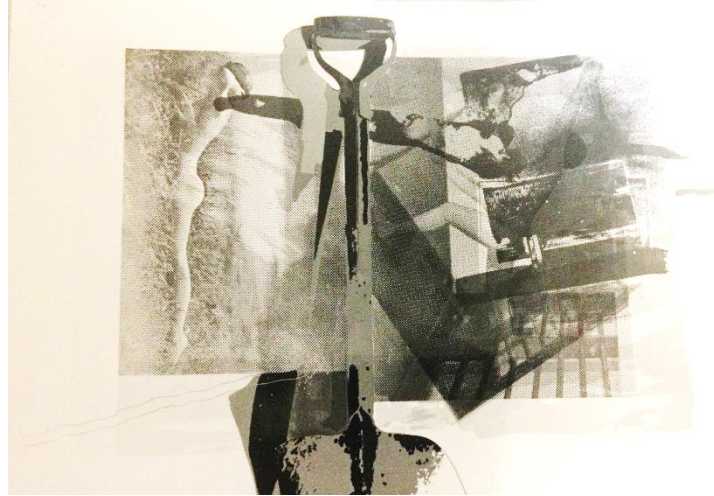
Figure 5. Malcolm Christian, *Implement Series IV, Spade 2*, 1980, screen print, 70 m X 1.00m
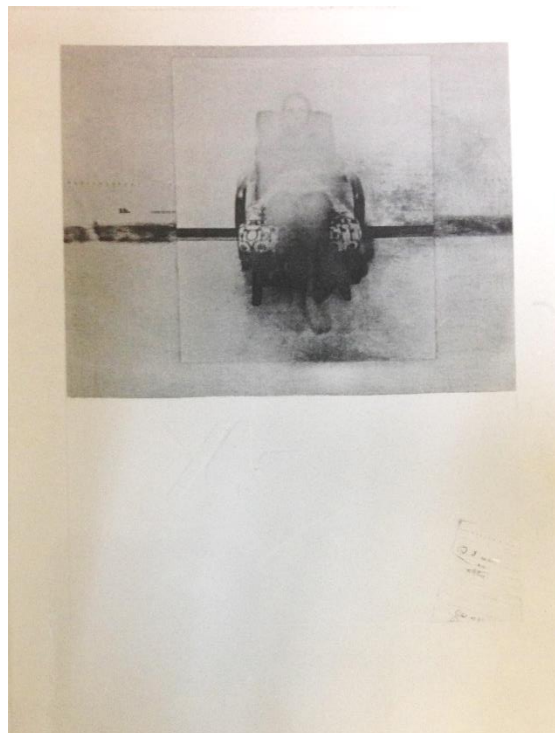

Figure 6. Malcolm Christian, *Have You Ever Been There?,* 1974, etching, aquatint and embossing, 75 m X 50m

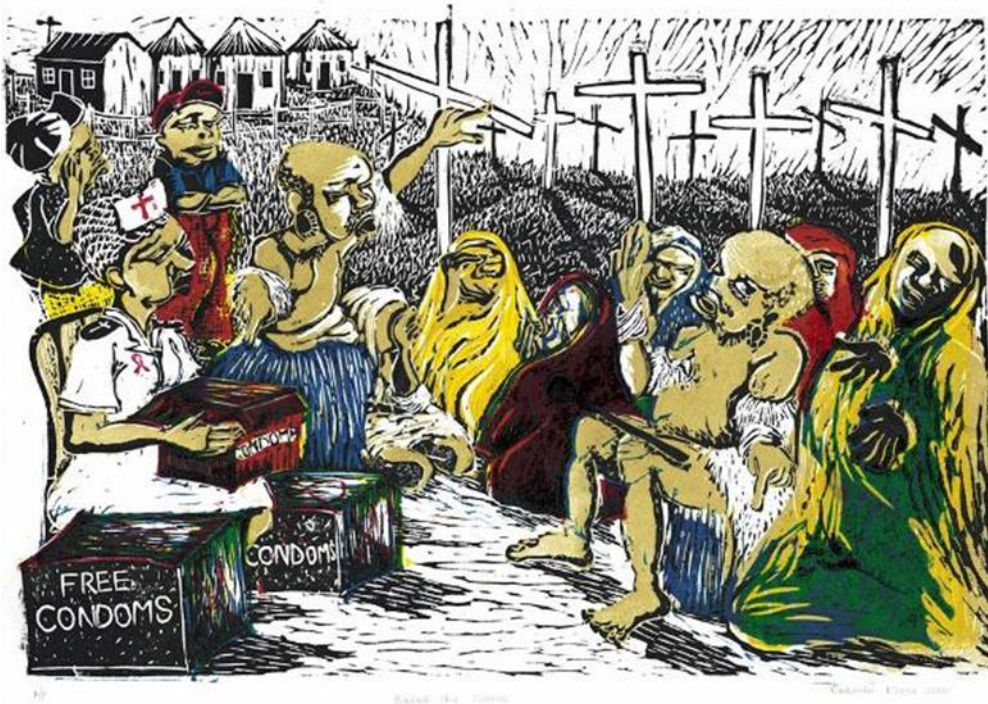**Figure 7.** Gabisile Nkosi, *Sisterhood*, linocut, 2005

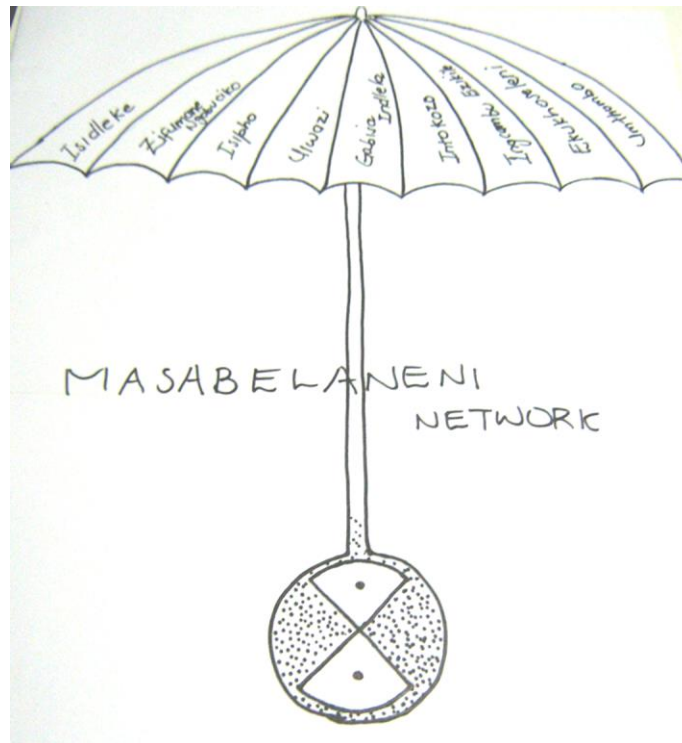**Figure 8.** Gabisile Nkosi, *Breaking the Silence*, linocut, 2000

Figure 9. Masabelaneni Umbrella network

Figure 10. The Hourglass symbol

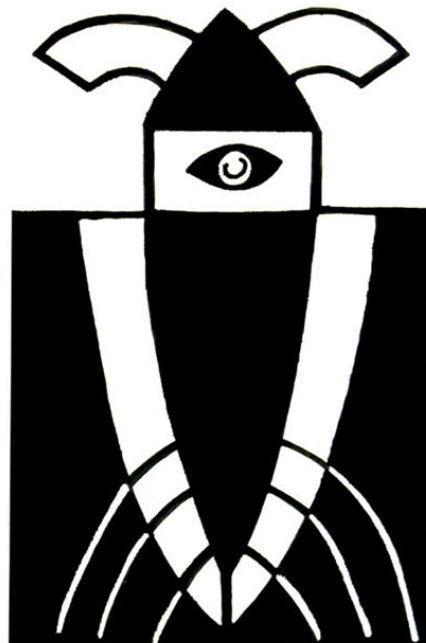**Figure 11.** Ulwazi CreACTive Centre symbol

Figure 12. Ingcambu Ezikile CreACTive Centre symbol

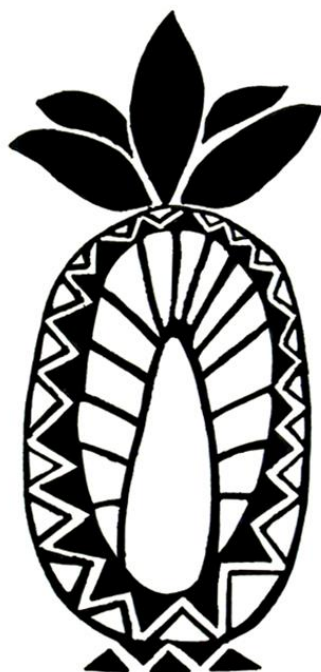**Figure 13.** Isidleke CreACTive Centre symbol

Figure 14. Zifumane Ngobuciko CreACTive Centre symbol

Figure 15. Intokozo CreACTive Centre symbol

Figure 16. Umthombo CreACTive Centre symbol

Figure 17. Gabisa Indlela CreACTive Centre symbol

Figure 18. A typical Saturday workshop at Ulwazi

Figure 19. Elderly gardeners at Ulwazi

Figure 20. (a)

Figure 20. (b)

Figure 20. (c)

Figure 20. (d)

Figure 20. (e)

