

Public Policy Pertaining to Arts and Culture in Pietermaritzburg, South Africa.

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Abstract

This study aims to explore the relationship between the Transitional Local Council of Pietermaritzburg, and various arts and culture bodies in the Pietermaritzburg area. It has seemed that there is a power differential in this relationship, with a very high concentration of power in the hands of the TLC, while very little of it resides with the arts and culture organizations. The findings of this study have shown that the relationship is, in all cases, built on funding. However, secondly, the problem with this is that the TLC has no real policy on the allocation of funding to arts and culture. There is some informal policy, but nothing concrete. Thirdly, the study shows that the TLC does in fact have a power base from which to work - the finances it controls. And, finally, the study has shown that the transition to democracy in 1994 has not substantively changed the situation in which arts and culture organizations find themselves.

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INTRODUCTION

This study was prompted by a consideration of arts and culture in the city of Pietermaritzburg. When considering a topic on which to do a thesis, I felt that I would like to do it on the policy field of arts and culture, being a musician myself. The basic question which started this study off was, quite simply, *what happened to the arts and culture in Pietermaritzburg?*

Pietermaritzburg was once, in the not too distant past, the hub of an exciting ring of arts and culture events. The arts scene in the city was practically bustling, with events from symphony orchestra recitals to amateur theatricals. But all of this seemed to have ceased.

For the past decade, approximately, there has been a steady downward spiral as far as arts and culture go, generally speaking. There has been a steady decline in the amount of arts events which we are exposed to, as well as in the quality of the art being put out. This has been a cause for concern in some quarters, and has led to this study.

This study, therefore, looks at the state of the arts and culture policy field in Pietermaritzburg. It begins with the observation that there is a problem in the field, and then moves on toward finding some of the underlying causes of the problem.

As such, this research will be aimed more specifically at a policy analysis of the state of affairs in the area of arts and culture, specifically in the Pietermaritzburg region. Recent years have seen the demise of the Pietermaritzburg Philharmonic Society, an event which

was well documented by the media at the time. Moreover, most of the arts and culture initiatives which sprang up since 1994 have also failed miserably. There is a very small handful of successful arts and culture initiatives in the Pietermaritzburg area.

It is my belief that one of the biggest reasons for this state of affairs is the fact that the Pietermaritzburg/Msunduzi Transitional Local Council has been a very cumbersome, and indeed, at times tiresome, player in the field of arts and culture. The TLC has been heavy handed in the way in which it has dealt with the area of arts and culture, and has ensured that the sustainability of initiatives in this field has not been optimum.

In addition to this, there has been the problem of expert advice. The TLC has sought expert advice in almost every other policy field, except this one. This has been for a variety of reasons, most notable among them the fact that no qualifications are necessary to be a critic - everyone seems to think themselves qualified to do the job.

Most notable, however, is the fact that there is a level of politicking (the way in which political actors work against the wishes of the community which elects them, and then use the 'cover' provided by democracy as a means to enrich themselves at the expense of their constituents) in this area of policy which has hindered the overall progress in this field. The politicking has taken the form of almost outright confrontation between members of various parties represented in the TLC. This is what Deborah Stone, in her book *Policy Paradox - The Art of Political Decision-Making* (1997), describes as a policy paradox : the field of public policy in arts and culture in Pietermaritzburg is, at the same time, a place for the enrichment of the lives of the citizens, as well as a place for the personal enrichment (as a

result of the political process) of select officials.

I will therefore be researching the state of affairs in arts and culture policy in Pietermaritzburg, paying special attention to the way in which the political process impacts on the field, based on the process of allocation of grants. It is my belief that this area of arts and culture policy, the political process, deals directly with what policy analysts call power relations. These power relations are the way in which individual players relate to other players in influencing the decisions and actions of the said players. The actual allocation of grants and other monies is an indication of the power relations prevalent in the political process. When we know who makes the allocations, we know who has political power. But it is not entirely this simple.

Once the roles have been explicated, the next step will be to focus on the actual policy initiatives in the field of arts and culture. This will begin with a necessarily broad focus, but will narrow down to an examination of policy initiatives in the Pietermaritzburg area. The policy initiatives will include policy formulated by the TLC, as well as policy made by independent or 'outside' organisations, such as Phemba Kahle.

The final step in the research will be to consider two points. Firstly, I will look at how the actual policy initiatives in the Pietermaritzburg area hold up as a sphere of government. This will entail comparisons between Pietermaritzburg's arts and culture policy with the policy of both the provincial and national spheres of government. It is important to know the extent of the harmonisation between the spheres, if there is any at all.

And, secondly, it will be important to examine the way in which the changing circumstances in the past years have impacted on the formulation of arts and culture policy. What cannot be denied is the fact that times have changed. We have a second generation African National Congress government in place, and it will be necessary to examine what John Kingdon (1984) calls the political 'stream' of the policy process in order to make sense of the changes which have happened in arts and culture in the past decade. This is of vital importance in helping to make projections for the future, which will go some way to aiding analysts and politicians, as well as other interested parties, in planning for arts and culture in the new millennium.

The reasons for choosing this topic are many. Firstly, I think that this topic is of vital importance to our society, specifically here in Pietermaritzburg. The area of arts and culture is one which sparks pride in the hearts of the citizens. Arts and culture provide people with a sense of meaning, with a sense of belonging. It is the arts, and culture, which help to foster the sense of *ubuntu*, the sense of community and belonging which should cement our multi-cultural society together. When these are lacking, as is so lamentably the case in Pietermaritzburg, the people suffer.

Also, tied to this point is the fact that arts and culture provide a valuable entry point for young children to move into society. Arts and culture provide the basis for a strong educational system, one which is inclusive and effective. It is through learning about their cultures that children learn about who they are - they learn about where they come from, and how they came to be here, and through this learn how to move forward into the places they will occupy in their societies.

In addition, arts and culture are a vital part of the life of any community, in any place, in any part of the world. I therefore see the generalisable nature of this research as being of importance. It can be applied to any setting, in practically any part of the globe.

A further benefit will be the fact that this will provide a chance for the field of public policy to be scrutinised at the local sphere of government, using the field of arts and culture as the entry point. This will hopefully stimulate more research into the local sphere of government, as opposed to the provincial and national spheres, where most of the research has tended to agglomerate, as well as providing a chance for the application of research methods to the functioning of the TLC.

The hypothesis guiding this research will be that there is a lack of adequate policy regarding arts and culture in Pietermaritzburg, and that the TLC is directly responsible for this as a result of a policy paradox - the field of arts and culture provides both an area for citizen enrichment and personal gain of officials. All of this has resulted in the death of arts and culture in Pietermaritzburg.

Ultimately, our cultural expressions are an expression of who we are, as individuals and communities. The health of our arts and culture is of vital importance in maintaining a healthy and well-balanced civil society.

What follows, then, is a consideration firstly of the theoretical perspectives which informed this study. This will entail an examination of the works of Steven Lukes, Deborah Stone, and John W. Kingdom, and an attempt to ascertain the value of these works when applied to a

South African setting (Pietermaritzburg).

Thereafter will come a pilot study, which focuses on explicating the events which have led to the present situation in the arts and culture policy field in this city. It is an attempt to get to grips with the nuts and bolts of why the situation is the way it is.

And finally, there will be a 'final report', which will set out the results of the interview phase of the study. This will be composed of the results which were obtained in the study, as well as a policy analysis of these results.

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

Introduction

This thesis will have three theoretical perspectives to it. The first will attempt to look at arts and culture in Pietermaritzburg within the framework provided by Steven Lukes. The second will attempt to look at the role personal 'politicking' has played in the evolution of local policy in arts and culture. And, finally, the third will use John Kingdon's outlook on the political process to analyse the role which politics has played in the policy field of arts and culture.

1. STEVEN LUKES.

Steven Lukes begins his 1979 book "*Power : A Radical View*" with a discussion of the three types of power as he conceptualizes them. He sees power as not being just one thing, but rather, as three distinct schools of thought, or paradigms, beginning with what he sees American politics as being based on and going through to the time of his writing. He calls these three views of power the three dimensions of power.

1. The One-Dimensional View of Power.

The one-dimensional view of power is derived, according to Lukes, mainly from the pluralist school of politics in the United States of America. The pluralist school of politics in the United States sees power as being distributed in a plural fashion across

the entire range of political spheres and departments in the structure of government. This view of power is, because of this, sometimes called the 'pluralist view of power'. In this view of power, the emphasis is distinctly behavioural. Behaviourism can be said to be the framework on which the one-dimensional view of power hangs.

This view of power is based on a simple premise: power is based on the extent to which *A* can get *B* to do something he would not do in the usual course of events. For the pluralists, and for anyone using the one-dimensional view of power, power is the observable result of someone doing something at the prompting of another. The person or people doing the prompting are said to have power (Lukes, 1974:11).

Lukes is, however, quick to point out the fact that the pluralists themselves were, on occasion, not averse to 'modifying' their views. In the course of one article, Dahl goes from the above-mentioned definition of power, to the following: (power seems) "to involve a successful attempt by *A* to get *a* to do something he would not otherwise do" (Lukes, 1974 : 12).

The first definition refers to the *ability* of an individual to get another individual to do something. The second definition involves a recognition that there is a successful attempt by an individual to get another individual to do something. This split between potential and actual power is characteristic of the one-dimensional view of power.

This also brings us to an important aspect of the one-dimensional view of power : the

fact that it takes into account the idea of decision-making, as a direct result of the preceding point (ie. behaviouralism). Because of the way in which the one-dimensional view of power relies on the concrete, observable behaviour of the individuals involved, the emphasis of this dimension of power is distinctly behavioural. These observable behaviours constitute an 'index of power', of sorts. Decision-making is the only reliable measure on this index. This is mainly because decision-making is easily broken down into constituent phrases and clauses (ie. it is reducible) , and because the effect of decision-making are readily observable (that is to say, it is measurable in terms of a binary opposition).

Dahl argues that if one wants to see who has power in any given situation, one needs to look at who makes the decisions in the situation. The chances are good that the person or group making the decisions is the most powerful, or has the most power.

Also related to this aspect of the one-dimensional view of power is the way in which the operation of power is dependent on the presence of conflict. For power to be exercised, the pluralists require that there be observable conflict : "...the pluralists see their focus on behaviour in the making of decisions over key or important issues as involving actual, observable conflict" (Lukes,1979:13). The reason for this is that conflict is seen to be an indicator of decision-making. Decisions can only occur, according to the rationalist theory of decision-making (upon which, as far as I can tell, the decision-making aspect of the pluralists is based), when there is a gap between the way a situation is and the way the situation is perceived. When this occurs, there is conflict in the attempt to restore the equilibrium between the two

situations. The attempt to harmonise the reality and the way the situation is perceived generally brings conflict to the fore. This conflict is then used as an observable indicator of the exercise of power. If the situation is harmonised and resolution is achieved, then an exercise of power has occurred. If, however, there has been no observable conflict, then there has not been an exercise of power. The observation of decision-making, upon which the pluralist view of power is based, is in itself based on observable conflict.

The last and perhaps most important aspect of this view of power is the way in which subjective interests are seen as policy preferences, which are revealed by political participation. Dahl sees this aspect of power as being how often an individual or group successfully initiates and/or vetoes particular policies. This, however, is an extension of the one-dimensional view, one which is at odds with the rest of the school's conceptual and theoretical framework. This is because of the phrase "initiates a policy where no opposition appears" (Lukes, 1974:14). This is in direct opposition to the behavioural framework on which this view of power depends, because behaviourism is *apparent*, or observable, actions. If there is no opposition for the process of initiating a new policy, then where is the conflict? And if there is no conflict, how is it possible for there to be a behavioural focus? With no opposition, there is no behaviouralism. And, with no behavioural focus, there is no one-dimensional view of power.

The issue of interests, as explicated by Lukes (1979:14), is also worthy of greater attention. Lukes shows how the pluralists see interests as being the source of the

conflict which is of such importance to the behaviourists. “What is the conflict between?...between preferences, that are assumed to be consciously made, exhibited in actions, and thus to be discovered by observing people’s behaviour” (Lukes, 1979:14). In addition, Lukes also points out the fact that these preferences, as they are called, can also be observed in the policy process. The process of initiating and debating, and eventually voting for or against an issue, can be seen as the expression of policy preferences. The reason that this is so is because the pluralists see policy preferences as being the same as interests, which are at the heart of the policy process.

This last aspect of the one-dimensional view of power is of particular value when considering the policy field of arts and culture in Pietermaritzburg. It is going to be interesting to note the extent to which the participants in this field see interests as policy preferences, because of the absence of observable conflict in the policy formulating stage of the policy cycle.

