

**A STUDY OF SELECTED COMMUNITY-BASED ARTS
PROJECTS IN KWAZULU-NATAL**

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A dissertation submitted to the Faculty of Arts,
University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg,
for the degree of
Master of Arts in Fine Arts, Pietermaritzburg 1997

DECLARATION

I declare that this dissertation is my own, unaided work. It is being submitted for the degree of Master of Arts in Fine Arts to the University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg. It has not been submitted for any degree or examination in any other university.

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12th day of December 1996

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INTRODUCTION

The nature of cultural and artistic development is inevitably shaped by its regional character. Urban and rural development has been slow in KwaZulu-Natal resulting in only two main urban centres, Durban and Pietermaritzburg, while the rest of KwaZulu-Natal consists of small towns and rural areas. The development of community arts projects¹ exists largely in these urban centres where access to funding, expertise and contact with other arts infrastructures is available. This isolated development is problematic in that much of the rural and semi-urban population of KwaZulu-Natal has, until fairly recently, been denied access to arts and culture² infrastructures and has consequently been marginalised.

This is not to say that community arts projects do not exist in the rural areas. The Evangelical Lutheran Church Art & Craft Centre at Rorke's Drift (Rorke's Drift) and the Ardmore Studios are examples of successful rurally based projects. When in Chapter Three the specific centres are examined an attempt will be made to look at the relationship between rural and urban centres. The African Art Centre (AAC) can be cited as one example of that relationship. The AAC is an urban-based centre that draws its members from both rural and urban bases.

The lack of infrastructure in the KwaZulu-Natal region can be attributed to many factors, an important determinant being the political segregation of the area, under National Party rule, into the separate areas of KwaZulu and Natal. This resulted in isolated pockets of the area falling under the political jurisdiction of KwaZulu. The apartheid system ensured that among other things, the area of KwaZulu had a separate economic structure which hampered development in all spheres. Funding of education, including the development of community arts centres, was restricted and in 1950 all black secondary schools also eliminated the teaching of art.

Despite this imbalance, creativity in the divided regions of KwaZulu and Natal persisted. The production of traditional material culture flourished under the impetus of the Zulu monarchy and Inkhatha. In addition, a number of contemporary black artists such as Charles Nkosi, Trevor Makhoba and Zamokwakhe Gumede have prospered despite lack of access to

facilities. Although some artists were able to realise their potential despite the lack of training and despite difficulties regarding access to marketing facilities, they doubtless represent only a fraction of the potentially creative community.

The scope of this research is limited to local projects as the above title suggests. My exploration into community arts in the greater Durban and Pietermaritzburg areas, was motivated by the rapidity of their growth in the region and by the relative lack of critical research in this field. While the local press has intermittently given coverage to certain community arts projects in isolation, the development of KwaZulu-Natal's community arts as a whole, and its repercussions on art education and production, has not been researched, particularly in the light of the changes in educational policies currently being made.

Although certain references to the international community arts movement will be made, I do not aim to draw a comparison between South Africa and the international community arts movement, nor do I aim to look at the theory of international community arts in depth³.

The initial focus of this research in Chapter One, is rather an analysis of the issues defining community arts projects in South Africa and specifically in the greater Durban and Pietermaritzburg areas. This was done by examining the definitions of community arts programmes offered by the co-ordinators of local centres in order to establish the ideological premises for, and nature of, local community arts projects. This is to facilitate the later evaluation of the role they might play, as a whole, within the recently revised cultural and educational policies⁴ to be discussed in Chapter Two.

The aim of Chapter Two is to consider the educational scope of community arts projects, with specific emphasis on their viability in contributing to local art education⁵. The issue of whether community arts programmes are appropriate as an alternative educational structure to the programmes offered at tertiary art institutions, such as universities and technikons, will be discussed. KwaZulu-Natal's art educational needs are identified, and the degree to which community arts accommodates them, is considered. In addition, the educational, employment and social development opportunities for people engaged in community arts projects are examined. Lastly the role that the proposed national and regional arts councils can play in

aiding the development of community arts projects is discussed.

My intention is to indicate that as community arts is one of the fastest growing cultural developments in South Africa, it can play an increasingly important role in the development of local, specifically marginalised communities. In contrast to tertiary institutions, such as universities and technikons, the emphasis in community arts projects is on informal education. Implicit therefore, for persons wishing to join the projects, there should be no prerequisites, such as minimum educational requirements or excessively high tuition fees. Community arts projects offer the facilities of studio space and equipment to participants at a minimal charge and the courses offered generally take the form of workshops and therefore should not require the full-time commitment of either staff or students.