Figure 20. (a-e) Images from *What my Own Angel Brings* project

Figure 21. Inside Impande Ejulile Museum space (2010)

Figure 22. Some of the clay sculptures by Nomandla Nodola as part of the museum display

Figure 23. Clay sculpture by Nomandla Nodola

Figure 24. The museum display modelled during AMCUFE at Nodola residence

Figure 25. The museum display modelled during AMCUFE at Nodola residence

Figure 26. Isipho in 2006

Figure 27. Isipho participants modelling their work

Figure 28. During an embroidery workshop at Isipho
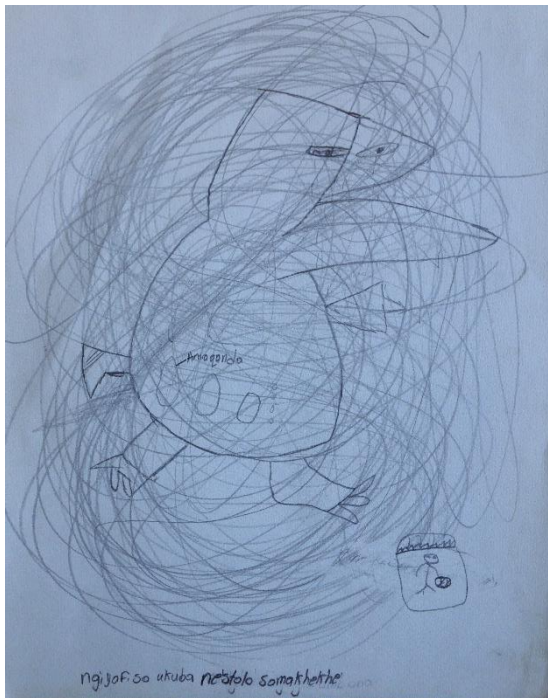
Figure 29. (a)
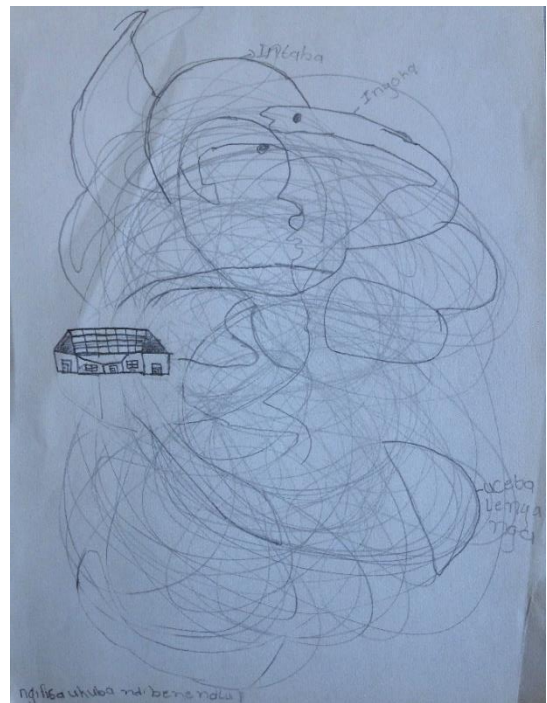
Figure 29. (b)
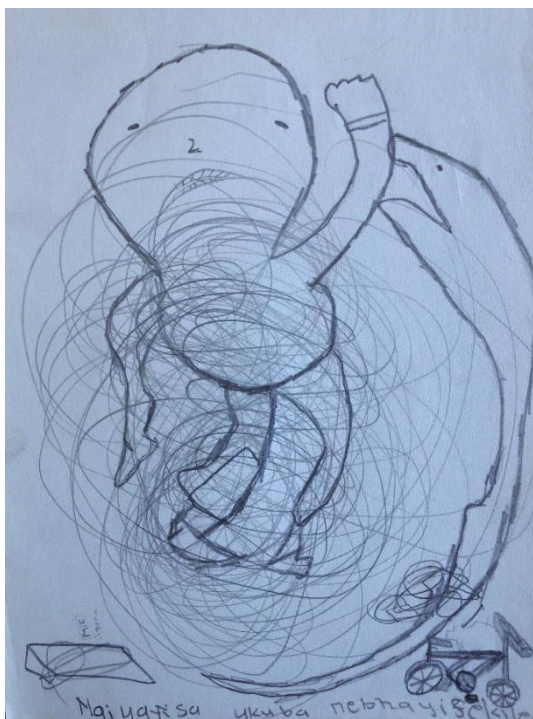
Figure 29. (c)
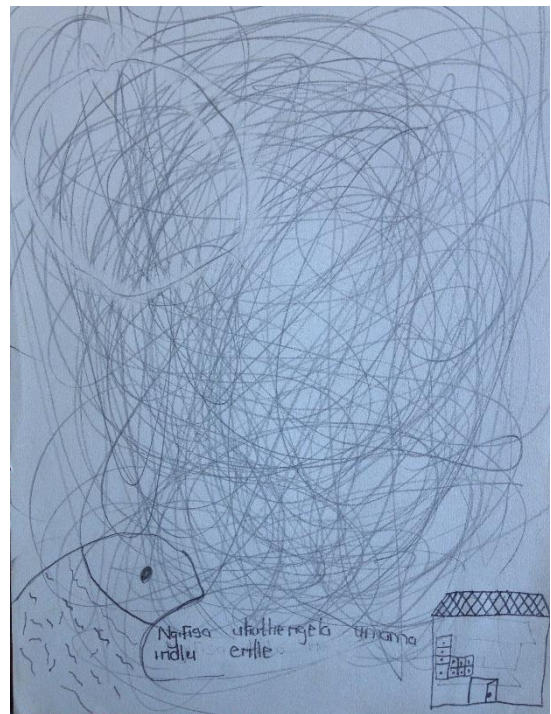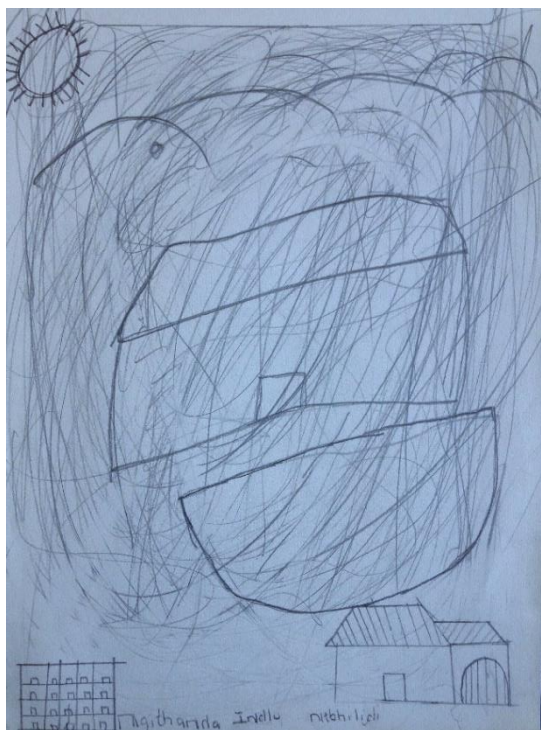

Figure 29. (d)
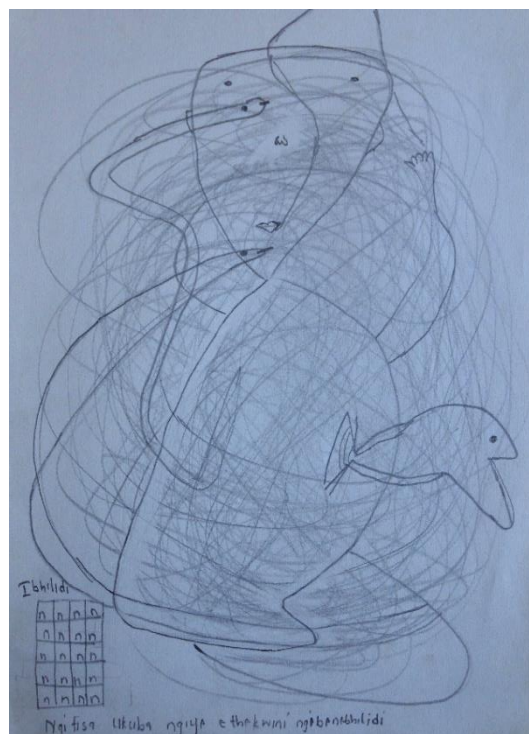
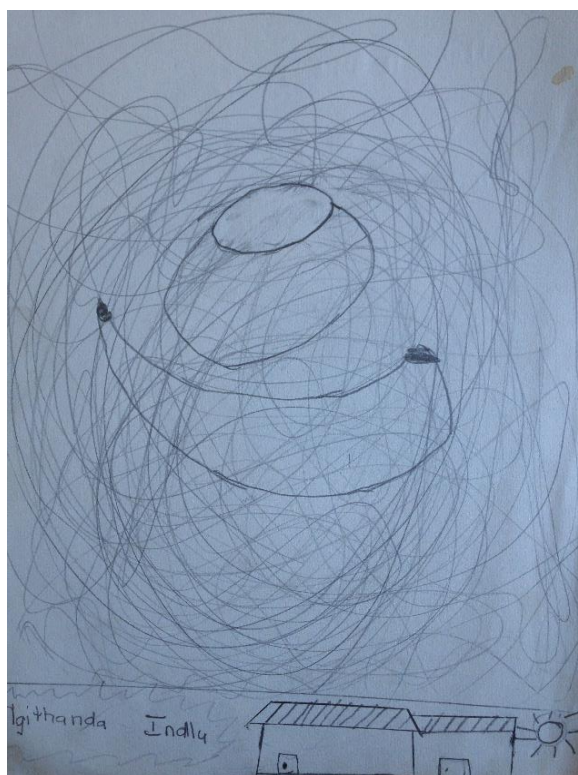**Figure 29. (e)**

Figure 29. (f)

Figure 29. (g)

Figure 29. (h)

Figure 29. (a-h)   Images from a workshop conducted at Ingcambu Ezikile as part of this enquiry

Figure 30. Nosamkelo Nomacala, *Intsika*, 2016, crayon on paper

Figure 31. Zama Ngobese, *Mina no mama*, 2016, crayons on paper

Appendix A: Transcribed interview with Malcom Christian by Witty Nyide, 19 April 2016

WN: What were the criteria for the 2006 residency?