2. The Two-Dimensional View of Power.

This view of power originated principally as a critique of the one-dimensional view of power. It essentially argues that the concept of power has all that the pluralists see it as having, but that it must be taken a step further. That step, they argue, is the concept of nondecision-making.

Bachrach and Baratz, two of the school's leading theorists, argue that power is what the one-dimensional view sees it as : the concrete, observable act of one individual getting another individual to do something he or she would not otherwise, in the normal course of events, do (Lukes, 1979:16). They acknowledge that a person or group has power to the extent that they can get another person to follow imperatives.

But, by extension, they also argue that a person or a group has power in relation to the way in which they influence decision-making. This, in essence, gives power to the individuals who would normally be at the receiving end of the power equation. In the traditional one-dimensional view, A has power to the extent that he can get B to do something. However, B also has power, to the extent that B can get A to make decisions that he would not otherwise normally make (Lukes, 1979:16).

This has enormous implication for students of power relations. Here, for the first time, power is shown to be a double-sided blade. Not only do the issuers of imperatives, the 'commanders' if the term may be used, have power, as evidenced by the fact that they manage to enforce their wills on the decisions of others. The commanded, those who would traditionally have been at the mercy of the commanders, have now a means to exercise power too. They can also exercise power by swaying the decisions of the commanders, for the advancement of their interests or preferences.

This view of power is an amalgam of different typologies. For example, Lukes shows the way in which Bachrach and Baratz view as power the use of sanctions (or the

threat thereof) to gain compliance. This, according to Lukes, is not in and of itself, power. Rather, he sees it as one of the types of power (which he calls coercion), which can be lumped with other types of power to refer to the ideological concept of power : the successful attempt by A to initiate, modify or control the behaviour of B (Lukes, 1974 : 17). Some of the other types of power which Bachrach and Baratz put forward are influence, authority, force, and manipulation. These all combine to give the concept “power”.

The most important aspect of this view of power hangs on the way in which a person or a group creates and maintains barriers to the public discussion of important policy issues. This is nondecision-making... the extent to which a person or group can block a policy issue from view so that no decision ever needs to be made regarding it : “...a nondecision is a ‘decision that results in suppression or thwarting of a latent or manifest challenge to the values or interests of the decision-maker’” (Lukes, 1979 : 18). Nondecisions are therefore a way in which the decision makers can stop any challenges to the existing status quo (in which, presumably, the primacy of their own interests are paramount). Nondecisions allow them to prevent these challenges from happening in the first place, and, if this fails, to stop them by deliberate sabotage of the policy cycle.

As Lukes points out, the concept of nondecision making is distinctly ‘anti-behavioural’ (Lukes, 1979 : 18). Although on page eighteen Lukes, in a seemingly contradictory manner, points out that the second dimension shares with the first an emphasis on conflict, be it overt or covert, I think that there is more there than at first

meets the eye.

This is because the second dimension of power downplays the importance of the one-dimensional view's behavioural emphasis on observable, concrete actions (such as decision-making, and conflict), through the means afforded by nondecision-making. Nondecision-making allows the policy analyst to look at the concept of power without the behavioural filters of observable actions, and instead look at the way in which power operates without these. A wise musician once said the it is not the notes which a musician plays that are in important - rather, it is the notes which are not played that are. This is essentially where nondecision-making comes in. It is not really the observable behaviour which is important - rather, it is the policy areas which are left out that are. The policy areas which are left out are the index by which the second dimension of power is quantified.

3. The Three-Dimensional View of Power.

The third dimension of power begins with a critique of the second dimension. Firstly, it argues that the second dimension is still too behaviourally oriented, as evidenced by the focus on decision-making, even though it criticized the one dimensional view on the same grounds.

The three dimensional view looks at power as control over the policy process, but at

the same time it examines control over the process through means other than decision-making. In support of this, Lukes makes the point that the control of decision-makers can be such that it, through institutionalization, for example, can successfully remove from the mind of the populace an issue which it finds inapplicable. The control of the decision-maker can be so strong that it prevents the contradictors of its will from realising that they have anything to object to.

There is a strong link between the third dimension of power and the ideas of John Kingdon. Lukes sees decision-making as an indicator of power. The people or groups who make decisions are the ones who have the power in the end analysis. For Kingdon, the issue is not so much about power - rather, he looks at the process of agenda setting, which I believe to be just as good an index of power as is decision-making, although it must be said that there is a very close link between the two.

2. JOHN KINGDON

Kingdon, in his book “Agendas, Alternatives, and Public Policies” (1984) centres his approach on the concept of ideas - he examines why particular ideas get onto governmental agendas, how they survive the generation of alternate policies, and how they eventually become the chosen policy out of the conceptual set. He argues that there are three key factors which impact on agenda setting - problems, policies, and politics.

The area of policies is fairly well handled by Lukes. His conceptualisation of power encompasses the generation of policies, and how interests can be viewed as policy preferences. According to Lukes, the pluralists “assume that *interests* are to be understood as policy preferences - so that a conflict of interests is equivalent to a conflict of preferences” (Lukes, 1979 : 14). This is especially true of the one-dimensional view of power. What this eventually amounts to is the fact that for the pluralists, *interests* and *policies* are taken to be the same thing. This means that any policy which is put forward, any policy which is planned or discussed, is taken to be a valid expression of preference. The policy in question is taken to be an accurate representation of the conscious play of interests of the policy maker against the interests of other, who would be seen as rivals.

As far as problems go, Stone covers that area fairly well. She sees problems as being rather important in the life of a particular policy issue or field. She provides a whole typology of problems, including how they come to the attention of policy makers, and how they are defined as problems. This will be looked at in more detail in the section to follow.

The last point which Kingdon makes, however, concerns factors which impact on the process

of agenda setting - more specifically, this refers to the political process. This is a point which neither Lukes nor Stone go into in any great depth. Politics is about power, who has it, and why they have it. Dictionaries generally define politics as the science of governing. These definitions tend to see politics as a rational process of ensuring that the administration of a country proceeds smoothly, and that principles such as equity and recourse to the law are provided for all citizens of the country, in addition to the fair (if not always equal) distribution of economic benefits within the country.

It is this which is of particular interest to this research area (the way in which benefits are distributed). Once again, there is a close link to Lukes. It is important to bear in mind that Lukes looks at power as the motivation behind decision-making. There is a definite link between the observable demonstration of decision-making, and the non-observable basis of such actions, or power. What is important is the fact that the political stream, as Kingdon puts it, is a contributing factor in creating policy windows, or opportunities for the policy streams to join and lead to a policy being formulated. It is important that an examination of arts and culture policy formulation bear in mind that there is a link between the politics and the policy. Politics, and political actions, will have an effect on the policies which are formulated. Also, it will be important to look at political events, and examine the political environment in which the policy is formulated. The way in which the policy is formulated will depend, to a large extent, on the way in which the political wind is blowing at the time of formulation. There is no way in which we can escape the fact that the policy will be informed by the politics. But what is important is the fact that there is a way for the two to work together. The politics does not necessarily have to be divorced from the policy. In fact, it is maybe possible for the politics to be manipulated in the formulation of the policy. It

may be possible for the policy-maker to manipulate the political wind for his or her own particular purpose. A canny analyst will be able to sense any change in the wind, and then set sail in the new direction. This is not to say that policy analysts are opportunists. Quite to the contrary, a good analyst will know, as Kingdon puts it, when the time of an idea has come.

As Kingdon demonstrates, the political stream of the process whereby ideas become agenda items, is composed of “such things as public mood, pressure group campaigns, election results, partisan or ideological distributions in congress, and changes of administration” (Kingdon, 1984 : 145). Of these five factors, the first (public mood) is probably the most important, if also the most difficult to quantify and predict.

“People in and around government sense a national mood. They are comfortable discussing it, and believe that they know when the mood shifts” (Kingdon, 1984 : 146). What the term national mood amounts to, is the idea that a majority of people in a particular country are sharing what social psychologists would refer to as ‘group-think’. Group-think is a phenomenon which occurs when members of a group all think along roughly the same lines. In the national mood, the same occurs, albeit on a much larger scale. The national mood is thus a palpable phenomenon, one which can be observed, studied, and catalogued. It may shift from time to time, along predictable lines or non-predictable lines. It may not change at all, and may stay constant over a certain period of time. It may change in response to an external stimulus, or of its own volition, in accordance with its own particular logic.

What is important is that the national mood serves to promote ideas onto the governmental

agenda, and may sometimes do the reverse. A canny policy analyst or civil servant will know how to read the national mood, and will be able to use it to 'push' certain ideas, or to stop others from getting onto the agenda. "People in and around government believe quite firmly that something like a national mood has important policy consequences. It has an impact on election results, on party fortunes, and on the receptivity of governmental decision-makers to interest group lobbying" (Kingdon, 1984 : 149). What is important is that the interest group or the government official be able to exploit or manipulate the national mood, by tailoring their policies or lobbying to suit it. In order to be successful, they need to be able to tailor themselves so that they fit into the national mood, and end up riding the wave of public opinion rather than fighting against it.

The second issue which Kingdon raises is the issue of organized political forces (1984 : 150).

An important part of understanding the configuration and impact of these forces is "some concept of consensus and conflict among the organized interests" (Kingdon, 1984 : 150). It is important, in analyzing these political forces, to look at the way in which they interact with one another. If there is a clear sense on consensus between the groups with regard to an issue, then the way is pretty much clear for a policy analyst to continue. But, if there is conflict among interest groups, then a more wary approach needs to be adopted.

It is worth noting that Kingdon actually points out that when conflict reaches a specific point, the difference between the groups may well lead to a statism. They groups may actually cancel out all positive energy or momentum, and become so deadlocked that nothing actually gets done (Kingdon, 194 : 151).

The final aspect of the political stream which Kingdon examines is the role of the government. He looks at the way in which government relates to the whole process of political impacts on policy making. Most important in this area is the concept of personnel turnover (Kingdon, 1984 : 153). As far as the people who are government is concerned, there are two ways in which agenda setting is impacted. Firstly, agenda setting can be affected by personnel just being influenced by some of the other factors which were examined earlier. Government officials can be easily influenced by factors such as national mood, which all contribute to the inclusion or exclusion of specific ideas on governmental agendas.

Secondly, Kingdon points out that government may collide with the agenda setting process through the turnover of key personnel. People are idiosyncratic, and an issue which a specific government official pushed may be discarded from the agenda when that person leaves and a successor takes office. If the successor has different ideas, different ways of doing things, or even a different perception of the national mood, then the agenda items which the new person embraces will be different from those of the predecessor.

In addition to turnover, Kingdon points out the issue of jurisdiction, as far as impacting agenda setting is concerned (Kingdon, 1984 : 155). He shows that a wide variety of problems to do with jurisdiction actually impact on the agenda setting process.

This especially holds true for the South African context, where we have three local spheres of government, all of which are supposedly equal. The constitution of South Africa provides for equality between the national, provincial, and local spheres of government, whilst at the same time trying to guarantee their autonomy. This clearly makes for a volatile political

stream. In addition to all of this, there is still the nagging issue of tribal authorities, which needs urgent resolution. The point of all this is simply that the overlap between the spheres of government, the administrative wing of government, and between other non-governmental (or quasi-governmental) organizations results in impacts on the governmental agenda.

This thesis will examine the last part of Kingdon's book, the political environment. It will firstly be important to look at the transition to democracy in the years running up to the 1994 elections. It is my belief that the change to democracy has had an impact on the formulation of policy in the field of arts and culture. What this impact is, precisely, and how marked it has been, will only be seen in the research. In addition, it will be important to examine the way in which the spheres of government interact in the field of arts and culture policy.

3. DEBORAH STONE

Policy paradoxes are troublesome - there seems to be little consensus as to what precisely they are, because accurate definition seems to be all but impossible, as Deborah Stone points out in her book "Policy Paradox : The Art Of Political Decision Making" (1997). Paradoxes are relatively simple to understand - a paradox is something which is two things at the same time. The problem with this is that this seems to fly in the face of logic. A thing cannot be two things at the same time. This is not possible, not according to the western scientific tradition, at any rate.

Stone begins her approach with the belief that politics is both necessary and good, and should be a feature of social life, unlike most other thinking. Conventionally, it has been believed that there is something bad, something distasteful about politics. There is a commonly held belief that politics involves the selling of one's soul, in the search for power.

The first step in Stone's approach is to identify the three pillars on which rational policy analysis rests. She shows that the 'rationality project' rests on the pillars of rational reasoning, rational society, and rational policy making. She shows that there is a particular order which informs the way in which the policy process operates. There is usually a goal, then a problem (which is in essence a discrepancy between the goal and the reality), then a search for solutions (or ways in which to reduce the discrepancy between the goal and the reality). As stated, these are usually the case. Often, though, the process can work in exactly the opposite way or direction. Any one of the steps can precede the other.

Where Stone becomes of interest to policy making in Pietermaritzburg's arts and culture, is

in her analysis of problems, the second step of the typology she offers. She examines the problems which surround the political process, the way in which the discrepancy between the goal and the perceived status quo come to the attention of the policy makers and the public concerned. Stone offers us an analysis of the different modes of discourse in policy analysis, beginning with the fact that there is a language (or discourse) which is particular to each mode (a mode is a particular way of defining a problem in a policy field). These modes are inherently conflictual, because of the way in which they are open to interpretation. Anyone with any interest in the problem will usually approach the problem from wherever their own particular interest lies, or from the interest of the people whom they represent. Examples of these modes are Symbols and Numbers.

However, the interest or applicability of Numbers and Symbols is limited. Of more specific interest and applicability are what Stone refers to as defining problems in terms of what causes them. She looks at problems, and defines them in terms of what causes them, and what causes them to be problems.

Related closely to Causes, is the issue of Interests. Interests refers to the people who are lined up on either side of the issue, the 'for' and 'against' aspects of the situation. Once again, an area which is applicable to Pietermaritzburg rears its head. One of the main reasons for the lack of policy initiatives in the arts and culture policy field is, as will be shown, the fact that there are too many for and against issues. There seems to be very little lack of political consensus with regard to what passes for, or what should pass for, policy in this field. This situation, the alignment of interests, has led to the exploitation of this field, for political as well as personal gain. This is where the crux of this research comes in. I believe

that it is precisely this alignment of forces into camps with different ideas, values, and expectations which has led to the policy paradox in this field. Because everyone concerned is so busy fighting for their own personal or political gains, the field of arts and culture is left unattended (for lack of a better metaphor). Therefore, people concerned find it very easy to exploit the situation, politicking to promote their own agendas, and in so doing, sinking the field even further into oblivion.

And related to the issue of defining problems by Interests, problems can also be defined in relation to the choices which they pose for the decision-makers, the Decisions aspect of the problems. There is a very close link here to Lukes, who bases examines the conceptualisation of power on the basis of decisions, or observable decision-making. In addition, the dimensions of power which Lukes espouses are closely linked to the concept of Interests. It will be possible to analyse interests in the Pietermaritzburg arts and culture in terms of the power typology which Lukes outlines.

PILOT STUDY.

This pilot study will rely on material gathered from various sources. Firstly, there will be an examination of various newspaper articles, which were gathered from the library of the Natal Witness over a two day period in August 2000. The articles range widely in content - from examining the Spoornet State Theatre to our own local Winston Churchill Theatre, in our own daily newspaper, The Natal Witness. This will lead to an exposition of the current 'state of affairs', if such a term could be applied to arts and culture in Pietermaritzburg, and will also examine various policy areas and documents related to the field, in order to give a bird's-eye-view of the current situation.

Secondly, there will be an examination of minutes of Transitional Local Council meetings which dealt with arts and culture. These meetings have been happening under various names, from the first democratic election in 1994. Currently, the TLC has an Indaba, the Social Services Indaba, which deals with arts and culture, specifically (in and amongst other things), although it has gone under other names in the past.

And finally, this pilot study will propose a draft of the interview which will be used to do the final study. This draft will attempt to synthesise various aspects of the initial proposal, as well as the theoretical perspectives upon which this study is based, in order to deliver an interview which will be given to various people involved in the arts and culture policy area within the Pietermaritzburg/Msunduzi area.

It would have been beneficial to have included reference to the sums of money which were allocated to the Philharmonic Society, as an indicator of the implementation of policy, or possibly of the lack of policy. This information, however, has proven to be impossible to find. I have tried to locate such records, but nothing seems to have been retained.

Unfortunately, any references to monies received by the Philharmonic Society are therefore gleaned from secondary sources, such as newspaper articles.

What follows is a brief chronology of arts and culture in the media, specifically in Kwa-Zulu/Natal. The list of newspaper headlines is of value for three reasons. In the first instance, it provides a brief overview of what has been happening, because not all of the materials available were used in the analysis of arts and culture in the province. This will also allow the reader to find out what is available in terms of arts and culture in relation to the media, specifically the print media, in the province, should this be required. As such, these will give other researchers an idea of what they can expect to find should they research the arts and culture in Pietermaritzburg.

Secondly, they provide a very brief overview of the way in which arts and culture have become since 1970, more of an agenda item. The dates of the articles alone indicate the way in which the situation in the arts and culture policy field has changed in the past thirty years - there are more articles in the last decade than in the previous two combined. This could be due to other factors, of course, but a consideration of such other factors would be beyond the scope of this study. All that is important to bear in mind is that arts and culture have become more of a priority in the last ten years or so (even though there has been very little development in the field).

Thirdly, the list of headlines is the closest I could come to finding statistics to support the steady decline in the number of arts and culture events which the citizens of this city are exposed to. There has been a steady decline - there can be no doubt of this. But, there seems to have been no record kept of the amount of arts events Pietermaritzburg has hosted,

especially with reference to the Philharmonic Society. This has meant that the list of newspaper clippings which I have put together is probably the best indicator available, when looking for statistical evidence regarding arts and culture in the city.

ARTS AND CULTURE IN THE MEDIA.¹

ARTS AND CULTURE POLICY TIME LINE.

- ◇ 23.02.1970 Funds for theatre go slowly
- ◇ 18.07.1970 Stage backers hit out at rental for theatre
- ◇ 16.10.1970 Opening date fixed for the 'Winston' theatre
- ◇ 01.04.1971 New PMBurg theatre to get opera
- ◇ 20.07.1976 Churchill theatre to be given assistance
- ◇ 24.09.1981 Theatre sale on the cards
- ◇ 22.10.1981 Council acts to retain Churchill theatre.
- ◇ 01.02.1983 Don't buy the theatre - Clr
- ◇ 25.10.1983 Council may buy Moth theatre
- ◇ 01.11.1983 Council to buy theatre
- ◇ 05.12.1986 Pietermaritzburg Philharmonic is in financial straits
- ◇ 27.02.1991 CRAN Press Release.
- ◇ 05.03.1991 Arts festivals and finance
- ◇ 24.07.1991 R3m to keep the music playing
- ◇ 20.02.1992 Inaugural meeting examines Natal arts
- ◇ 03.03.1992 Natal artist create a "Codesa" of their own
- ◇ 18.06.1994 Looking for an audience
- ◇ 05.03.1995 Costly service
- ◇ 14.06.1995 Freeing community voices through art

¹All articles are from the Natal Witness, the Daily News, and The Mercury.

- ◇ 25.10.1995 Committee aims to promote city arts
- ◇ 31.10.1995 TLC arts funding causes stir
- ◇ 11.02.1996 Future of Philharmonic Society still uncertain
- ◇ 26.02.1996 TLC wants progress in setting up arts body
- ◇ 01.03.1996 Philharmonic staff 'lost bonus' due to TLC decision
- ◇ 21.03.1996 Arts split
- ◇ 29.06.1996 Philharmonic takes TLC to court
- ◇ 31.10.1996 Judge criticises music funding issue
- ◇ 05.11.1996 Philharmonic, TLC to meet over fund cut
- ◇ 06.11.1996 TLC group to meet society
- ◇ 22.11.1996 Team to decide on Philharmonic
- ◇ 29.11.1996 TLC reprieve for Philharmonic
- ◇ 28 .01.1997 Council has shut the door
- ◇ 06.03.1997 Philharmonic's last chance?
- ◇ 18.04.1997 See an artist and not a colour
- ◇ 18.04.1997 Philharmonic is making no plans to move
- ◇ 03.05.1997 Philharmonic gets eviction extension
- ◇ 16.05.1997 TLC go-ahead for action against Philharmonic
- ◇ 05.06.1997 Philharmonic must quit theatre
- ◇ 10.06.1997 The end of city's music society?
- ◇ 21.08.1997 City music society disbanded
- ◇ 30.07.1998 theatre management set for change
- ◇ 22.10.1997 Philharmonic's future doubtful after Indaba
- ◇ 31.10.1998 Philharmonic funding: who'll pay the lawyer?
- ◇ 08.03.1999 Disgruntled artists delay march and opt for negotiations

- ◇ 08.04.1999 No progress as theatre's future remains unsure
- ◇ 23.07.1999 Council to draft policy on halls
- ◇ The jinx on professional theatre in Pietermaritzburg

²

²No date available.

This research is an investigation into the situation facing arts and culture in Pietermaritzburg. It was prompted by a consideration of the circumstances surrounding the arts and culture issue, in particular, the issues surrounding the Pietermaritzburg Philharmonic Society. There has always been a cloud of controversy surrounding the society, from as far back as I can remember. There were always issues concerning apathy on the side of the city's arts and culture patrons, as well as issues of mismanagement on the side of the theatres and societies. This exploration attempts to get to grips with the issue of what actually happened to the city's arts and culture initiatives. What actually happened to the Pietermaritzburg Philharmonic Orchestra? What actually happened to the Natal Philharmonic Society? Why is there such a lack of arts and culture initiatives in this city currently?

We begin by looking at the Pietermaritzburg Philharmonic Society. As far back as 1986, there were already problems being faced by the society, problems which then could have lead to the society being disbanded. In an article in the Natal Witness, dated 05 December 1986, a reporter stated that the 105 year old society was R15 000 in the red. Because of the attempt to repay the debt, the society had to cancel three evening concerts that month.

However, a local company, Geiser's Electrical, had stepped in and launched a "Save-Our-Concerts" campaign. The campaign took the form of a competition, in which an attempt was made to raise funds to raise the money so badly needed by the society. At the core of the problem was the fact that the society's grant from the city council had only increased by roughly twenty percent in the two years previous to the writing of the article, according to the Philharmonic Society's Music Director, Mr John Mitchell. However, concomitant to this was a rise of about forty percent in the operating costs of the society. It is not clear what exactly this 40% was accredited to - the article does not make mention of this.

It would appear that there is more happening below the surface than would be apparent at first glance. There seems to be some sort of problem being faced by the Philharmonic Society which needs to be seen for what it is. This problem seems to be associated with power relations.

From an article in the Natal Witness, dated 31.10.1995, it becomes clear that there is some dissatisfaction on the part of the director of the Philharmonic Society, Mr John Mitchell, with the TLC. Once again, funding is the catalyst for the issue coming out into the open. The debate began with a grant of R49 000, given out by the TLC to an organisation called Zetmap (a multi-cultural arts project) on 17th October in the same year. The problem, though, was that the money was to come out of the R268 00 remaining of a grant given to the Philharmonic Society by the TLC.

The article quotes Mr Piwe Mkhize, of the Arts and Culture Alliance, as saying that it was "totally unacceptable" for the mayor and Exco (the TLC's Executive Committee) to make such an arbitrary decision. He felt that it was inappropriate for them to make a decision in favour of an organization which was not a part of the Alliance. Mr Mitchell, however, had a different concern. "We have no fight with Zetmap at all...I am just concerned that the TLC can give us funding - and we make plans on that basis - and then they take it away again."

Mr Mitchell's concern here is to do with power relations. According to Lukes (1979:11), power can be said to have been exercised when a person gets another to do something which they would not do in the ordinary course of events. It is clear that a cut in funding of some R49 000 would not be accepted by any organisation in the normal course of events.

However, because of the fact that it is the TLC which made the cut in funding, there was really nothing that the Philharmonic Society could do but accept it. This therefore, in my view, constitutes an exercise of power. The TLC made a decision, which was then accepted by the Philharmonic Society, leading to an action which would not have occurred in the normal course of events. The TLC, through its unilateral decision-making, exercised what Lukes (Lukes,1979:12) would call the first dimension of power.

It is also of concern to note that the TLC can actually do this. Local government should not be allowed the power to make unilateral decision like this, especially when they have such a big impact on the lives and jobs of so many people. By making such decisions, the TLC is in effect negating due democratic process, and also all standards of ethical government. Power making, as evidenced through decision-making, should be multi-lateral, and should include all parties who might possibly be affected by the implementation of the decision.

Also of interest is an article in The Echo, dated 21.03.96. In this article, Piwe Mkhize of the Arts and Culture Alliance commented on a split between his alliance and the Philharmonic Society. He felt that the Philharmonic Society was not doing enough to promote arts and culture in the township areas around Pietermaritzburg. It is important to note that the alliance and the Philharmonic Society were sharing money from the TLC since July of the previous year. However, by the time of the writing of this article, the alliance had already applied for funding, as a separate entity, from the TLC. It had also applied to be united with the Gauteng Arts and Culture Alliance.