MC: ……and that's why when you said what were the criteria, I thought back to David Andrews at Wits saying 'what criteria do you want to apply' to select someone to come on that first Hourglass process and my immediate response was 'generosity of spirit'. So in other words its notion of the need in the individual to complete yourself not in isolation, not based in an esoteric self-gratification, but through your giving to others that you find a completeness in yourself. In other words this generosity which is the antithesis of what we're educating people to be - self-sufficient, independent, and isolated, unique individuals etc. that's why I was saying that it is about a dichotomy.

The capitalist model?

Exactly! So I think if you look at those Caversham Hourglass residency models it was essentially that in working with creative individuals and the use of their creation as a means of affirmation of them as individual no matter what age, no matter what educational level and giving dignity to every single one of those we work with… because, as you say, there is this huge disparity between those that are formally educated at tertiary level with those with a lifetime of experience-based wisdom pre-learning. You know, not having any of the formal education qualifications but still with substantial standing and understanding of wisdom within their own society, and to tap into these and to bring these two streams together. You know, somebody like yourself, a young artist with a qualification working with somebody like Khululiwe Mabanga with very limited formal education and actually understanding how do we bring these two together and how do we make this the conduit for the youngsters coming up, so that you generate respect , not only for those with paper qualifications, something which already exists in many ways is false, but also to provide respect to those individuals with wisdom, life experience and commitment and through this to show how you do care for and show respect to the elderly, you know. There was that huge challenge in coming out of the end of apartheid with its breaking down of the entire social structure. You had appalling things happening to gogos and mkhulus; you

know the elderly, and trying to find a way that you could remedy this through building a re-awakening and awareness of the power that rests in life experience as the source of wisdom that is equitable and contributory to our education, to our sense of knowledge and its application. So in lots of ways it was going back to a form of humanist dynamic, that we're born dependent, grow independence and that eventually when we get old, we become dependent on our children, but in some ways we're still always remain custodians of our life experience, something that you cannot get in any other way but by living it.

I saw some paper by Eskia Mphahlele where he was talking about education as community development, talking about the danger of only focusing on the injustices inflicted upon or victimized black people, and not looking at the fact that the system made everyone look at the world in a certain way. The way we were writing books, the way we were receiving knowledge… everyone is psychologically tainted?

Yes, that's what I was saying that one's psyche is fragmented and is kind of out of kilter.

So when we talk about education, it's not about trying to tend to the black child, you're looking at everyone and everyone being willing to look at the language we use and the meaning behind what we do. The way the system made us think about each other and about ourselves. That we are all tainted, we all need to look at ourselves and try to counter-socialize ourselves

That's why creativity is so important. In expressing yourself through writing, drawing, painting, etc. and by engaging in something that you're passionate about, this allows one to forget the limitations of oneself and of time and engaging imagination to expand all that you know and becoming aware of what is possible.

If we go back to meaning - and I must say that don't know much about current education -, but I feel that the lack of this is one of the tragedies of the education system post-'94 in that there is a focus on the system rather than on its relevance and meaning;. You know, what is its role, what is the final destination and what citizens do you really want to grow within it? What meaning do you want to nurture in our youth, you know, is it the perpetuation of employability and all those kinds of things which are based on this, and

now we're part of the global village this becomes reinforced more and more and more.. One can say you cannot change that, but what you can do is create a counter-point to it. These counter points can be small, but it's like the roar of the sea, and the ring of a little bell, you'll hear its ring because it will be clear and precise against this drum, drum, drum of perpetual existent motion.

And if you think about our teaching at universities in fine art departments as it were, how many people carry on creating art after graduation… but a fraction. But this small portion makes a difference in our lives.

Has your vision for the CreACTive Centres evolved? I would particularly like to clarify regarding leadership patterns. You had CreACTive centre catalysts coming in for residency programmes, but they were entirely responsible for their respective centres. Caversham played a supportive role, the enabler, and did not make decisions for them?

Yes. What one had hoped for even though it wasn't realizable in terms of time, that all the individuals that we were working with would become an autonomous independent collaborative and which in actual fact would evolve into a mutually supporting structure run by the catalysts guided by Jabu or whoever played the part as representative of Caversham. So Caversham once again would simply be an enabler and I'm not sure how that would have continued as just a funding source or as a place for recharging of batteries. So in other words there would continue to be an introducing of different ideas, different experiences to those who previously wouldn't have had access to them. But the whole idea was that that umbrella that Gabi drew in 2008, that this was going to be collaborative and that at the end of each one of the segments there was a CreACTive centre. A network of them. At one stage there were seven CreACTive centres. With time it finally came down to the functioning of five and then gradually the final three…

Why do you think the other ones dissolved?

…..the precursor to Ulwazi was Senzokuhle; and which was an initiative that we started in Mpophomeni in 1999 and run by Sheila Flynn a Dominican nun. So in some ways we began kind of collaborating with people in creating their vision in areas of current expertise.

So it's exactly what you were saying, that first gaining an understanding, and then finding ways how you can enable that potential to be realized.

So it's not even about the structures dissolving, it's about the individuals evolving?

Absolutely. So, the institution, the structures that you use formally are not ultimately important in themselves but as the battery that enables you to create a vehicle to go from one place to another in line with an individual's vision. I mean it's like when we set up the centre (Caversham Centre for Artists and Writers), there was this romantic notion that the centre would be a way that would enable legacy to continue for artists and writers to use its facility next door. But essentially it provided a vehicle to enable us to receive funds that would enable those individuals to be able to realize their vision. Because if you look back to the Caversham Educational Trust, which we set up in 1993, it was exactly for that reason so that we could run programmes that had been offered since the late 80's, financing our passion. In those days we'd just invite artists to come and work, but then when the demand grew, we needed to expand it, we needed a formal structure in order for us to apply for funding to make that happen. So in some ways the institutions are a by-product of a vision or desire of individuals that helps to make it realizable.

Is there a potential link between the CreACTive Centres and community development sector in terms of facilitating the transformation agenda in South Africa? I think you've already touched on the transformation agenda…

You see, for me, the transformation agenda is kind of political…being put into somebody's agenda, you know; 'we want you to do this, we want you to bloody well do it'. From your part, you kind of, do it anyway, but without the anxiety, and the kind of ambivalence, rejecting anything that is forced, you know. I don't know…

For me it's the transcending of the dichotomies we were talking about……would you like to add anything to that?

I don't think so you know, I think in some ways it's for others to maybe speak to those contexts. For me it was purely an instinctual drive, a longing, and I suppose you can say, you know, on one level you can call it comfort and you can say that's self-indulgent, but I think we always are searching for things that create comfort in our lives, create balance,

135

where we feel at rest, where we can be, you know, at our optimum as it were. And I know that's neither…you can't say, well if you're in balance, it's a stasis, so at one level you're kind of at rest, and another level total activity and you need a combination of both of those. You know, you need drive. But you also need that core, you need something that actually indicates to you that what you are doing is purposeful, is meaningful, and that it is right for you, isn't it? That's your ethos isn't it? That's the kind of ethics or the moral indicators that you use in your life. Not religion or anything like that, but you absolutely know that that it is correct for you. And it's never a static thing you know. It's always ongoing, evolving.

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I think I understand how the CreACTive centre model is different from the other community art centre models, like the Polly Street, which were about producing artists who will feed into the industry...

In some ways the CreACTive centre model is the antithesis of that, because it is actually building the humanist component in the artist I think. I mean all of that is part and parcel, but wasn't actually the main thrust. It was saying artists are amazing human beings.., is there a role that they can play in this transforming society of ours? Within this crucible everything is loosened up as it were, and is there a way that one can enable each of them to realize their potential that is not simply based in celebrity or in product, but is in the what we think, the way that we process and the way that we create meaning as markers for both history and also for our own, I want to say soul, but maybe soul appertains to too many other things, to a kind of meaningful core of us as human beings. Can they be leaders? And they can be wonderful.

Did the South African political climate of the mid 80's influence you in the establishing of Caversham Press?

I think it did. I think it's what we talked about in terms of that apartheid psyche, not only affecting those that were victimizing, but absolutely undermining the integrity of you as a human being, and on such a level that the more that you were awoken to its imbalance, and that fragmentation, you know, at that time of total repression, and a time of change almost

like that crucible where you saw things that were seemingly bound and concretized, were actually a pure figment, manipulated fabrication. that what you instinctively felt was correct, not what you were taught, not the way the structures that were created around you, that's why I keep saying, you come back to that ethical core of who you are.