It is not really clear from the article what the root of the problem was, and I do not intend to make inferences with the limited empirical support which the newspaper article affords. I

suspect, however, that the core of the problem was the fact that the Philharmonic Society was, because it received money directly from the TLC, making decisions regarding the money's use which the alliance did not feel comfortable implementing. But, it is clear from the result of the problem that the alliance was seeking to enter into an independent agreement with the TLC, so as to enable it to break away from the power which the Philharmonic Society had over it. It seems that the alliance wanted to move into a position from which it could exert power more effectively, as opposed to one in which power was being exerted over it. This was largely, from what the article puts forward, an attempt to be able to make its own decisions, without any undue influence from the Philharmonic Society.

What is also of great importance, as far as the political process goes, is the fact that citizens have been, at times, active participants in the process. In an article in the Natal Witness, dated 18.06.94, it is reported that members of the public met with the director of the Natal Philharmonic Orchestra, in an attempt to find a solution to the problems besetting the Pietermaritzburg Philharmonic Society. The director of the NPO, Mr Johann Zietsman, met with concerned Pietermaritzburg citizens in an effort to find out what it was which had happened to the city's musical audiences. He and the members of the public "thrashed out" a number of issues, the main one being the seeming apathy on the part of music audiences in the city. The meeting ended with Mr Zietsman thanking the people present for their contributions, and promising to take them into consideration, as the NPO wants "to play to more people in Natal, not less".

In 1996, once again, a power struggle came to the fore, and once again visible in the struggle over funds. What was more interesting this time, though, was the fact that the Philharmonic Society actually took the TLC to court in an attempt to procure funding for its running

expenses, and to cover the cost of administering the Winston Churchill Theatre. The Philharmonic Society was, according to the article, only attempting to ensure that their funding was not cut by the TLC. In the past, the TLC had administered a grant-in-aid to the Philharmonic Society, to cover both their yearly activities, as well as the running of the Winston Churchill Theatre complex. According to the lawyer the Philharmonic Society had secured, the actions of the TLC were totally against the provisions of the Constitution. In addition, he felt that the TLC was in breach of an agreement with the Philharmonic Society, which entitled the Philharmonic Society to the grant-in-aid. It seems clear that the root of the problem is a power struggle.

After the issue had gone to the Supreme Court, the presiding judge criticised the whole music funding issue. He felt that the “conduct of the Pietermaritzburg-Msunduzi transitional local council in summarily cutting off funding to the Pietermaritzburg Philharmonic Society without granting it a hearing appeared to be an exercise ‘completely lacking in transparency’” (Natal Witness, 31.10.1996). This comment was made while hearing an urgent application from the lawyer of the TLC to stop, with immediate effect, all grants-in aid to the Philharmonic Society. Although this criticism was levelled, the judge failed to pass judgement.

This all worked out due to the fact that the TLC, while not conceding that it ought to have granted the Philharmonic Society a hearing, was prepared to do so at the close of the court proceedings. Once again, this is an instance in which the Philharmonic Society managed to prevent the TLC from riding roughshod over it. The Philharmonic Society actually prevented the TLC from exercising the full sway of its power.

In addition, there seems to be an attempt, on the part of the TLC, to enter into what Lukes refers to as the second dimension of power (Lukes, 1979:11). In the second dimension of power, Lukes distinguishes between the focus on decisions and nondecisions. Observable decisions form the basis for analysing power structures and relations, according to the pluralist one-dimensional view of power (Lukes, 1979:11). Bachrach and Baratz, however, in their critique of this view, feel that there needs to be a clearer analysis of nondecisions. Their central point is this : “to the extent that a person or group - consciously or unconsciously - creates or reinforces barriers to the public airing of policy conflict, that person or group has power” (Lukes, 1979:16). It would seem to me that the TLC, in the case of the funding of the Philharmonic Society, has, by not granting a hearing to the Philharmonic Society before summarily cutting their funding, created a barrier to the airing of a policy conflict. This would be a case of the TLC exercising the second dimension of power.

The Philharmonic Society was told that they needed to vacate the Winston Churchill complex (The Natal Witness, 03.05.1997). They, however, refused (The Natal Witness, 16.05.1997). Once again, there appears to be a power struggle between the Philharmonic Society and the TLC, except that this time it is observable in the struggle over ownership of land, not over funding. The TLC launched a High Court application in an attempt to have the Philharmonic Society evicted. This attempt was successful, and the Philharmonic Society was ordered by the court to vacate the Winston Churchill Theatre complex.

The Philharmonic Society was left with no place to go, and many assets with no place to house them. A decision was then taken, by the Philharmonic Society, to inventory all its assets, and to then sell off as much as possible in order to give its employees some of the

back pay which was due to them as a result of the TLC not paying its grant-in-aid to the Society.

The result of this was that the Philharmonic Society was disbanded. At a general members meeting, at which Mr John Mitchell was not present, the decision was taken that the Society should disband rather than continue against the odds. The “meeting was the final chapter in the saga of the society’s battle with the TLC which culminated in a second high court action in June when Judge Peter Combrinck ruled that the Philharmonic Society had no right to occupy the council-owned Winston Churchill Theatre” (The Natal Witness, 21.08.1997).

The result of the cutting off of the TLC’s grant-in-aid to the society was that it was left with considerable debts, staff salaries being the main one. The members decided that it would be better to go into liquidation and to then attempt to work something out with their creditors, rather than to attempt to continue with the functioning of the society. Professor Dennis Brothers, chairman of the Philharmonic Society, described the decision to disband as a “sad day for the organization of music in the city” (The Natal Witness, 21.08.1997).

And so came to an end an era in the history of the city.

I was advised, after the newspaper research, to pursue attempts to gain access to the minutes of TLC meetings with regard to arts and culture as the next step. This would give an insider’s view of the process which governs arts and culture in the city. This would then, hopefully, lead to a clearer picture of what exactly happens in the policy field of arts and culture in Pietermaritzburg. The account of this follows.

TLC MINUTES PERTAINING TO ARTS AND CULTURE

The minutes of the meetings of the Pietermaritzburg/Msunduzi Transitional Local Council are housed at the city hall. I attempted to view the minutes of the meetings of the Social Services Indaba, which deals with arts and culture in the area. I was lucky to have had the active help and support of Barbara Morton, who advised me that I would not be able to view the minutes at liberty. She indicated to me that I would need to obtain permission from someone higher up in the city hall hierarchy. She attempted to get me through to the mayor, Councillor Siphwe Gwala, but he was unfortunately not available. She then steered me to Mr Max Moyo, who is a senior city administrator. He interviewed me regarding the nature of the research I was planning on undertaking, and graciously gave me his permission to view the records.

He, however, included once stipulation - he insisted that any council minutes marked as private and/or confidential be treated as such, and although I would be allowed to read them, I would not in any way be able to publish them, not even as part of my research. My access to the minutes rested wholly on my acceptance of this stipulation. I felt that it was more important to see the minutes of some of the meetings, as opposed to none at all, so I accepted.

I was taken to the archive, once again by Mrs Morton, and shown the bound copies of the minutes I was seeking. I then perused the contents of the minutes, and found them to be of almost no use at all. Firstly, there were very little minutes at all. It seems as though the Social Services Indaba met very sporadically, judging from the minutes. Or, if this was indeed not the case, then the minute taking for the Indaba was sporadic. Either way, there

was not really much in the way of matter on arts and culture appearing in the minutes.

Secondly, the minutes which were there, and which dealt with arts and culture specifically, were of very little practical application. I found that a vast amount of the time spent on arts and culture was devoted to budget matters, but that this information was not of value. In most cases, items on the agenda were simply deferred to later meetings, and then simply disappeared from the agenda altogether. The message which is ultimately being sent out is that arts and culture is a policy field in Pietermaritzburg which is simply not important.

And, what is even of more concern to note, is the fact that this seems to have been a pattern from as far back as the minutes go, which is just prior to South Africa's first democratic election, in June of 1994. It would seem as though there is a pattern of neglect as far as arts and culture are concerned. It might be possible to, at a future date, do an analysis of precisely these patterns of neglect. However, for now, it is enough to simply acknowledge that it is there. What is to be done about it is, as always, another question entirely.

What is, however, of the most concern, is the fact that these minutes, which are a matter of public record, are subjected to viewing on a restricted basis. The meetings of all TLC indabas are public, and as such are open to the public at any time. It is therefore incomprehensible that the minutes of the indabas are subject to restrictions. In any system of governance, active public participation is vital in ensuring that governance is democratic. And, public participation, and by extension, public scrutiny, is almost unlikely to happen if citizens of a country are not allowed to participate in the governing process. It is clear that the restrictions on access to minutes which are a matter of public record, or more accurately, which should be a matter of public record, in Pietermaritzburg are very likely hindering

public participation. It is clear then that the restrictions which apply to viewing of the Pietermaritzburg TLC's minutes will make it increasingly difficult to increase public participation in the governance and administration of this city. This will ultimately lead to a downward spiral of mismanagement and bad governance, if nothing is done to curb this state of affairs.

Following is the questionnaire, which I put to several people involved in Pietermaritzburg's arts and culture community. I interviewed, for the most part, individuals who were in some way connected to the financial functioning of the organization which they worked with. If this was not possible, I interviewed whomever else was available, but who had some knowledge (however little) of the financial operation of their organization. The people I interviewed came from a wide variety of backgrounds, and worked with diverse groups and organizations. These included the Tatham Art Gallery, as well as Phemba Kahle, the South African Society of Music Teachers, and the Pietermaritzburg-Msundizi Local Arts and Culture Council. Also among those interviewed was a Councillor from the TLC, who served on the Social Development and Protection Services Indaba.

QUESTIONNAIRE.

The questionnaire needed to address various issues which relate to the policy area of arts and culture. First, a general introduction. This was needed to examine the state of affairs in general. Questions focused on relations between the TLC and the satellite arts and culture organizations. Has the TLC been cumbersome in dealing with these organizations? Have councillors had problems dealing with other organizations? Has expert advice been sought? What form has this taken? In-house training? Consultants?

Second, a more specific focus on the politicking. I looked at grants and budget allocations. Who allocated grants and budgets? Was there a policy in relation to allocations? If so, how often was this policy followed, and how closely was it followed? What were the party affiliations of the members involved in these allocations?

Third, a focus on the policy paradox, focusing on both the TLC and other organizations. Did members of the TLC expect favours for favourable budget and grant allocations? Had they ever been offered these favours? If so, what form had the offers taken? Had other organizations ever been pressured into doing favours for favourable allocations? Had they ever been in a position where their allocation applications would have been refused because of a failure to provide favours?

Fourth, an examination of intergovernmental relations. Was there any support from the provincial sphere of government for policy initiatives in the field of arts and culture in Pietermaritzburg? If so, what form did the support take, and how much of the support was offered in relation to perceived resources? It might have been interesting to look at the extent

to which Pietermaritzburg had to do 'favours' for a bigger slice of the provincial budget in relation to areas such as Ulundi. What, if any, provincial sphere initiatives had taken place?

And, finally, look at how things had changed, if at all, since the 1994 elections. Was there any improvement in the TLC's allocation process? Were arts and culture initiatives receiving more or less of the allocation pie than other policy areas as compared to 1994?

DRAFT INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Section 1

1. Do you have any dealings with the Pietermaritzburg TLC?
2. Do you have to apply to the TLC for funding?
3. Have you ever been in the position of needing to apply for a grant-in-aid?
4. Have you experienced problems in your dealings with the TLC?
5. Would you describe your interactions with the TLC as cumbersome?

Section 2

1. When your budget application is completed, who do you give it to?
2. Do you know who decides if your budget will be approved?
3. Are you aware of any specific policy guidelines which the TLC uses in deciding on grant allocations?
4. If yes, are these policy guidelines always followed?
5. Are you aware of the party affiliations of the people who evaluate and decide upon your budgets applications?

Section 3

1. Have you ever had a budget or grant application refused because you refused to give favors in exchange for it?
2. Do you know of any other organization which has had a budget or grant application refused because of a refusal to do favors in exchange for it?

Section 4

1. Has the TLC made any policy initiatives in the field of arts and culture in the last six years?
2. Has there been support from the provincial sphere of government for these policy initiatives, if any?
3. How does the Indaba go about procuring funding?
4. Has it ever needed to get funding directly from the provincial sphere?
5. Are you aware of any provincial policy initiatives in the area of arts and culture?
6. How do you react to reactions of racism leveled at the TLC with regard to the way in which it has dealt with arts and culture?
7. Does the Tlc exploit an unfair advantage against the city's arts and culture organizations?
8. Is it possible that councillors could favor particular groups when the process of allocations begins?

Section 5

1. Has your situation changed at all since 1994?

2. Are you still having the same types of problems that you had in 1994?

FINAL REPORT

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

The final report is the end of the research conducted into the relationship between arts and culture organizations in the Pietermaritzburg/Msunduzi area and the Pietermaritzburg Transitional Local Council.

Of course, by the time that this report is done, the term 'transitional' will no longer apply, as the December 5, 2000, local government election marked the end of the transitional phase of local government. This is something which the TLC councillor whom I interviewed was quick to point out. Even with this in mind, however, I am confident that the results obtained will nevertheless be applicable.

After consultations with my supervisor, I decided to conduct interviews, as opposed to a carrying out a questionnaire, as I had originally planned. I had originally wanted to do a questionnaire because they are very quick to do, and very amenable to analysis - more so, I think, than are interviews. But, I was soon convinced to go the interview route, as this would leave a lot more space for responses by the respondents. This would mean that I would actually be able to get more in the way of information with an interview than I might have had I used the questionnaire. Also, the interview format would have been more appropriate to the subject which I was researching. Respondents would possibly not have been as forthcoming to a piece of paper as they actually were to me.

The interview process proceeded smoothly, although I found three minor problems. The first was the fact that so many people were just not interested in being interviewed. There are many arts and culture organizations in Pietermaritzburg, but I only managed to interview a small handful of these. One of the factors to consider in this is the fact that many of them are from previously disadvantaged areas, areas which are far out of the town centre. This would include areas such as Edendale, Imbali, and Sobantu. These previously disadvantaged areas are, however, not the only areas out of the city center. Hilton is also springing up as an arts and culture center in the greater Pietermaritzburg area. It is quite conceivable that many of the people in such areas would not be able to get into the city to be interviewed, because of a variety of reasons. These reasons might include transportation problems, as well as security considerations. What this has meant is that the sample I have interviewed might not be representative of all arts and culture organizations in Pietermaritzburg.

This brings me to the second problem I wish to highlight. When I first began the interviews, I proceeded willy-nilly to interview everyone from the organization I would find myself researching. What I quickly realized was that for the type of research I was doing, this was the wrong approach, and for one reason. The reason for the inadequacies of the approach I used was the fact that in the organizations I interviewed, there would usually be just one person who would know the details of the information I was seeking. Because of the strong emphasis on budgeting and financial issues, the person who was usually of the most interest would be the treasurer of the organization I was researching. Any other interviews, I found, tended to simply duplicate the findings of the original interview, if they contributed anything worthwhile at all.

Also, related to this point, is the fact that many of the people whom I interviewed served in more than just one arts and culture body. Very often, an individual would serve several different bodies, in several different capacities, from Board Member of one to secretary of another. This again meant that there was a lot of duplication of information, which I found to be rather unnecessarily time consuming.

The third problem I encountered was that all of my respondents, bar one, spoke to me on condition of anonymity. I was quite surprised, and always asked why this was needed. Most of the people said that they wanted anonymity because of the fact that they make their incomes from the arts and culture organizations which they are employed by. The last thing they needed to do was to anger someone 'in power', and thereby run the risk of losing their employment, in many cases the sole source of their income.

With this in mind, I proceeded to complete the interviews. I interviewed people from five arts and culture bodies in Pietermaritzburg, as well as a TLC councillor from the Social Development and Protection Services Indaba. I will firstly provide transcripts of these interviews, and then proceed to an analysis of the results.

The first organization which I researched was the Tatham Art Gallery. The Tatham has long been one of the only places in the city where works of art could be seen and enjoyed by the public. It has been in operation for many years, and has seen the city through the worst of the Apartheid years, into the new era of democracy. As an - almost - institution in this city, the Tatham has always worked rather closely with the TLC in administering art. The gallery receives a grant from the TLC on an annual basis, and this is generally used for the running of the gallery and the acquisition of works of art.

The gallery has, since before 1994, been working at restructuring itself to come into line with the requirements which a new, democratic Pietermaritzburg would impose on it. This has meant redrafting employment policies, to ensure that staff would accurately reflect the demographics of the new South Africa, as well as taking a new look at the acquisition policies, so that the actual art on display would do the same. This process, gallery staff (as well as the TLC councillor I interviewed) have informed me, was entirely initiated by the gallery - there is no sense of change having been thrust upon a gallery which was unwilling to confront its past. As a result of this pro-active stance, the gallery has been at the forefront of restructuring in the post-democratic South Africa's arts and culture.

Also at the vanguard of change in the city's arts and culture has been Phemba Kahle. Phemba Kahle is an organization which has become a major player in the arts and culture of the city, not least due to the influence of its director. The organization has been mainly involved in promoting informal art, such as crafting. The Natal Witness has just recently teamed up with Phemba Kahle to promote the Ngezandla Zethu Arts and Craft Bazaar, which was held in Pietermaritzburg over the first two weeks in December 2000. By all accounts, the event was the success which the organizers had hoped for.

Apart from this, though, Phemba Kahle has also been involved in the performing arts. It has become the host of the Pietermaritzburg leg of the Standard Bank National Jazz Festival, a music tour which has attracted some of the biggest national and international names in the world of jazz. This has helped to place Pietermaritzburg higher in the ranks of cities which are helping to actively promote the development of arts and culture in the South African context.

Phemba Kahle also works quite closely with the city's TLC. It would seem that there is a relatively cordial relationship between the two, one which is based on the TLC's provision of funds. It seems to me that Phemba Kahle is dependent on the TLC for funding, but I would presume to say that this will not be for much longer - at the rate at which the organization is developing, there will soon come a time when it will not need the TLC funding it currently receives.

Another organization which I researched was PLACC, the Pietermaritzburg Local Arts and Culture Committee. It might be give a clearer picture, though, to delve a bit further back into the history of the various arts and culture umbrella bodies which have preceded PLACC. The first of these, according to the information I have, was known as the Regional Arts and Culture Council, which became operational (from what I have heard) in the early 1990's. This body had dealing with the TLC for a number of years, and no-one seems to be quite sure why it fell apart. Attempts were then made to establish an interim regional body, the Midlands Transitional Arts and Culture Council, or TRACC. This proceeded for a while, and then simply fell apart, for reasons, once again, no-one seems sure of. These were all attempts at establishing a democratic umbrella body for arts and culture in the city and outlying areas, and they were both unsuccessful.

Bearing this failure in mind, the Provincial Arts and Culture Council established an interim committee, composed of one person from the provincial government at the time (the General Secretary of the provincial council, Professor Mngoma), as well as two councillors from the TLC (Councillors Alva-Wright and Matiwane). This committee was mandated to "*employ every legal and democratic means* :

- (a) *to facilitate the establishment and if necessary, restructuring of the Midlands Transitional Regional Arts and Culture Council;*
- (b) *to help the Co-ordinator in the day-to-day running of the regional office"*

(City Administrator's Report, 16.03.1999 : 4)

As a result of this mandate, many public meetings were held, meetings to which all of the city's local arts and culture bodies were invited. The meetings were held with the intention of getting the Regional umbrella body up and running. The city administrator, in his report, states that the documentation which he had available at that time indicated that a Convention

Document was accepted, that an inclusive Regional Council was established, and that an executive committee for the regional body was proposed and accepted.

However, in a meeting between Professor Mngoma and the Social Development and Protection Services Indaba on 12 August 1997, Professor Mngoma informed the TLC that “since their election, several members of the Executive Committee, including the Treasurer and Deputy-Treasurer, had resigned as a result of differences within the elected body” (City Administrator’s Report, 16.03.1999 : 5). It would seem that these differences were not just relegated to petty in-fighting - there is also a reference within the report to differences between the Executive Committee and the Provincial Arts and Culture Council. TLC recognition of the Midlands Arts and Culture Council was therefore held back, until these problems could be amicably resolved.

This all, however, became what Roe (1994) would call a non-issue. Professor Mngoma, on 29 January 1998, advised the TLC that the mandate given to the Interim Committee could not be realized because of the fact that the Provincial Committee was experiencing financial difficulties. In his own words, “it was recommended that the Interim Committee dissolve forthwith because the Provincial Arts and Culture Council that established the Interim Committee is insolvent” (City Administrator’s Report, 16.03.1999 : 5).

What this, in essence, amounted to was that the Midlands Arts and Culture Council was wound up in its entirety, including its assets, its staff, and other related matters, by the TLC. The equipment which the Council had acquired in anticipation of becoming functional was sold, and an amount of money from the defunct council office was refunded to the TLC.

In another report from the City Administrator, this time submitted to the Executive Indaba for consideration, it is recommended that a task team be appointed to oversee the organization of a Pietermaritzburg-Msunduzi Arts and Culture Indaba. This task team was to be composed of the mayor, as well as two members of the Social Development Indaba, and a representative from the Provincial tier of government, Ms Gugu Ngcobo. It is not clear from the report whether or not this Indaba would be taking over the role which the Midlands Arts and Culture Council had attempted to play, that is, to be a democratic umbrella body for arts and culture organizations in the city.

At any rate, the Indaba held a meeting on Friday 03 September 1999, at the City Hall. This meeting marked the establishment of the first real district arts and culture council. At the meeting, it was agreed upon by all members present that there would be a district council. All that was needed would be a structure for it. The mayor proposed that the structure for the district council mirror that of the four-tier structure on which the Provincial Council was built. This was accepted by all present, and the Pietermaritzburg-Msunduzi Local Arts and Culture Council (PLACC) was officially launched.

PLACC has been in existence ever since, and continues to make a contribution to arts and culture in the city. Funding does appear to be the major stumbling block, although the council does not mind engaging in fund-raising activities, and has done this on occasion.

I also conducted interviews at the Midlands Arts and Crafts Society (MACS), which operates very much along the lines of Phemba Kahle. It is very heavily involved in the promotion of craftwork, especially among the poor and the unemployed. In addition, I spoke to representatives from the Golden Scenario Art Project, the South African National Music Teachers Association, and a drama production company called Die Bafanas.

I decided to keep the respondents from the various arts and culture organizations in a separate group, and to put to them a different set of questions to those which were eventually put to the TLC councillor. Sections one through to four, then, dealt with topics of relevance to the organizations involved, while section five consisted of the questions put to the TLC.

Following is a report on the responses which I got to the interviews which I conducted. Following is a table setting out the responses from the various organizations to the questions which I put to them. Before that, however, is included a copy of the final questionnaire, which was actually put to the respondents. This will help to make more sense of the table.

FINAL INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Section 1

1. Do you have any dealings with the Pietermaritzburg TLC?
2. Do you have to apply to the TLC for funding?
3. Have you ever been in the position of needing to apply for a grant-in-aid?
4. Have you experienced problems in your dealings with the TLC?
5. How would you, in one word, describe your interactions with the TLC?

Section 2

1. When your budget application is completed, who do you give it to?
2. Do you know who decides if your budget will be approved?
3. Are you aware of any specific policy guidelines which the TLC uses in deciding on grant allocations?
4. If yes, are these policy guidelines always followed?
5. Are you aware of the party affiliations of the people who evaluate and decide upon your budgets applications?

Section 3

1. Have you ever had a budget or grant application refused because you refused to give favors in exchange for it?
2. Do you know of any other organization which has had a budget or grant application refused because of a refusal to do favors in exchange for it?

Section 4

1. Has your situation changed at all since 1994?
2. Are you still having the same types of problems that you had in 1994?

Section 5

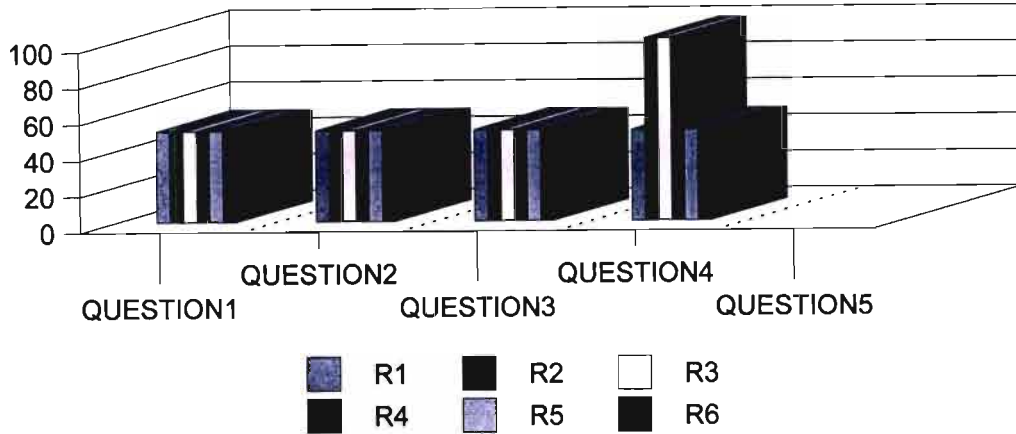
1. Has the TLC made any policy initiatives in the field of arts and culture in the last six years?
2. Has there been support from the provincial sphere of government for these policy initiatives, if any?
3. How does the Indaba go about procuring funding?
4. Has it ever needed to get funding directly from the provincial sphere?
5. Are you aware of any provincial policy initiatives in the area of arts and culture?
6. How do you react to reactions of racism leveled at the TLC with regard to the way in which it has dealt with arts and culture?
7. Does the Tlc exploit an unfair advantage against the city's arts and culture organizations?
8. Is it possible that councillors could favor particular groups when the process of allocations begins?