I think of an amazing domestic worker Johannes *Skikhane* who grew up with my mom as girl at the age of 12 and who remained with us for 55 years. My link and connection with him went well beyond the day to day role that he actually played, but he was in some ways a mentor to me, as balancing element within me. It was he who began calling me 'mfundisi' when I was very young. He was so dear, and this doesn't come I hope, from a patronizing perspective.

And yet you know, the crime of apartheid affected every section of the population, every single individual. If you think back to Nazi era, living under that level of national fascism with the appalling things that happened and resulted in the war, you think about propaganda, you think about the power of indoctrination, and you ask yourself how you would live with yourself thereafter. I think for me it was an awakening of saying; can you and how would you personally make a contribution? You're not involved in the 'struggle', but can you as an individual establish a non-prescriptive institution/ facility that is not bound by anything other than just a pure desire to be in a creative dialogue with another human being. It's as simple as that you know. There's no platform, there's no performance, there's merely coming in and creating that unique integrity to individuals of equal intention, standing, no matter how diverse a background, common in a search for meaning.

When we were first started Caversham Press and began working with artists in1985 it was at the height of the state of emergency; I think it was only when William Kentridge said at the Opening of the exhibition celebrating 25 Years of the Press that this place at Caversham was like a quiet haven, a centre of peace in that time of enormous turmoil and unrest, that suddenly I realized what is it was like for artists coming here from lives and communities surrounded by violence.

Your speech (made when you received the UKZN Doctor of Literature honoris causa degree) touched on personal legacy and the gift of significance, how did the residency and outreach programmes facilitate the realization of these principles?

The residencies added another layer by expanding these creative and cultural dialogues to not only local but international artists, that occurred at Caversham and this moving 'beyond' the safe familiar haven was strengthened with Gabi joining us. She said at one stage, when we were talking about where she saw herself in the future, what her next step would be, because I knew she wouldn't have remained here, and it was 'beyond Caversham'. Caversham is only a place, only a pause in a person's life and I think the international residencies gave it additional impetus and contribution for both Gabi as well as for the kids that she worked with because suddenly you had visitors coming from different nationalities, different backgrounds, and the aspects of national identity such as African Americans notion of coming 'home' to Africa, with their understanding and perception of what Africa was. For me it was wonderful to see and experience along with the visiting artists and I hope also for them with an adjusted perception in many ways. But also for the children that Gabi worked with and you thereafter where memories abound of how one was welcomed to Ulwazi, being greeted by the special song they would sing, and how they would come and take you by the hand, take you around and show you with pride and dignity, and that was the greatness and influence of Gabi's spirit wasn't it?

Yes, it was the warmth of her influence.

Honoring you and providing you with dignity and making you feel so special.

What influenced your hourglass philosophy incorporated in programmes within and beyond the studio? Beyond the studio, you've said you saw your role as an enabler, or collaborator because you never want to be the pivot around which all revolved?

A collaborator. Yes, sharer of responsibility, absolutely. Because it's exactly what you were saying that for something to be truly sustainable, for it to have a lasting impact, you've got to remove the 'outsider as dependency and presumption of needs' from that context because you know when you talked about structures for funded workshops by government institutions, there is a metaphor that comes to mind of a post box; that you come in and drop your contribution through the post box and you push off. Whereas, the time you spent and the commitment you showed in carrying on after Gabi's death gave you a deeper understanding of nuance, the history and context in order to make the contribution that you did and for which I am ever grateful. I could never do that. That's not my role. My role

is to work with one individual at a time or a small group and allow the process to unveil to reveal itself and what that content is going to be, directed through conversation finally clarifying what the destination is going to be. So you just provide a structure and process and then allow the individuals to take it to where it should go. So just an enabler, yes and a caretaker of this facility.

What did you hope the participants would derive from the process? Unpack self-belief through self-expression?

For me it's always about the individual. It's always about the personal. It's always about the authentic, personalized experience and I came to realize that this is the way that I work best, purely on collaborative basis. And I think that means, that one begins by seeing huge potential in each individual and a willingness to share their journey for the time you are together. It's exactly as if you were to bring me an image and you say I want to make a print. I would look to guide you to the appropriate print process and scale for your vision and I think at core the whole idea is the realization that essentially we are creating visions that we share with others, that we communicate but also that we can actually live. And for me that was the greatest potential, and you could call it leadership, you could call it, what did you call it? Self-creation I think that the basis for the idea of self-belief through self-expression and not self-confidence which carries possibilities of arrogance and prejudice.

You distill those things that are meaningful to you, those that move you, that are essential to your being. Many of which are subliminal and you spend your life discovering them, continuing to discover even as an umkhulu like me.

For the residency programme, I understood that you identified people through word of mouth?

Because I think that the networks that we develop throughout life, in their own way create a vortex of energy around us. If we look at ourselves really as a component of the universe not the singular unique unit as an artist, but the kind of energy, and that's why I keep thinking that when we talk ecclesiastically of notions of good and evil, one can simplify

it to how we allow that energy that flows through us where evil is a reduction of that energy until it diminishes to such an extent that it disappears, whereas the other builds and contributes energy in line with the notion of love, with unconditional giving being the evolving expansion of that living energy. So in other words we do not resist, we do not control, we just allow it to go through us and in doing this we re-establish the natural path and it brings us back into balance I think that this place also plays a role in what happens here carrying the residue of it almost fifteen years. So in my experience people arrive, people are drawn or attracted at particular times when it's relevant for them to be here, isn't it.

For me it is sustaining that childlike wonderment in all aspects of your life, from where did this image come from, you don't have to know where it arose but you can see a manifestation of that creative productive energy flowing through you. Wow what an outcome! An outcome that enables somebody else who can pick up and carry forward or they may arrive when there's some contribution that they can make or to receive a contribution.

So it was also when we set up Caversham Centre at a time when I was still working with well-known artists and we could have simply set up an extension of that professional collaborative production environment. So all you would do was continue to invite people that had a market reputation, had a profile already existing feeding into financial success because everyone wants to be part of that kind of success.   However that's never been part of my make up, it has always been about people in need.   People who haven't had opportunities or high profiles. That was one of the things that the board accepted that we work with people who showed a commitment, had evidenced a level of professionalism but that weren't recognized in the art world at that stage. So that we began attracting young people at the beginning of their careers or those of an older generation whose time had passed. Because you knew that when people came into the studio it was about the richness of dialogue that we would have, that would result in images of worth that came out such a collaboration. So it wasn't the archetypal master printer model, of me being a technician enabling you to realize an image, but that we would do it together – share responsibility for the outcome.

So that the artwork is a result of that dialogue?

Yes, creativity is a dialogue and, for me it's always about the process, it's fundamental to interaction between with people.

And I love that notion that these are markers of history.

The artworks?

Yes, specific to time, specific to a conversation, specific to conditions a person all of which existed as part of that energy groundswell.

I spoke to Mr. Mabaso this morning. The way he described the impact; one of the questions was whether he or the school staff had observed any impact within the group of kids that attended Ulwazi. And he explained beautifully including the positive effects he thinks the existence of Ulwazi had on not only the kids, but also the community at large. How much even he, one day, on going into the space during one of the workshops, and hearing and seeing what was being shared, he wished he'd had that chance to attend something like that when he was growing up. He made an example of one boy who had been part of Ulwazi back then (and is currently being tutored by someone else now...); he (Mr. Mabaso) said he had interacted with him when he needed someone to design some posters; he observed a shift in terms of the boy's reasoning; there was a matured sense of meaning-making.

That's amazing. Thank you for that gift. One never got any feedback from Jabula at all. And I think for me that has been one of the sadnesses with, but also one of the acceptances that things run for particular periods of time and when the need changes you've got to be able to step back and allow things to die a natural [death], it's almost like a metamorphosis, from that chrysalis into a different body form. Because, for the last four years the feminine influence on Ulwazi has dissipated. You know I think when Vusi took over, and dear Vusi has done amazing things, but it just changed the very nature of what Gabi had started, this crucible, a nurturing space. I was thinking about those early days and what it was as a place of protection, of renewal of those things that are nurtured by the feminine within a

context like that. Eventually it was just boys that would come. The girls went and did other things I presume.

And then that day in January last year when Mr. Mabaso came in to say they needed the classroom and we needed to vacate it now, taking only three hours to shift all Ulwazi stuff out. He was really sad about it, it wasn't with harshness you know, he just said 'I don't know what I can do. I've got 30 new pupils and where am I going to put them.' He said, by all means use it over the weekend, but it needs to change, and in some ways it had already changed.

When Senamile indicated that she wanted to take over Ulwazi, we cleaned out the store room, took out all the materials and deposited at her mom's place, but now she's got a job teaching deaf students in Durban, so I'm not sure what's going to happen with that. That's why when I read that question, what were the initial ideas and how do you look at CreACTive Centres now, how many are still functioning etc., I thought; it is so dependent, as we always knew, on the catalysts. Sustainability is about that individual and how they create relevance for each CreACTive centre within their community. Rather than saying, it is an institutional structure that can contribute to a society like a suitcase or a blanket that you can wrap around a society

And then the community/individual can decide?

Yes. So you look at Khululiwe who is still flying. Look at Nomandla doing amazing things with her museum, and here in Lidgetton I think we needed a woman, we need a mother's spirit, and maybe it was because of this that things have changed come to a standstill, I'm not too sure.

So you are still using Jabula during the weekends?