RESPONSES FROM ARTS AND CULTURE ORGANIZATIONS

Question	Respondent					
	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
	Cordial	Oscillating	Favourable	Difficult	Difficult	Troublesome
	TLC	TLC Budget Comm	TLC	Don't Know	TLC Finance Comm	TLC
	Yes	No	TLC	No	Not Indiv	TLC Exco
	Yes- Informa l	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Sometim es	No
	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	Yes
	No	No	No	No	No	No
	No	No	No	No	No	Yes
	Yes	No	No	No	No	No
	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	No

TABLE 1

Questions 1.1-1.4



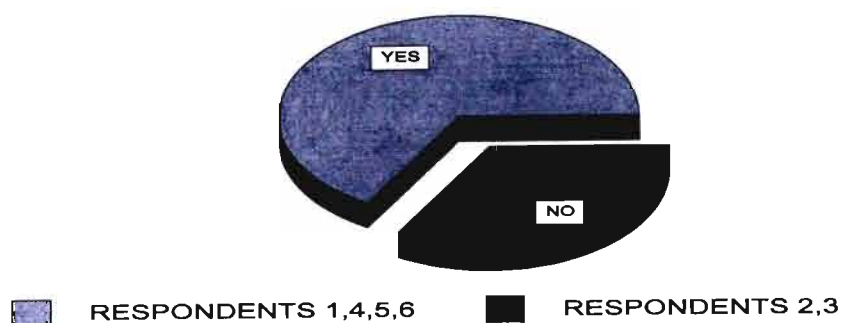
The

graph above (Section 1, Questions 1.1 - 1.4) is a representation of the first section of the questions used in the interview, excluding question 1.5. The main reason for this is the fact that it is not possible to graphically represent the results obtained in 1.5, as the question had no objective unit of measure. Rather, the question was designed to get a particular subjective response from the respondents, which is what happened.

In the graph, 50% represents a “Yes” response, while 100% represents a “No” response. Questions 1.1 through to question 1.3. all had “Yes” answers, across the range of respondents. Question 1.4, however, was the exception to this. It proved to be an interesting question, as it showed that there are problems being experienced with the relationship between the arts and culture organisations and the TLC. Every respondent in this section has had, and continues to have, dealings with the TLC. However, as this question has shown, not all of these dealings are of a mutually beneficial or cordial nature. Exactly 66% of the respondents who answered this section felt that there are problems in the dealings between their organizations and the TLC, while only 33% felt that there were no problems which needed addressing. This is graphically represented in the pie chart below (Section 1, Question 1.4.), which is nothing more than a representation of question 1.4.

TABLE 2

QUESTION 1.4.



Also of interest is the fact that of the six respondents, five knew generally that the TLC was in charge of handling the funding allocations for arts and culture in Pietermaritzburg. It is, however, respondent four, who proves to be of interest. The respondent did not know who handled finances for the organisation at all, and didn't even know that the TLC allocates funding for the arts in the city. Opposed to this extreme, is the final respondent, who actually told me the name of the person at the City Hall to whom he hands in budget applications.

INTERVIEW RESPONSES

From the course of my interviews, I found three general patterns emerging. These patterns are broad, and generally speaking, relate well to each other - they each tend to build on the preceding one.

The first of these patterns, or themes, is a general introduction to the relationship between the arts and culture organizations interviewed, and the TLC. It firstly examined the relationship between the two, and then looked at finding out if this relationship was based on funding or not. All of the respondents had some dealing with the TLC, in some form or another. This indicates that there is a relationship between the arts and culture organizations in the city, and the city's administration. But there is also the potential for the relationship to grow sour, for the situation between the two sides of the policy field to become strained. And this is, by and

large, what has happened.

The first of the respondents whom I interviewed (from the Tatham Art Gallery) felt that the relationship between his organization and the TLC had deteriorated to just that. The relationship between the two had reached a point where there were problems, although the two sides were both working hard to ensure that the strained relationship between them did not impact adversely on the running of the Gallery. The main point of contention seemed to be the fact that the Gallery perceived the TLC as being involved in some sort of posturing, or to be more precise, in a kind of power play (Personal Interview with Respondent 1, 29.11.2000). The power relationship between the TLC and the Gallery, according to my respondent, was perceived to be an unequal one, in which the TLC exerted pressure in order to achieve its own ends.

The first example of this came through just after South Africa's first democratic election in 1994. The Gallery felt that the time had come to change the way in which it operated, and the proposal put forward was that the Gallery move to having a Board of Trustees to run it. The Gallery decided on the number of people who would be required to run the Gallery, and the specific functions which they would carry out. It was also decided that the TLC should have representation on the Board, as they were the major funding source for the Gallery.

The TLC, however, was not entirely happy with the percentage of representation which the Gallery gave them, and decided that they would like to have more proportional representation on the Board of trustees. They then waged an intense campaign to have the number of councillors on the Board increased drastically. Many months of meetings ensued, and the eventual upshot of it all was that the Gallery eventually "acquiesced", seeming to give in to the TLC demand for more councillors on the Gallery's Board of trustees. But things were not at all as smooth for the TLC, because although the Gallery increased the number of councillors on the Board, they also increased the number of Gallery staff on the Board. This eventually meant that although the TLC now had more councillors on the Board, the increase in Gallery members would effectively cancel this out. Proportionally speaking, the TLC was in exactly the same position in which it had started the whole situation. The months of meetings had been for nothing, eventually.

My respondent felt that the whole situation was just an attempt on the part of the African National Congress (ANC) to scare the Gallery, to beat it into submission, in a way. The ANC holds the majority of seats in the TLC, and, as such, is the major force in control of the TLC. My respondent felt that there was a lot of political posturing, especially from the ANC, which he attributed to the fact that the election had just taken place, and there was a distinct need for TLC councillors to appear to be working for the people, to appear to be doing something pro-active for democracy (Personal Interview with Respondent 1, 29.11.2000).

Also linked to this situation was the issue of the acquisitions committee. The acquisitions committee is a committee which the Gallery runs, and, as its name implies, it is responsible for the selection and acquisition of works of art for the Gallery. The committee is composed entirely of Gallery staff, most of whom have some sort of formal qualification in art.

The TLC, however, decided that it wanted to have representation on this committee. It therefore engaged in heated debate, and many rounds of discussion, with the Gallery. The major problem on the part of the TLC was the fact that they felt the Gallery was not being representative enough of the country's demographics in the selection of art which was bought and displayed. They felt that more TLC councillors would only even the score, so to say, and make sure that the Gallery became more representative of the many struggling Black artists in this country.

The Gallery, however, felt that this was completely unfair. They already had a major strategy in place to ensure that the Gallery would come into line with the country's demographics, and this strategy was working. The Gallery was already going through the process of transformation. There was a distinct feeling on the part of the Gallery that the TLC was just interested in playing games, which was what the case eventually worked out to being. In addition, the Gallery felt that some sort of technical knowledge, or formal technical training in art was a pre-requisite for membership of the committee. None of the councillors at that time had the training or qualifications to be an active member of the committee. This meant that they would not actually be able to comment effectively on the quality of the works of art being considered by the committee. This is really where the problem, for the Gallery, came in.

After many months of meetings, it was decided that the Gallery would accept TLC councillors on to the committee. The only condition, though, was that the councillors not be allowed to vote on the eligibility of any work of art for purchase or display. The councillors would be able to attend the meeting of the committee, and would be able to make suggestions as they saw fit. But, when it came down to actually purchasing or displaying any work of art, the councillors would have no input.

Even though the TLC was given this concession, it still did not make use of it. There has not, to the day of the interview I conducted, ever been a TLC councillor at an acquisitions committee meeting. It seems that once the battle was won, the councillors just packed up and went back to City Hall.

One of the respondents I spoke to actually said that the whole acquisitions committee affair was nothing short of a TLC attempt to start a power base within the Gallery from which to work. What the actual “work” on the TLC’s part would entail, she did not elaborate on (Personal Interview with Respondent 5, 06.12.2000).

There are various other problems which came through in the interviews. The issue of expert advice was one such other problem. The TLC, one of the respondents felt, was too locked into doing things in its own way, with its own people. The TLC has never, according to the person I interviewed, actually sought out expert advice on arts and culture. They have for too long tried to ‘go it alone’. She felt that the eventual result of this was that the TLC did not really know what it was doing most of the time, and ended up committing more blunders than anything else. This, she felt, was the main reason that many of the attempts at getting a regional umbrella body for arts and culture had failed. There was just not enough expert advice being given to the TLC. And, ultimately, the artists in the city and the region suffered most for the TLC’s ‘arrogant’ belief that it could solve the arts and culture problems of the region all on its own (Personal Interview with Respondent 5, 06.12.2000).

In addition to this, the interviews have shown that there are many little, technical problems, of a nature which would make them easily solvable if the TLC would put in the effort. I spoke to a lady who told me that the only real problem which she had with the TLC was the fact that the financial system which the TLC uses clashes with that of her own organization

(Personal Interview with Respondent from the South African Society of Music Teachers, 30.11.200). The TLC's financial year ends in July of each year. In August of every year her organization has its big annual event, for which it requires quite a lot of funding.

Unfortunately, the TLC, because it is in the process of consolidating its finances at the time of her event, is never in a position to supply the funding for the event. This leaves the organization to beg, borrow, or steal funding for its event. Usually, they have to then solicit funding from private donors, in addition to the members of the organization putting in whatever money they can scrape together. Then, when the TLC grant does come through, they use that to pay the monies back to the private donors.

This is, to some extent, just a small technical difficulty - one which is not really the fault of the TLC. This means that the TLC is not to blame, and the lady to whom I spoke readily acknowledged this. She was, at the time I spoke to her, in the process of studying the feasibility of rescheduling the event to a time later in the year, so as to avoid the clash of financial systems.

Another respondent also had some technical difficulties. As an employee of Phemba Kahle, he is paid by the TLC. He told me that there are instances where he is not paid on time, when the TLC is late with payment to employees. He felt that this was a bit unfair on the part of the TLC, because he has other people who rely on his salary. He cannot plan ahead financially, because of the irregularity of the payment from the TLC, which makes his life a little (unnecessarily) difficult (Personal Interview with Respondent 4, 04.12.2000).

One of the people I spoke to also pointed out other problems with the TLC (Personal Interview with Respondent 6, 07.12.2000). He felt that the majority of the problems he experiences with the TLC are of a financial nature. Foremost among these was the fact that the TLC sometimes arbitrarily cuts funding. He told me that there are times where he will have a grant for his organization approved, and then find out that the amount which was approved does not correspond with the amount which is paid out. His attempts to sort out such matters are usually unsuccessful, resulting in a situation in which he has to then put in another application to cover the shortfall, or attempt to raise the funds on his own.

The same respondent also told me that the TLC does not provide any funding for transport.

This might not seem like a problem at all, but it needs to be seen in its context. The person runs a drama production company. This company is composed of many Black people, mostly still in or just out of school. They are based in Edendale. The problem for him is when they have a production on. For the production to break even, it needs to be held in the city, at a place which is accessible by most arts patrons - usually the Winston Churchill Theatre. His problem is the how to get twenty or thirty people from Edendale into the city, on a daily basis, for sometimes up to two weeks, without any funding from the TLC. This, he told me, was making it almost impossible for his organization to continue. All the transportation costs for the staging of a drama production are up to him to find some other way to cover, which is becoming all but impossible for him to do. He put it quite bluntly - "The TLC has no respect for arts at all" (Personal Interview with Respondent 6, 07.12.2000).

In evaluating their relationships with the TLC, my respondents had to choose one word which would best describe their relationship with the TLC. These responses ranged from favourable to troublesome, with varying degrees of these in between.

The second major theme which I have identified is budget and policy. Budget and policy relates to the way in which the organizations go about their interaction with the TLC. I attempted to look at the nuts-and-bolts issues of their interaction with the TLC. I found that very few of the organizations represented in my sample actually knew much about the budgeting process. For example, four out of five respondents actually knew who the completed budget applications were supposed to be given to at the TLC. Only one respondent knew a person by name, to whom he always handed in his organization's completed budget applications.

Most of the respondents also did not actually know who approved or refused their applications for funding. Most were just aware that the TLC approved or refused, but could not give me any details. The responses ranged from "the TLC" all the way over to "I don't know". This is important to some extent, as it shows that there is either very little concern among the arts and culture organizations for the administration of their funds, or very little consistency on the part of the TLC in administering these funds. It would be impossible to tell which is actually the case without first going to the TLC and doing a thorough investigation of the process of deciding on applications for funding.

With regard to the policy side of the issue, it would seem that there is very little, if any, policy from the TLC with regard to the way in which it goes about arts and culture in the city. The TLC councillor whom I interviewed told me that the TLC has a policy of encouraging and fostering arts and culture in the city (Personal Interview with TLC Councillor, 08.12.2000). The other people I interviewed, however, have told me otherwise. From the problems they encounter in the daily running of their organizations, they generally feel that the TLC is making life incredibly difficult for them, which is very far from the 'ideal' of fostering arts and culture.

In addition, none of the respondents have actually seen a policy document from the TLC in relation to arts and culture. The 'policy' then seems to be nothing more than a dream, an unwritten statement of intent, as opposed to a real policy, with a view to implementation. One respondent told me that there is a list of rules which accompany the TLC's budget application form, but these amount to nothing more than a list of do's and don't's (Personal Interview with Respondent 1, 29.11.2000). There is nothing specific in it which could amount to a policy document.

The aspect of this which is of concern is the fact that the lack of such a document could lead to mismanagement. More specifically, it could lead to the abuse of funding on the part of the TLC, which seems to already be the case. The arbitrary cutting of funding for arts and culture organizations points to the lack of a clear, comprehensive policy document. Such a document would make it very difficult for the TLC to actually allow such situations to arise.

The third theme which I looked at was the theme of power. The TLC, it would seem, has a superb power base from which to interact with the arts and culture organizations of the city. As the, generally speaking, sole source of funding for a majority of the arts and culture organizations in the city, the TLC controls the purse strings. This alone puts the TLC at an unfair advantage. I attempted to gain some insight into the use of power by the TLC. None of the respondents had ever been at the receiving end of an unfair usage of power on the part of the TLC. They all replied that they TLC had never tried to use the unfair power advantage over them. Five out of the six organizations I interviewed did not know of anyone who had been unfairly treated, either. Only one person knew of someone who's organization had been denied funding because of the TLC's unfair power advantage.

The fact that the TLC has an unfair power advantage, though, does not mean that it has done anything wrong. There is a subtle difference between the unfair use of power and the gentle art of persuasion. A more thorough look at this aspect of the power relationship will be found in the analysis of these results, which will follow.

The fourth major theme which I looked at was the impact of democracy on the arts and culture organizations of this city. For many people, the change in South Africa to a fully democratic, and fully representative system of governance was seen as the salvation of the country. Many people thought that the change to democracy would automatically sort through and solve the problems they were facing. To what extent has this been true of arts and culture bodies in Pietermaritzburg?

Most of the organizations I interviewed have felt that nothing has changed since the transition to democracy in 1994. They generally felt that although the faces might have changed over the years, the situations have not. The old problems are still there, they just have new faces. Only one of the respondents I interviewed felt that there has been some substantial change since 1994. He felt that the change has been for the better. According to him, the relationship with the TLC has actually improved, by and large (Personal Interview with Respondent 1, 29.11.2000). Although he still has to deal with power struggles and the like, he now only faces these problems with individuals within the TLC. There is no real sense of any type of power struggle with the TLC, as a whole.

Most of the respondents also felt that the nature of the problems which they face has changed substantially since 1994. Four of the respondents felt that the change to democracy has meant that their organizations have had to face new difficulties, and overcome new challenges. But only two of them felt that the change to democracy has not changed the difficulties they face. For the most part, though, the change to democracy has not in any real way impacted on the fact that arts and culture organizations need funding. This was the case for arts and culture before 1994, and it still is today. It is the other problems which have changed, issues such as transformation and transparency which have only come to the fore since the 1994 transition to democracy.

POLICY ANALYSIS OF RESULTS.

The first issue which I would like to look at is the issue of the Board of Trustees of the Tatham Art Gallery. The Gallery decided that it was going to change the system of administering the Gallery, and the Board was opted for. It was decided that two councillors would represent the TLC on this Board, as the TLC was a major funding source for the Gallery (as it still is). The TLC, however, was not happy with this arrangement, and felt that it needed more representation on the Board. It was felt that two councillors was not enough to ensure the proper administration of the Gallery, and that this number needed to be increased. The Gallery, however, felt that they were being generous by allocating two seats on the Board to council members. They felt that there was no need for any more than two councillors, and made this plain.

When interviewing one of my respondents, I was told that this was all about political posturing (Personal Interview with Respondent 1, 29.11.2000). He felt that there was absolutely no need to have more councillors on the Board, as did the other Board members. There came an impasse, which was eventually resolved by the director of the Gallery, Mr. Brendon Bell. Mr. Bell decided to allow as many councillors onto the Board as the TLC wanted to nominate. But, he also decided that he would increase proportionally the amount of non-TLC members. This would, in effect equalise the balance of power, and would prevent the TLC members from holding the Gallery to ransom, as it were. He realised that having more TLC councillors on the Tatham's Board would only increase the chances of the TLC engaging in power politics, which is what would have happened. But, in order to accommodate this, and at the same time ensure that the Gallery would not suffer any negative impacts or effects, it was decided to (in a sense) disempower them. The TLC representatives on the Board were rendered toothless, by the disaggregation of power. The director of the Gallery in effect diluted the power of the TLC councillors by adding more ordinary members to the Board.

All of this provides a great framework for analysis in terms of the framework which Lukes provides. Lukes, in his analysis of the one-dimensional view of power, shows that power hangs on a behaviourist framework. The one-dimensional view of power simply states that 'power is based on the extent to which *A* can get *B* to do something he would not do in the

usual course of events'. The person making another do something is said to have power (Lukes, 1974:11). It seems clear that this has happened. The Gallery clearly wanted no part of having TLC councillors on the Board anyway. But, bearing this in mind, they acceded to the demands from the TLC that councillors represent it on the Board. What is not clear is whether or not this was done on the strength of the TLC's financial power base. No-one really knows how this came to be, but I have heard in the course of the interviews (Personal Interview with Respondent 1, 29.11.2000), that it had a lot to do with the fact that the Gallery's operations were being interfered with. The meetings which were being held were actually cutting into the Gallery's running time, and many of the Gallery's staff were being caught up in these meetings instead of getting on with the work which they were employed to do. The endless run-around with regard to this issue was hampering the ability of the Gallery to run effectively. So it seems as if the Gallery folded to the TLC's pressure because of the fact that it needed to get back to the work of being a Gallery as soon as was possible. The TLC, it seems, exercised power in that it managed to get the Gallery to do something it would not, in the normal course of events, have done.

The Gallery, however, as a public institution, is bound to have some dealings with the TLC. This is only reasonable, and it would seem that it is reasonable to expect that there would always be some kind of interaction between the Gallery and the TLC as part of effective management. In this case, however, the dealings between the Gallery and the TLC were of such a nature so as to interfere with the day-to-day operations of the Gallery. This meant that the interaction between the two passed from being responsible management of a public institution to being detrimental to the operations of the Gallery.

It is also not really clear if the TLC forced the Gallery to cave in because of the financial pressure. The Gallery is clearly dependent on the TLC for a major part of its funding, as it has to put in applications for funding like every other arts and culture organization in the city - and this funding covers all of the Gallery staff's wages, and a lot of the acquisitions. What is not really clear, though, is whether or not the TLC forced closure on the issue by threatening to withdraw funding. It is a possibility, but one which I have not been able to pursue, because of the (very understandable) unwillingness of the respondents to talk freely on such an obviously sensitive issue.

But, the Gallery was not the unwitting pawn in all of this, as the subsequent issue of the acquisitions committee proved. The Gallery had (and still has) an acquisitions committee. The acquisitions committee is composed of between five and ten members, who may be already employed by the Gallery, or who may be from outside the Gallery. Ultimately, the Board of the Gallery decides on who is appointed to the committee. One of my respondents, in fact, at the time of our interview, served on both the Gallery Board and the acquisitions committee. This committee is responsible for, as its name implies, acquiring the Gallery's new works of art. It is composed of people who have some degree of formal training in art. This would seem a necessary prerequisite when considering the amount of money the Gallery spends on artworks. There are finer details, such as form and brushstrokes, which play an important part in the consideration of whether or not to buy an artwork.

The TLC, however, decided that it needed to have more representation on the acquisitions committee. This was for one reason only, according to the TLC councillor whom I interviewed (Personal Interview with TLC Councillor from the Social Development and Protection Services Indaba, 08.12.2000). The councillor told me that the TLC - or rather, certain members of the TLC - were becoming concerned that in spite of all its attempt at transformation, this was not really happening. They were concerned that a large percentage of the art being purchased was still western art, created by white people.

In response to this, the Gallery staff I interviewed (Personal Interviews with Respondents 1 and 2, 29.11.2000) have acknowledged the truth of this. They have also, however, pointed out the fact that there has, over the last fifteen years, been a conscious, steady, effort at restructuring the Gallery. The Gallery has increased its representation of black art considerably over the course of these fifteen years. And, although they are not yet near to being as representative as they should be, a process is in place to ensure that this is a goal which will be reached. Why then, they counter, did the TLC have to be concerned that there was no transformation? In addition, the TLC's councillors were not, by a long shot, qualified enough to be on the committee. Because of the small nature of the acquisitions committee, the presence of even just one councillor from the TLC would be enough to cause problems within the committee, especially if the councillor had other agendas to promote. The councillors did not have the necessary experience or training to evaluate a painting's merit. Why then did they wish to be on the acquisitions committee, a committee which deals

intrinsically with the merit of paintings?

According to Lukes, this conflict is important : "...the pluralists see their focus on behaviour in the making of decisions over key or important issues as involving actual, observable conflict" (Lukes,1979:13). This conflict showed clearly the way in which the power issue was going to shape up. There were two parties, both with different ideas of how the Gallery should go about acquiring art. The TLC felt that there should be councillors on the committee to ensure that the Gallery's acquisitions came into line with the demographics of the country. The Gallery feared that this was another ploy on the part of the TLC to ensure that it had a finger in every pie, that it could exercise power over the Gallery in the way it operated.

After months of endless negotiations, matters finally came to a head when the Gallery agreed to let the TLC nominate two councillors to serve on the acquisitions committee, which was usually composed of approximately six members. The Gallery, however, made one proviso - the councillors would be able to attend all meetings of the committee, but would not be able to vote on the suitability of paintings for purchase by the Gallery.

It is clear, then, that the Gallery did accede to the power exerted on it by the TLC - but, as stated before, the Gallery was not an unwitting pawn in the issue. The Gallery showed that it had the fortitude to take on the TLC and still win.

It is of interest to note that not one councillor, of all the councillors who stood for the positions on the Gallery's acquisitions committee, ever actually attended a meeting of the committee. Not once did a councillor actually attend a meeting of the acquisitions committee. This was revealed to me by the staff of the Gallery, as well as by the TLC councillor whom I interviewed (Personal Interviews, 29.11.2000 and 08.12.2000). It would seem that the Gallery's protestations that the TLC is simply engaging in political posturing are valid. Why else would the TLC go through months of intense negotiations with the Gallery, win a concession, and then not act on that concession? It seems that the TLC was simply posturing, although in fairness to the TLC, the issue probably did start with a valid concern, although no-one could say what this might have been.

Is there, then, an unfair power struggle going on in Pietermaritzburg's arts and culture? It would seem that there is. The TLC has been exerting power over the city's arts and culture organisations for many years, as the results of the pilot study have shown. The debacle with the Pietermaritzburg Philharmonic Society, as can be seen in the pilot study of this portfolio, has clearly shown this. The TLC, and before it, the Pietermaritzburg City Council, have for a long time been exerting power over arts and culture organizations. But, as the TLC councillor I interviewed pointed out, this is also true of almost every other organization in the city. The fact is, as he said, that the TLC has money and other organisations do not - the arts and culture organizations need to accept this and learn how best to make use of the service which the TLC provides (Personal Interview, 08.12.2000). Yes, the TLC is exerting power by virtue of the fact that they have control of the purse strings. But, at the same time, the TLC cannot use the money it sets aside for arts and culture organizations. It is up to these organizations to get their acts together and to learn how to use the system to their own benefit, within the policy guidelines which the TLC sets out.