No. Not at all. So what's happening now is that the group of boys that we've worked with for the last two years, initially it there were eight now it's down to six. They come down on a Thursday afternoon. And then I run holiday workshops for them when they come in for the whole day during the holidays. They work at Caversham based Masabelaneni centre. This just evolved from wanting to train Simphiwe and for him to be able to teach these youth printmaking skills and which he did very well. This once again reinforced the

idea of me as an enabler a support structure in the background so that others could contribute to their communities. For me it was just that awareness that if there is nobody up in Lidgetton and yet trying to find ways to keep that whole vision alive. On one side, Ros saying forget it, let it go, you know it's time to close down, we just can't carry on sustaining it, and on another level one has this instinctual understanding that it does make a difference in lives. But how do you maintain it without somebody, a resident's commitment? So then I started saying OK if I'm not able to, by then Jabula had gone, can we not then bring them down here. I thought that Saturdays were a challenge because you've got to transport al the youngsters down, you can't leave them walking along the road etc. with its inherent dangers and what have you. So what do I have to offer; to teach them printmaking, to go back to the prototype that I use to run in the 90's;running all those workshops for Mduduzi and Pat Khoza and all of those folks you know, Thami and Sfiso etc. So I thought, well we could do that, and then the idea that I would teach Simphiwe and in some ways, I was sad that I hadn't discovered his potential earlier having completed two years of a BSc Engineering at UKZN and losing his wonderful spirit and the vision of grooming him to be able to take over those roles.

So I'm not sure at the moment what will happen with Ulwazi. Even this year I can see it's changed. And is why I've got S'bu to come back and teach them, digital practices and things like that. With the sale of Gabi's house Vusi will now go back to Newcastle. So there will be another hiatus between one person and another. So I think it will end up with me running workshops over the holidays, and not during term time which is a great tragedy. Because I think it's the constancy of engagement that really bears fruit not one off workshops where you come with an expectation, the workshop is finite, that it begins and ends. But an ongoing programme becomes part of life stream which you know, every Thursday, every Saturday or every second Saturday will be there. It then becomes part of your habitual working in life, but it requires somebody else to take up that mantel, or maybe there'll be other activities in the community that do that in the future. I'm not sure.

One of the main arguments I make is that what the CreACTive centres were/ are doing is partly trying to facilitate transformation and I want to link that with the community development practice and look at what can be learnt or unlearnt from how Caversham

approached its community engagement. Most government affiliated community development practitioners design programmes as if for 'passive' beneficiaries. The idea of the individual is not important. What becomes urgent is the 'ticking of boxes'. I want to contrast these approaches and look at the Caversham model as an alternative in terms of establishing the bottom-up approach; a creative tool to foreground people's priorities. For instance, the issue of income generation that came up as one of the top priorities within most of the out-of-school groups that we worked with is a good example.

I think it's the approach that can build false expectations if it comes with a structure and all the paraphernalia of wealth and power, then it needs to reflect in the same way in their lives, in other words it needs to empower them to create and generate income. I think that for me this was always the challenge. One understood wholeheartedly the need for that outcome but in some ways it was saying 'what are the other things that you need, and when I say that, I think of that amazing book that those women from Mapula produced, who when asked said; you actually need a house a home, you need food, but you need a song for the soul. And it is the song for the soul that we were looking at. It's, that without a soul everything else is mechanized and in some ways commodified, and I think that is what we as artists do in a way. When I think back to what was I trying to do with artists, I remember realizing that not all artists would be ideal catalysts, would fit into that catchment.

What influenced your art education philosophy? Mothers and school-going youth constituted majority participants in the workshops we ran; what are your thoughts on the idea of creating networks through mothers who can then transfer the ethos to their children?

Jill has always told me that in training a teacher, you're not just training those 280 students, but it is them and the 30 kids that they'll work with. And each one of those children may have one or two parents. Each one will have siblings, grannies and grandfathers. So in other words the individual becomes this catalyst that just expands, multiplies the impact.

In lots of ways, it's the dichotomy of us as creative individuals and the aspiration to do things that are unique. When you focus on the individual as the core within a community; within a society; within a culture in so doing you may be seen to be actually separating, fragmenting ones society in some way. But on another level, you're actually tapping into

that interconnectedness that creativity brings, because it is a language, it is about communication, it is about sharing. If you think about, as I always used to say, those three aspects of creativity; it's not only the idea/concept, the impulse or intuition or the motivation that you actually have, but its then the making manifest creating from that; either through music, writing, visual art, performance whatever it is. But the ultimate aim is not singular in a sense that you try to actually discover meaning and significance for yourself, but it's that notion that for that process to be completed, it has to be shared. Whether it's an exhibition, whether it's a performance, or what have you. And that's where that interdependence actually comes to play. That is where this notion of us as one individual can transform the world, not that you may want to, but in your search for your meaning and significance, content and that is where my understanding actually came about of the role of significance.

…Because I thought, we come to this fine art educational background where you have a young person that comes out of school, with a paucity of education at secondary education level. You then put them into a university and start requiring them to have content in their work. Content always comes, in some ways, as a distillation of experience. You can almost say that instead of the word content, you could say wisdom, that which has come from life experience. It has to be distilled over time you know. And that if you keep saying, but this is mere illustration after the fact, all you're doing is copying what you actually see out there you may but it is meaningful to me. It is that if part of your motivation is to share with others, it cannot only be meaningful to you but have relevance to somebody else.

Meaning and relevance combined makes some significance. It takes it outside of the unique. It takes it outside of the individual. It actually then becomes part of your personal language, part of the collaborative nature of creativity, rather than the competitive, rather than nurturing the celebrity status, that is driven by the market-oriented nature of art. So when you look at the CreACTive Centres, you look at individuals and the process undertaken, on one level, trying to allow people to realize their potential that rests/exists inside of them and that is not reliant on anything else. That already exist is inherent in you as a creative individual to connect and become part of this collaborative network isn't it?

And it seems like such a simple thing. You wonder what happened with education, and you wonder what happened with the way in which people actually perceive the notion of creating fine art products or poetry or what have you. That it has to be formulated within a particular criteria, formulated in a particular way that has reference books that have been written, philosophy that was existing. You know, particular ways of thinking, and ways of analyzing and establish a value criteria. In lots of ways it is one of the reasons for me leaving academe, as I thought when thinking about your question "what drove you to actually start." And I kept saying, well it was because I felt uncomfortable in the institutional context. I felt as if it wasn't a natural fit for me. And I think of authenticity, it has always been important because so much is about instincts, so much you know is about connecting one individual to another rather than saying give me your cv and I'll see whether I want to relate to you.

So I think in some ways we use the term 'comfort' but essentially I think another word would probably be the 'rightness', the 'correctness', that comes from realization of potential within the individual. So in other words when teaching in a university, I love working with people, but I was always wanting to work with people as individuals rather than a collective, rather than in a class of 1st years or 3rd year students or whatever it is, I wanted to connect with them as individuals at one point or another. And I think that's probably what has driven Caversham.

So, essentially, as I said it is about collaboration it's about us sharing a journey together. Sharing insight, wisdom, experience, images, whatever it is. But it's also sharing that journey of meaning, that through conversation, through dialogue you realize that these have relevance to others. Therefore it was almost saying, you don't need to look at existing paradigms, you don't need take existing texts, books written about leadership or whether it's about ways of making prints. It is about discovering a language that is relevant as we do as artists, a language which is relevant to the content that you want to communicate, you know what I mean?

So it all comes back to; we think like artists, we think like creative individuals, we know that we're a product of context, we know that we're a product of education, we know we're a product of, you know, all of those indoctrinations that we actually come from. All levels

of it.   But how do we communicate, how we use this as fuel so that our vehicle of life can be authentic. In other words, you can actually use it so that you feel almost as if you're the first person discovering this. It becomes so fresh and alive. I always use the analogue of when you visit a foreign city or town you have this hyper awareness because you cannot rely on past experience or the familiar around you. You've got to survive. And I think in many ways that's what we're constantly searching for. To put ourselves in a situation of reawakening, I guess. Although this sounds kind of touchy feely, sort of romantic in some ways, but I think it is a re-sensitizing,

Is it like a counter-socialization?   Looking at how we have been socialized and being conscious of what we would like to change?

Yes. If you think of yourself as a teacher, I wasn't taught how to teach, I wasn't taught how to make prints, and yet found a way because you wanted to connect with people on a fundamental level. You find a way to enable people to discover, enable them to search for what they have within them. You know, that potential. It's like this process of you coming here and enquiring of me that forces me to reflect

It's a gradual gaining of understanding of what you do, and I think, it's trusting of one's instincts and in lots of ways, it is the unquantifiable, untutored and that's why I keep on saying, it's the spirit of leadership or it's the spirit, because in many ways it's not tangible. …Actually you are a product of everything you have experienced, all your education…all the kind of context you come from. But it's when you put all of that familiar support structure down in coming into a place like this where you constantly recognize your mortality. It was at the time when we were working together, the time of HIV/AIDS and on attending an exhibition and seeing young people at this exhibition I thought about the paradigm that one has to pay one's dues, work hard and exhibit until you acquire the status as fine artist when you are in your 50s or 60s, and in looking around at the young artist that were there in their late teens and early 20s and the thought/reality came that in 2 years' time there's every likelihood that they will no longer be here. What do you do with those two years? How do you take this awareness and how do you not make it a source of sentimentality but empowerment? You know where you say oh I'm so sorry and you treat things with kid gloves or you paint things in rosy hues, but to actually say you young artists

already have wisdom, you've have such wealth within you? Even if it's only two years, six months, one day or whatever is possible, how do you then take that potential and leave your legacy. Because I think legacy is twofold; it's the legacy your understanding and it's the legacy that other people comprehension, isn't it.