What is also of concern, though, is the fact that the TLC has no clear policy guidelines on arts and culture. There are general policy guidelines built into the operations of the TLC in regard to arts and culture - but these are not clearly explicated. The TLC councillor to whom I spoke told me that the TLC has a policy of encouraging arts and culture in Pietermaritzburg. This is commendable, but where is the document? Without a policy document which is clearly set out and readily available, these policy guidelines form, at best, a type of informal policy. Not once, in the course of six months of research, have I come across a TLC policy document on arts and culture, nor have I come across a person who has. There are policy guidelines on applications for money from the TLC, but these do not form an arts and culture policy. The TLC has guidelines for applications for grants, and the way in which these grants may or may not be spent. For example, no TLC grant may be spent on payment of a salary, or on transport. These rules, however, do not form an arts and culture policy.

Another worrying factor is the lack of support from the provincial sphere for local arts and culture initiatives. The provincial sphere should be encouraging local arts and culture, and should be playing an active (and visible) role in the arts and culture policy field. This is sadly not the case. The provincial sphere is not doing anything that could be said to be

promoting local arts and culture. They are not providing funding, but more importantly than that, they are not providing any clear policy direction for the TLC. Provincial government should be leading the way as far as arts and culture policy initiatives go, while lending support to the TLC in its formulation of its own policy guidelines and documents. This is because the provincial sphere of government is in direct contact with the national, which is where the policy regarding arts and culture is derived from. In keeping with the devolution of powers which our constitution makes provision for, I believe that there should be a devolution of responsibility. The vision, as such, comes from national government, which is then passed on to provincial government, which should then pave the way to lead local government. In addition, provincial government has the resources to be a trail-blazer, as it were - because of their financial position, they are in a better position to try and fail. Local government simply cannot afford to try an initiative and then fail.

Also of interest is that fact that one of my respondents clearly felt that there was a lack of expert advice with regard to the operations of the TLC in arts and culture (Personal Interview with Respondent 5, 06.11.2000). She felt that the TLC does not hesitate to call in experts for infrastructure issues, for social welfare issues, or for business issues. But when it comes to arts and culture, everyone on the TLC seems to feel that they are capable and well enough equipped to do the job. She felt that this has been a hindrance to the overall progress of the city in arts and culture.

The final point which I wish to highlight is the potential for corruption which the TLC is open to in arts and culture. While conducting my interviews, there was a definite hesitation on the part of some of the respondents to actually engage with the topic. I felt that there was still a great fear on the part of many that they would maybe end up being victimised if they spoke out. But, that notwithstanding, most people I spoke to were of the opinion that there is some personal gain being made out of arts and culture.

One of my respondents was quite clear that she knows of at least one situation where money from a grant-in-aid was used for personal enrichment of the two people who applied for it (Personal Interview with Respondent 5, 06.11.2000). The sum she mentioned was R100 000.00. But, the flat in which the people lived burned down. They subsequently claimed that they had kept all documents and receipts in their flat. They were therefore

unable to account for the way in which the money was actually spent, and the TLC ended up writing off the amount in total. And, according to my respondent, this is not the only time that this type of situation has arisen.

Another respondent also made it quite clear that favouritism is a part of life at City Hall, especially when it comes to arts and culture funding (Personal Interview with Respondent 6, 07.11.2000). He told me that councillors will often tend to favour applications from people they know are from the same political background as they are. What happens, according to my respondent, is that a person applying for a grant will let the councillor for the ward in which the organization is situated know that they will be applying for a grant. The councillor then keeps an eye out for the application from his or her ward. It might be interesting, at a later stage, to look at this and see if there is any significant correlation between councillors and the number of grants awarded within each councillor's ward. Although this is a fairly general occurrence, and one which is probably an inescapable characteristic of political life, it is nonetheless unfair that a specific organization will be awarded access to resources based simply on geography. In a field such as arts and culture, it would seem that talent, not geography, should be the deciding factor in funding allocations.

In addition to this, there is the problem of (unfair?) influence. The same respondent told me that there is a much greater chance of having a budget or grant application being approved if the organization is well known at City Hall. He gave me the example of a popular choral group which struggled to stay in existence. Once the group started to sing at the city hall, TLC councillors began to get to know the people from the group. As soon as this started happening, the group started having grant application passed. My respondent believes that this is a type of nepotism, based on friendship rather than familial bonds. He believes that the more friends an organization has on the TLC, the more their chances of having grant applications passed improves.

In fairness to the TLC though, from the interview I conducted with the TLC member who is involved with arts and culture, it would seem that all of this does not happen often. He did acknowledge the potential for this sort of situation to arise, but has never seen it himself. It can therefore be concluded that this either does not happen much, or that it is rife but very well hidden. From the people I have spoken to, I have gathered that it is probably the latter

which occurs. It has been hinted at that the process does occur, and a lot more than people actually are aware of.

CONCLUSION.

In closing, I wish to look once again at Kingdon. Kingdon centres his ideas on agenda setting, and on the way in which ideas get onto governmental agendas, and how they are chosen out of all the possible ideas on the governmental agenda. One of the processes which impact on the setting of agendas is what he calls the political stream. This is a stream of ideas and events which centre around politics, and happenings in the political world. These ideas and events have a great impact on the way in which ideas get onto governmental agendas.

As I have said before, it is important that any examination of arts and culture policy making bear in mind the fact that there is a link between the political events and the policy outcome. Politics, and political actions, will have an effect on the policies which are formulated. Also, it is important to look at political events, and examine the political environment in which the policy is formulated.

It is quite accepted that the election of 1994, South Africa's first truly democratic election, has had resounding impact on the way in which policy has been formulated since then. The 1994 election marked the watershed for policy making in this country. It has been taken for granted by many policy analysts that the election has changed the political scene of the country, and that this has in turn led to a change in the way in which policy has been formulated. But I have found that this is not really the case. All of the people whom I interviewed have felt that their situation in arts and culture has not really been changed that much by the 1994 election. They have felt that if change has occurred at all, it has been a more quantitative change, as opposed to a qualitative one. There is the distinct feeling that they are all fighting the same battles, on a post-1994 battlefield. The scene has changed - the problems have not.

As shown before, Kingdon has demonstrated that the political stream of the process whereby ideas become agenda items, is composed of “such things as public mood, pressure group campaigns, election results, partisan or ideological distributions in congress, and changes of administration” (Kingdon, 1984 : 145). I believe that all of these have been factors in ensuring that arts and culture has not really been a major issue on the agenda of the Pietermaritzburg TLC.

The national mood has been a major part of the political process in the arts and culture policy field of Pietermaritzburg. This has specifically been evident in the issue of the TLC wanting representation on the acquisitions committee of the Tatham Art Gallery. The reason put forward by the TLC for wanting this representation is the fact that they were concerned about the non-representative nature of the Gallery, demographically speaking. This, I believe, was in direct accord with the national mood. The fact is that a vast majority of the population were excluded from venues such as the Gallery because of the pre-1994 government’s policy of racial segregation. The national mood is one in which it is imperative to begin to include these previously disadvantaged groups. It is conceivable that the issue surrounding the acquisitions committee began as an acknowledgement of the national mood, and was an attempt to use the national mood to achieve a specific policy outcome. That the issue degenerated into a power struggle, and an attempt at political posturing, is not really related to the national mood, and cannot be blamed on it.

It would also seem that the national mood has led to tighter fiscal control on the part of the TLC. The national mood has meant that issues such as transparency and accountability have taken on greater prominence now than in the years running up to the 1994 election. It could be that the emphasis on transparency and accountability has meant that the regulations surrounding the disbursement of TLC monies have become almost draconian, and have become more of a hindrance to the arts and culture organizations in the city than an encouragement. For example, no organization will get funding from the TLC without properly audited statement to account for how the money was spent. Unfortunately, this excludes about half of the organizations, as they do not have access to functional offices, or full-time accounting staff to keep track of everything. And, once again, a TLC regulation is that the organizations may not use TLC monies for payment of salaries. How then, does the average arts and culture organization go about procuring this funding?

The second issue which Kingdon puts forward is the way in which organised pressure groups can have a positive impact on the policy process. It is interesting to note that Pietermaritzburg has a woefully despondent track record for organised arts and culture pressure groups. There have been many attempts at getting arts and culture pressure groups up and running, but these have always fallen short of the mark. They have usually run for anything up to a year, and then fallen apart, as explained above (for example, TRACC, and the Midlands Regional Arts and Culture Council).

It is important to know the way in which the arts and culture organisations in Pietermaritzburg line up and configure themselves, because this will give a clearer understanding of the way in which the pressure groups come together and why they fall apart. The main reason for the lack of longevity is probably the fact that these groups have too wide an array of interests, from personal enrichment to entertainment to exposing the general public to quality art.

Also a factor in this is what Kingdon refers to as “statism” (Kingdon, 194 : 151). There will always come a point in the process of negotiating differences where a point of no give or take is reached. None of the parties in the negotiations will be prepared to compromise, so the negotiations will deadlock. This appears to have been the case with the acquisitions committee of the Tatham Art Gallery. There was a stage in the process of events surrounding this in which the TLC was not prepared to budge from its position (wanting representation on the committee), and neither was the Gallery (no TLC councillors on the committee). The solution which eventually was proposed by the director of the Gallery broke the situation out of the deadlock it was in.

The third issue which Kingdon puts forward is the way in which government itself impacts on the process of agenda setting. This happens in two ways. The first is what I call human factors. Government officials are all human beings. They are easily influenced by outside factors, just as are all human beings. An example is national mood. The national mood will exert an influence on government officials . . . in our case, on TLC councillors. They are human, and will come under the influence of the national mood at a particular time. The way in which specific TLC members went about trying to gain representation on the Tatham Art Gallery’s acquisitions committee bears this out, to some extent.

The second is what Kingdon refers to as turnover of key personnel (Kingdon, 1984 : 153). This has, I believe, also been a factor in the way in which Pietermaritzburg has gone about arts and culture. An example of this, which I gleaned from interviews, is the way in which an ex-Deputy Mayor, who was rather involved in the acquisitions committee issue, simply one day resigned her post and relocated to Gauteng. One of my respondents felt that this has been one of the best things to happen to the arts and culture policy field in Pietermaritzburg. Another example is the late Deputy Mayor, Councillor A. S. Chetty. There were some issues which were raised during the course of the interviews, which only he could have shed some light on. But, this will never happen due to his passing away during the course of my research, before I had a chance to re-interview him.

And finally, the issue of jurisdiction needs to be looked at briefly (Kingdon, 1984 : 155). With the three spheres of government which South Africa has instituted since the 1994 election, there is a great deal of overlap. I have not examined the national sphere of government with regard to arts and culture policy making, except to look at the white paper which the national sphere published in the middle of 1996. But, as far as the provincial and local spheres go, there are clearly issues of jurisdiction which need explication. The role of the provincial sphere needs to be made clearer, and then examined to make sure that there is no duplication of responsibilities. The two spheres (local and provincial) need to clearly demarcate their areas of interest and responsibility, to ensure that the arts and culture of our province, not just our city, is fostered, encouraged, and exported.

In closing, then, it would seem that there has been some form of power play at work at the city hall. If Lukes is to be applied to the setting of Pietermaritzburg, then the one-dimensional view of power definitely comes into play. There was an attempt on the part of the TLC to exercise the first dimension of power, and this was a successful endeavour. From the time of the Philharmonic Society, the TLC has been successfully implementing this kind of power, and the findings of the questionnaire have shown that the perception in the arts and culture policy field is the same. However, this is not to say that the arts and culture organizations in the city have no power at all - the Philharmonic Society, although it lost the war to survive, won some of the battles along the way. The Tatham Art Gallery has shown the same to be true, especially with regard to the issue of the acquisitions committee and the Board of Trustees.

With regard to politicking and the policy paradox, not very much has been borne out by the research. None of the respondents have let on that the TLC's Councillors have been enriching themselves at the expense of the city's arts and culture organizations. This may be due to the fact that they are simply afraid of the repercussions if they were to tell, or it may simply be due to the fact that the policy paradox does not exist in Pietermaritzburg. Whatever the case may be, it is commendable that the Councillors in Pietermaritzburg seem to be keeping themselves above the level of personal enrichment at the expense of their constituents.

What is clear, though, is that the political process which came into motion just before 1994 has not had the impact which would have been expected of it. South Africa's transition into a fully democratic, fully representative form of government would have been assumed to have made a major impact on the daily running of arts and culture bodies. For most of the respondents interviewed, though, this has not been the case. In actual fact, there was just one respondent who felt that the situation had improved since 1994. In addition, the national mood since 1994 has combined with other political factors, such as the June 1999 change of administration (which saw Thabo Mbeki take over from Nelson Mandela as President of the country), to ensure that the situation does not improve in any substantive way.

And all of these issues, unfortunately, from the unequal power relations to the changes in national mood, have combined to further impoverish the inhabitants of this city.

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