…….. I would like us to go back to the contrast of being an educator in a formalized institution, where your engagement with individuals was kind of prescribed, and what you eventually started here. Within the context of prioritizing lived experience instead of what the books or pre-existing mainstream knowledge say, to engage people. Do you think it's possible for someone who embraces this informal ethos to effect change within the formal education environment?

Absolutely possible.   There's so many different streams of participation, of awareness, of interaction within our live, you know, that we actually choose whatever vehicles suitable to the terrain or for your purpose, your destination whether teaching at university or teaching at a Technikon, in those days, technical college, and now DUT, and at the university. When I think back to institutional teaching, I think fondly of my first experience at Technikon, and the uninterrupted time, the less confusion about why I was there. You were there simply to make manifest the ideas that you had and share these and it could take any form. Of course I had the luxury of coming into fine art at the time when there was so much energy internationally. It was the end of the pop art era etc., photography was just blossoming. All of these things encouraged a hyper awareness and energized everything that you did. It was practice based , you know, it wasn't belabored by a necessity to write, create terms and critiques about what have you, it was youthful time that you had a thought and you were able to translate that into art making that encompassed modernism and all the wonderful thing from impressionism to pop art. It was a little bubble-like, I suppose coming from a generation that was the hippy era, you know, that the world was good and that what you were doing was worthwhile and even though you knew it was, in some ways, it still had a depth about it, but wasn't so angst driven. It didn't require so much articulation in searching for why we were doing it. So teaching students at that level was wonderful, and I think it was probably because they were a similar age to me or slightly older. It was a time too that I had just come back from the self-actualizing experience of leaving home

and going overseas, having to survive and being able to re-author my personal history. It gave credence that West African aphorism that Lisa Turtle used: '' what sitting cannot solve, travelling will resolve. It's a matter that you have the authority, you have the opportunity to actually say, 'this is who I am'. You leave behind all childhood support structures and other's expectations, and suddenly there you are sitting in London in the early 70's. Nobody knows you and you can become anything you want to be. In some ways that's what we're talking about in terms of making art, in terms of the hourglass process and of the CreACTive centres; you are able to re-author who you perceive yourself to be and who you can become.

It was just a wonderful time because one still had that energy of the newness, combined with the interaction with students and uninterrupted time, you'd go in at 08:30 in the morning and you were with those students until they finish at 4 o'clock in the afternoon. Other than going off to art history once in a while it would be studio practice all the time.

Then coming into a University it was a whole different process. It makes me think of when I applied for the job at technikon, the head of the college, when I applied for the Printmaking post, he said 'I'm afraid Mr. Christian that we cannot employ you because you have too wide an educational base. We can afford employ a specialist, somebody who has spent their entire career as a printmaker and who is committed to that path.

And in some ways I think that was symptomatic of the thinking of the time. In lots of ways, when you go into teaching you need to be this custodian of all knowledge, you need to be this fount of all specialist technical information not someone like me chopped and changed; I had a qualification in sculpture, I had a qualification in photography and then I became a printmaker coming back doing my higher diploma in printmaking and maybe I would go off and do something else etc. They felt that teachers shouldn't encompass that sort of thing, you need to be somebody who is committed and their life commitment is in a particular subject.

My experiencing Maritzburg was in some ways a halfway point to Johannesburg. Not only geographically, but also in attitude. Pietermaritzburg was very tight and, different, an academic institution that was molded on an English university which still had many of its trappings. You'd all go off to tea, you know, all of those niceties. I was taking over from

149

an American printmaker (Frank Vodvarka) who knew all the techniques, there was a sign on the printmaking door saying Special Effect department which intimidated me no end. I was already intimidated anyway going into an academic environment, because you know, suddenly you're aware that you as an artist, with a practical love for making things and now you expected to play all these other roles and there's Malcolm with no university qualification in Printmaking pretending that he can come in and do it all, so I had to learn quickly. The only process I had been taught was etching in England.

So you had to learn whilst teaching?

Absolutely. All my life. And that's why I approached printmaking as I do, not as a purist a master printer, but as a collaborator with a love for finding ways to translate mark-making so that they can be editioned. I think this is probably why I've never encouraged monotypes until now.

The students already have a way of working allied to Frank and I had to try and find a way to adjust because I work very differently. And I think in many ways it was great when I was invited to go up to Wits and start the screen printing and lithography studio up there.

Which was after Maritzburg?

Yes. What happened was when Durban Tech finally appointed me, and the day that this happened and I took up my post I had to resign, because I had been asked to come and run the printmaking department at Maritzburg. So I left. I mean it wasn't with any malicious intent or anything like that, it was just how the universe had worked. So I came up there and then soon after Willem Strydom, the sculptor came and took over the sculpture department whilst Henry Davies was on Sabbatical. And Willem had just come back from St Martins. He was this amazing breath of fresh air, and of course, what he did, was he rekindled the sculptor in me, and I went in there and I learnt how to weld, how to cut steel

and all of that. There was this massive Sculpture competition in Durban, and I put up a piece there and at that exhibition Allan Crump met me and said 'I want you to come to Wits'. So it's all of those kind of connections you know, those things that happen seemingly accidental which seem in retrospect to guide one's life, with me saying 'how the hell did this happen.'

And then going to Wits where with the students, it was run like a corporation, not like an academic environment where everybody was complacent once you had tenure and you can be there forever, there was no pressure. Whereas at Wits it was tough and demanding

You had to account?

I had to be there on the third of January, had to begin work and from there onwards it was just pressure, pressure, pressure. Pressure not only from the institution but also from the students because the students who went to Wits at that stage were on a whole, I would say, a large percentage of them came from very affluent backgrounds and there was this kind of feeling, and maybe it was, you know, subconscious feeling that we are paying your salaries, we expect you to come up with the goods. Because it's driven like a business, professional and yet for me what was important was that unless I'd been through that experience, I think I'd never had started Caversham.

So this is why I say life is like art, you know if you live your life as that creative collaboration understanding that part of your life is about thinking, about discovering those things within you that are either subconscious or inculcated through experience or that are lying latent within you until life triggers something or moves you and that you want to manifest it in some form. So then you then find the language, find the processes that enables you to understand that thought process, those instincts, those intuitions, those images within you. But then ultimately the whole completion of that process cannot remain within you, it's got to be actualized outside of you. So it's got to be shared in one form or the other, so if you have those three aspects as guiding lights within your life, in understanding your life, and that's where the whole notion of reflection, of internalizing, of the dialogue, that through sharing what happens is that I am transformed by that something which triggered this within you. That you then use that as a basis to create something that is then shared back to you and to the person that has given you that inspiration. You then complete

151

that whole process. And what happens then is that it transforms you personally and allows you to take ownership of your life in a different way. And that's what we do as creative individuals.

Did you always have such clear understanding of what you were doing?

No, I never understand what I'm doing. As you can see it's taken me eight years to put together these books that I am working on now, and I look at these piles of books and I think, 'who's going to want those things?' What are you going to do with these things? I look at these drawers full of prints, but ultimately, it wasn't about the products. You can look at Caversham and say, it doesn't fit into the mold of other collaborative professional printmaking studios initially without an awareness in archiving all that that was done; when you did it and how you did it, all of those kind of documentary. It is only later after the fact its importance in having that kind of structure.

This would have come from reading and trying to understand from other people's experience rather than simply saying; you have ended up in a graveyard, end up in a church, you build a house amongst the grave stones because you feel that's what you should be doing rather than saying I'm gonna do a survey of the artist community in this area. I'm going to look at a market appraisal of whether there is a need for this, you just say I'll take a step and that will probably shine more light on, and give me more clarity about what I should do next. So in some ways you become not so much fatalistic but accepting that life is a process. And you actually say ok, if this is meant to happen, then it will come about and I'll be able to do that. I was approached to go and teach at UCT when I left Wits, and it was exactly the same time we discovered Caversham. It was this toss up whether I continue within academe, be comfortable and have a nice life in Cape Town etc. or do I buy this abandoned church and do something else,. And then you say ok if the church agrees to sell to me, thinking that churches never sell property, then you will take it that this is what you should be doing, and that's what we did. Here we are sitting 31 years later.

It's been a long time….31 years!

I still don't have a complete clear idea of what I'm doing even now, you know you just look at what you get given including this shaking, rattling and rolling or what have you, and you say, but this another gift, another experience, it's another pencil to draw with, to gain more understanding about, you as a human being and the uniqueness of this life experience that we have, which is gone within the flash of the eye. But all the things that we have, I mean just look at the people that I've had a chance to interact with, to create such richness in my life and I think if I was down in Cape Town, where would those people be?

It's just so amazing, you wake up and you can't believe how you can be this lucky, and then you say; but what is good fortune? And you say; well, good fortune really is that one emphasizes the positive aspects no matter what happens to you. And through this you build an awareness that it is all precious no matter what form it takes, hey. That's where a personal mythology, a story in trying to articulate how you can change the way a person thinks about themselves as either victim or activist. It's just in realizing all that you already have, and re-authoring your own ability, re-authoring your own history. That enables you to say that I chose this, I wasn't forced.

And I think when you look at the hardships and you look at the trauma in your life, in some ways, and maybe, some people say it's not confronting the truth but in some ways its how we see things that changes what we are able to do with the experiences that we actually have. So if you say, when I was all knowing, I was able to look at my life from an aerial perspective, and see all those amazing, supposedly random interconnections, I knew that ultimately if the destination and the contribution that that would give me, I would need to come into that specific family, at that time, in that place, for all of those things to come to fruition.

In order to manifest your intentions?

Exactly! To become the most efficient way of me making that contribution in the world, to the society, to the community, to the individual, whatever it is I think that this fundamentally changes your ability from saying that I've suffered because of this and that.

It have its place, but it hinders you in taking ownership of your life by being able to say I've chosen to accept some aspects that I recognize my past, but to then say that these are those that deplete my energy rather than expanding it so I will from here onwards put these down in taking ownership of my life. I use to use that metaphor for recognizing those aspects in your life as people; When standing at the window of a shop and looking in and you see the reflection of people passing by, you see an individual coming down the road, that you haven't seen for years, but you don't really want them to see you, so you stare fixedly into the window, and pray they will pass, like the negative things in your life. Other people come past and you say ah I remember you at school when I was such and such age, and you greet them as they go pass and they recognize you and carry on. But then they are those that make you feel whole, expanded, fueled and you turn around and you embrace them. I think in some ways that's what we were trying to do with that notion of building self-belief. I love the idea of creating yourself; recognizing the things that deplete you as well as those things that expand and extend. And for me that's an important understanding and how it is evident in the ways that you express this. I look at those diagrams that I drew and you can see my religious upbringing coming out….the triangles…a kind of trinity in some ways even though I'd left the church behind, it still is reflected.

The things that have made us?

Exactly, it's all who we are. It's amazing how in time is relative, having a relevance for some things at particular times. And I think it's really interesting to analyze what influence and what impact funders actually had in our Caversham development.

I think it was like having another form of collaboration, like having another artist contributing elements to the situation, and you develop visions, images and structures around this as if with another color or a kind of ink which wasn't simply to satisfy funders. I think back to that first hourglass experience that I personally had and which was due to the wisdom of people who were the funders of Caversham at that stage. Gail McClure didn't consciously say, if I put Malcolm through this experience he will discover something there that will expand and be impactful into the rest of the community but that is what happened. So it was with the opportunity of having funding and being able to plan your curriculum and your activities, publicity; the things that you actually wanted to do within

a couple of years. And then she asked me, what are you going to do next year? And my having these reams of paper and being able to talk and talk for 20 minutes; so many residencies, of this kind, so many exhibitions, develop a website, put a brochure together, all of the kind of things. And I can still see her sitting there in this august boardroom table at Mandela Foundation.

Which year was this?

This is in 2002.

The same year that Ulwazi started?

Yes. 2002 I'll have to actually look back and see. It would have been the second year of a two-year grant. I had run the first grant, and then I had a second one. So it might have been in 2003 because there would have been the first one and then the second one that we actually got. And Gail sat over there with John Samuel, and here's Malcolm telling them this and that. She finally said 'Malcolm, do me a favor, when you go back to Maritzburg tomorrow, I want you to cancel everything that you got planned. I want you to think about, and understand what the impact is, what is your vision and what is its impact locally, nationally and internationally.'

And if you're like me, with an overdeveloped sense of responsibility you immediately think you've dropped the ball, somehow failed to deliver the goods. Here's someone who's had faith in you, sits on the board of Kellogg, gave you money. And they're saying all of that stuff I'd articulated was not good enough. And I think it was three months of absolute trauma that followed. It was fascinating because you questioned absolutely everything that you'd done, that you thought, that instinctively you'd gone ahead and undertaken, but you still can't ascertain what is wrong with it along with this you have this guilt of not fulfilling somebody expectations. And then you say the only way that I see is to interview people who had been at Caversham, to ask them to come to Caversham and help me with this; tell me whether they think Caversham has a role to play; what has it done? What its relevance? Because the feeling that I got, was that Kellogg would not want to fund anything further unless I could actually articulate the contribution that it was going to make.

And everybody said no, you've done it from 1985, now almost 20 years, you've made contributions on this and this and this level. And I hadn't perceived this as I had always thought of it internally in my head rather than realizable within the community. I think, in some ways it still was a residue of apartheid that had been created in our psyches growing up, about separateness, not seeing connections among others in other communities, in other groups, you know.

You still affected and limited by aspects of your internal story rather than seeing what was being manifested in any real sense within ones immediate community, so I thought, if they see the worth of Caversham, then no matter what the funders decide to do, I'll continue. I'll find another way, I've done it for 20 years. So I took ownership in deciding what we're going to do, this is how we'll would go forward. And only then did the penny drop, that what Gail had really done was give me my own personal visioning residency at Caversham.

With this came the realization that in the report presented all I had been involved with was management? And in her saying what are you going to be doing, rather than why you are doing it, you're saying, I'm doing 1,2,3,4, 5, and those are the mechanical things. What she was saying 'What is this vision?' And this is what we as artists do, we create visions. Except that this was a living vision. I thought if this process affected me so deeply, is this the process that we go through intuitively when we create a drawing or a sculpture or a print or a painting or something like that, we're forced to stop because this thing moving inside us has such impetus that we become absorbed by it and we aren't able to fully understand it fully because it needs articulation from the outside in. So we bring people of meaning to us and we share that idea and through this dialogue we recognize the value of it through that sharing. And that's basically how that hourglass process came about.

That stopping and making sense of…

Stopping in your tracks is the most important and powerful thing unlike when somebody says tomorrow you go home and cancel everything you got on your programme and giving you time to prepare.

Not necessarily telling you what to think about?

Not at all

What was your vision for the CVA and Jabula partnerships?

They were outcomes; and I think it was probably with Gabi trying to find where her natural passion lay, and finding ways that we could collaborate together on enabling that to become a reality and I think that's where the CreACTive centres started. Because when she arrived here as an intern, right in the beginning, we sat outside on that beam of wood, as we always did at tea time, and I was saying what would you be doing if you weren't here Gabi, and her saying well I would be working with kids. And then my response, why don't we do it here? I'd never worked with children before, so I thought where do we start? We made an appointment with Mr. Mdima who was the head master at Jabula, and we went up, and he said here is a classroom, you can use it. He gave us a classroom as a permanent place and that was Ulwazi

And then it was once again just a support for Gabi, you know saying make it as broad as possible, you know coming from a specialist printmaking facility most people would think you would want to start a little printmaking area there; no. It's based on what the children need. And her experience was so vast in terms of her time with the artworks trust etc. working with Liz in Durban. It was papermaking, it was performance, it was poetry, this and that. To do what I do is actually dependent on the capacity that individuals have, or desire or passion they have.

So it was the same with the CVA?

With CVA, when Vuli came up here, we said can't we start something at CVA, how does it fit? How do we actually work? And I think that's one of the essential elements; the differences between traditional orthodox educational-based institutions is that things are done for competitive reasons, the motivation is for you to become bigger, better faster, richer or whatever. So in other words you are competing against one another etc. Whereas here it was saying, there's another way of thinking that is complementary and that is not repeating somebody else, but actually finding where your voice or your contribution can make a difference, in other words finding the gap. So what you've got to do then is you've got to actually understand, you've got to immerse yourself. It's got to be exactly what you

were saying about being out there as an outsider, you got to fundamentally understand what those children need and what that community needs in order for you to be able to go in there and become a collaborator. And it's not like a traditional researcher where you go in and asking lots of questions or do static studies or whatever it is. It's in fact a dialogue. You participate and through that participation you become one with them and gain that awareness, that wisdom from it. And I think that is the hallmark of what we've done here rather than training somebody as the specialist and then sending them into an environment that just perpetuate and bolsters the competitiveness within our society. Because for me it was coming as a shy individual and also being uncertain about things because you didn't have this ,you've got to be competitive, you've got to understand, you've got to know everything, whereas for me I felt I never knew anything. And it becomes about and through the process. And I think one feels a greater kinship for individuals like that. And I think in so many ways most people are like that and they are tutored, educated out of that way of relating. And I think it's where our natural humanism, our natural Ubuntu comes from. You know, that awareness that I don't have to be better than anybody, I've just got to be part of the discovering you know to find where I fit in, where I can make that contribution. So it's quieter, less dominant. But also as with my favorite saying 'trust the process' it is much more process oriented.

So it's not about reaching a destination or producing a product….

No. so the CVA was just saying, like us, we have amazing facilities there, we have an opportunity to open those doors to people that it's not even only disadvantaged people, people that just don't have access to those but that have the will to create, enormous potential, an added value to both an individual life, but also the life of your students'.

How are/were the CreACTive centres funded? If possible please provide details?

In the early days funding for them would come out of the annual funding budget of Caversham centre along with residencies held which involved the Creative Centres and their catalysts. Currently there hasn't been any funding since 2012; now it's just a different dynamic much more reliant on the drive of each catalyst. A small donation is made annually to those still operating.

If you had unlimited funding for the CreACTive centres, how would you like them to function?

However each catalyst would like to realize their vision? The challenge is that it's a double- edged sword, because when you get funding, if you think about us, if you look back at Caversham, as soon as you want to get funding, you need to set up an institution, as soon as you set up an institution, you need the capacity that is required in order for that institution to run, and report and be accountable. And as soon as you do this you then get swamped by the need for management rather than visioning. So if there was unlimited funds for CreACTive centres I would probably invest it and use the interest to support catalysts and their programmes or support of new initiatives because I think that in some ways having money has a curse about it.

For one if we had lots of money if we'd build up an endowment, which was the original idea that we would try to build up an endowment at 12 million, so that we'd be able to run programmes and the facility into the future. But as soon as you do that, it becomes territory. And then you get people wanting take over that territory for its resources only. You have a situation which can ultimately result in circumvented or misdirected all that has been achieved.

So what would be best to do is to really grow potential, so in the event, you had huge sources of funding enabling the ability to go into communities and identify people of potential and vision and to enable them to create the basis for realizing that. Not the realization, but the basis for realization to enable them to have that. So it would be a mentoring process but also with the financial wherewithal to actually say so and so has been identified by her community and after research, you know she has a special interest in this, and she has a potential or passion for that, and you could enable them to go and spend two years wherever it was and then come back and apply that vision. Exactly what Gail was saying to me; what is this vision that you're talking about Malcolm, not what are these programmes that you're running, or the products that you're actually looking at, but what is this vision, its impact locally , nationally and internationally.

So in other words, to grow visionaries who are based in practicality and application. So I think, if I had endless sources of funding I would go back to that original idea of the

CreACTive centre is a person, the catalyst. And what does a catalyst do, it creates a reaction but is not part of the reaction, in scientific terms. So it causes something to happen. But that which happens is not reliant on it. So you can go in and you can create change, build momentum of that change and it not be dependent on you. And it's like Ulwazi here; that you can create that to happen, but its longevity is not reliant on you as an individual. It's reliant on the need that it fulfils. Because sustainability is based in need. If there's not a need, it's not sustainable.

Are any of the centres funded through sales of products made as part of the workshops?

I think that's why Khululiwe and Nomandla's are still sustainable even though our financial contribution was in fact very small and yes I think it's an ongoing fundamental challenge-how to generate own funds. It's been interesting now with those takkies, books, and the prints and the exhibition area and open days, it's still a huge conundrum for us; how to actually commercialize what you do. Once again it falls to the leaders or the teachers that are guiding these youngsters, to show them how commercialize their products which changes the reason for making them in the first place. And if you have somebody like myself who doesn't have heart or instinct for realizing this it prove even more difficult. You need to bring in someone with those talents whilst being aware that all you can personally do for each and every one of those youngsters you can teach them the skills and provide support. For their Christmas this year I bought them their own paints and brushes, all of that because I thought here it is, you've have your own resource, a manageable resource, that you can take anywhere. Takkies can be bought from the trading store for next to nothing. You can start getting commissions, you can give people the tools but it is up to the individual motivation to succeed commercially.

…..Khululiwe didn't need us for those commercial aspects. What we gave her was probably an opportunity to articulate and clarify, plus the camaraderie of support. It's the same as Nomandla. That's why you are there to assist to enable where you can. You know, it's back to that idea of the umbrella, the symbol for Masabelaneni.

So I think, to be self-sustaining, that is the role that you can play in society. The proof is in Khululiwe, she's really doing it; making traditional, ritual or celebration clothing and things like that. And all that was bound up within the love for education of young women,

160

of girls etc. that then led to products that they could produce and market and it wasn't the only thing that they did. And then Nomandla, it was about the honoring of her name and the tribe and then creating this museum, a fully-fledged registered museum. I'd said to her, do you remember, I could see her driving a large removal van as a museum, and that she could go around community to community and inspiring each to honor, recognize and sustain their own traditions in a livable way.

Using lived experience?

Exactly. She is amazing.

And Rorke's Drift?

Rorke's Drift remains a conundrum for me, and I think in some ways, when looking at the historically important art and craft educational institution, why things begin and with the kind of philanthropic patronage of sort that once again results in someone from outside coming in and teaching, and setting up an institution in the hope for that to continue beyond the need for it, it is difficult to sustain unless it adapts not only to changing conditions but creating a sense of co-ownership and with a strong need to hand on a legacy. I suppose that it is one of the challenges that once you commercialize or relate creative involvement to personal income generation, is that there is a natural tendency for those involved to feel threatened by others coming in and taking over what you started. And if it's the only source of income in that location, it becomes even more territory for you to defend.

I'm fascinated by what's happening in Europe at the moment because it's almost a reversal, with all these refuges coming in. You think about the Germans, they're welcoming refugees. Why? Because their birth rate is virtually nil and with their communities getting older and older, they need young people to help the business sustain and grow. You see what I mean there is a kind of natural interdependence within these cycles. Whether it's an individual, whether it's a small initiative, grandiose system, or a country, you can't achieve longevity unless you bring in the young and unless you create opportunities for them to not only follow but help them create and help guide them in discovering their own way and setting examples of the positive aspects of our human experience. So I think with

Rorke's Drift, it will carry on. But in some way it will carry on in part like all of us, with aspects of unrealized potential, until something dramatic happens or it closes down.

And is Lindiwe still running workshops, no?

No. Sorry I thought you meant Rorke's Drift you know, but you were talking about Lindiwe's. There again it was looking for a local individual because we wanted to develop links with Rorke's Drift, and not solely looking for an individual that had the passion and the groundswell to enable her vision. It was an applied vision. She was a wonderfully strong woman who used to cook vetkoek to sell to the kids to make a living. She then became a security guard whilst she ran arts projects for the kids, but without an arts background those programmes were in some way second hand, and not through her own fault, but not instinctively coming out of her desire to communicate and create. It was to fulfil somebody else's expectation. I mean I might be completely wrong about Rorke's Drift, I just don't know. I think of all those met and worked with, when you think about that each had a potential to set up CreACTive centres hey...

......I think unless you are working with a community member who has a craft or arts base, I mean like I said about Lindiwe, it won't continue because it's not a part of an internal processing mechanism, a need to make and communicate and through what is produced to share the tangible evidence of that process of understanding and which is what we hanker for, what we desire.

......the edifying thing is that as soon as funding stops, and if your structure is based on the funding, that's why I think it's such an insightful thing to say, if you had limited funds what would you actually see? Because as soon as the funding stops, you try to run programmes for as long as you possibly can, but eventually it's not sustainable. And what of those connections, because as much as you like to think that it doesn't cost you anything, it does. It costs those participants too, as Jo Thorpe said to me right in the beginning when we were setting up the educational trust, and she said you must always remember that being philanthropic and offering free education you are removing an individual from his/her earning capacity, the chance that he/she has of earning money. And that's why she suggested for us that we include an artists' stipend. And that was the basis for your internship and all of those that we had. It was recognizing that just teaching people is not

enough. That you really need to find a way, even if it's minimal, in recognizing that they are giving you time, valuable time that could be using for something else. And I think in some ways it is also an interesting paradigm shift for us as educators. You know, whoever we are teaching wherever you're teaching we are taking up time in both lives that could be devoted to something else, and therefore [we] have an added responsibility, added recognition in that relationship as educator and educatee.

……That idea of vanguard organizations was such a positive idea. Where you actually say, we recognize the integrity the accountability and the contribution that your organization has made over a long period of time, [therefore], knowing that sustainable always is fragile we will therefore help underpin you with so much on an ongoing basis irrespective of your programme application. Because it then gives you the fuel to maintain the structure that you need in order to fulfill the vision. Whereas when you write a proposal, you might get the funding but then the funding for the next [trench] of that funding will be three years later. Or you never hear from them, or, you know, all of those things. And that's the most difficult thing. So you know, with CreACTive centres, unless you're based in the individual, and the individual passion, because they'll do it whether they have petrol or not.

Appendix B: Workshop observation schedule

Place: **Date:………………………………..**

Category	Frequency/ Notes
Facilitation style: 1. Openness to participants' opinions or viewpoints that may differ to the facilitator's. 2. Pattern of relationship/s encouraged between the facilitator and participants. 3. Incorporation of participants' expectations. 4. Elements of the centre's ethos within the workshop.	
Level of participation: 1. Relationship patterns between the facilitator and participants. 2. Relationship patterns among participants.	
Elements of lived experience explored in the workshop: 1. Class dynamics 2. Individual and collective values	

Appendix C: Unstructured interview questions for centre leaders

1. What inspired your initiative?

2. What was your vision at the beginning, and how has that evolved?

3. What did you understand to be the intention of the Caversham residency program you attended between 2008-2010?

4. How were you recruited?

5. Did you adopt any elements of the program into your vision or workshops?

6. What would you say about the program in relation to encouraging sustainable self-reliance?

7. How would you describe your initiative's relationship with community development efforts?

8. How did facilitating the workshops influence your perception of your immediate community?

9. What is it like to live here?

10. What do you like about living here?

11. What are the things that people complain about here?

12. What are the major problems here?

13. What does development mean to you?

14. Is your community/ country developed?

15. How would you describe a community/ country that is developed?

16. What do you consider to be the individual/ community's responsibilities in facilitating your ideal development?

17. What do you perceive to be the relational dynamics between you and participants?

18. How did your subjectivities influence the workshops you facilitated?

19. How do you recruit participants/ is there some criteria?

20. What sort of immediate needs or concerns have you identified from the participants and how were these addressed?

21. Are there any school-going groups among you participants?

22. What kind of benefits do you think the school-going participants derived from your workshops?

23. How were the workshops funded?

24. Do you receive any assistance from Caversham?