In Chapter Two I propose to demonstrate that these community arts projects may thus offer possible solutions to the legacy of arts education deprivation under the National Party government. This was noted in the Reconstruction and Development Report:

"Under colonialism and apartheid, the culture of the majority of South Africans was neglected, distorted and suppressed. Freedom of expression and creativity were stifled. People and communities were denied access to resources and facilities to exercise and develop their need for cultural and artistic expression." (RDP par.3:42)

This control and discriminatory funding of education resulted in a lack of available facilities for arts training for black artists, as well as a lack of arts education for black scholars in primary schools. The Arts and Culture Task Group (ACTAG) report states that:

"At a primary school level art and music were offered as a subject in most White schools (ex-HOA⁶), some Coloured (ex-HOR⁷) and Indian (ex-HOD⁸) schools and a minimal number of Black (ex-DET⁹) schools, where art was replaced with the Skills and Techniques Program which was designed to prepare pupils to become manual workers." (ACTAG 1995:249)

Rankin (1989:68) points out that although black artists could theoretically gain access to universities before enforced segregation became policy in 1959, restrictive entrance requirements and other restraining social factors meant that, in practice, very few black artists received tuition at universities.

van Robbroeck notes that the above mentioned shortage of and inaccessibility to art tuition for black artists resulted in the development of community arts projects such as Polly Street and Rorke's Drift. (1993:30) From these projects many contemporary black artists emerged, such as Azaria Mbatha, John Muafangejo and Cyprian Shilakoe. Thus it will be maintained that the growth of community arts projects plays a vital role in fostering new talent as well as in continuing to redress these imbalances through the informal structure of art education they provide and their proposed accessibility to all people in need of arts education.¹⁰

In Chapter Three the focus will fall on the structure and organisation of specific projects in relation to their ideological positions and ideals. This investigation will be facilitated by dividing the projects into three main groups in this introduction. It is therefore my objective in Chapter Three to undertake an historical account of the projects studied in each group. Issues such as emergence, structure in relation to decision-making, funding, courses offered, gender issues and marketing will be examined in relation to the case studies. It is also envisaged that through this examination I will be able to demarcate certain common areas in the selected centres, as well as illustrating a multiplicity of solutions to common problems experienced. This will be achieved by focusing on both problematic and successful areas within the individual projects.

Community arts projects do not only provide much needed arts education structures, but also function as recreational, and social venues which have been absent in many rural and marginalised urban areas. Community arts centres are ideal places in which multicultural¹¹ interaction can take place. Through the process of creative production, South Africa's population may find ways of interacting with each other, as well as coming to understand and accept aspects of different cultures. How community arts projects can function as sites of multiculturalism will therefore also be discussed.

Sack reinforces this idea when he notes that Polly Street Art Centre

"enabled black and white artists to meet and work together, sharing technical knowledge and aesthetic debate...enabling some black artists to overcome in part, the shortcomings of limited educational resources and also enabling a few white artists to gain a new insight into black experience." (Sack 1989:15)

How, if at all, the selected centres fulfil the role of social venues for marginalised individuals within the community will also be discussed in Chapter Three.

It is hoped that such research can afford insight into the structure of selected existing community arts projects in the greater Durban and Pietermaritzburg areas, and in turn provide a reference for both emerging community arts projects, and for the co-ordinators of existing projects, who are seeking ways to rationalise or co-ordinate their programmes.

Even within the small geographical region of KwaZulu-Natal I have had to be selective as to which projects to focus on. While I have concentrated mainly on the urban areas of Durban and Pietermaritzburg, I have listed a number of known arts projects that have not been considered¹². Due to the limited scope of this research the selection of projects studied has been made taking factors such as accessibility¹³ and the diversity of case studies into consideration. Issues such as whether the projects are well established or emergent, their location - be they rural or urban -, and the communities that they serve, have all been factors that have required consideration. In this way I hope to be able to fulfil the objectives set out in this introduction. The following is a list of organizations and informal groupings that have been focused on¹⁴:

PIETERMARITZBURG

The Ardmore Studios

Winterton district, Natal Midlands

The Evangelical Lutheran Church Art & Craft

Centre at Rorke's Drift (Rorke's Drift)

Rorke's Drift, P/B 3016, Dundee, 3000

The Midlands Arts and Crafts Society (MACS)

28 Prince Alfred Street, Pietermaritzburg, 3201

The Tatham Community Arts Incentive -Phemba Kahle

Tatham Art Gallery, Pietermaritzburg, 3201

DURBAN

The African Art Centre (AAC)

Guildhall Arcade, 35 Gardiner Street, Durban, 4001

The Bartel Arts Trust Centre (The BAT Centre)

45 Maritime Place, Small Craft Harbour, Durban, 4001

The Community Murals Project

c/o BAT Centre

Natal Society of Arts Outreach Program (NSAOutreach Programme)

166/174 Bulwer Road, Glenwood, Durban, 4001

The Ardmore Studios and Rorke's Drift, although not strictly part of the greater Durban and Pietermaritzburg area, have been selected due to their rural location. It is felt that the inclusion of these projects will form a valuable contrast to the urban based projects studied. The AAC has been selected because, although urban based, it markets the work of and provides training for artists, many of whom are rurally based. In addition, it is one of the most well established projects, having been in operation since the 1950's.

Phemba Kahle and the BAT Centre were selected as case studies of newly emergent projects with well-formed objectives and rapidly developing programmes. In addition Phemba Kahle, together with the NSA Outreach Programme, were selected due to their affiliation with larger more established institutions, thus creating an inter-relationship between formal (galleries and tertiary institutions) and non-formal (community arts projects) organisations.

MACS was selected for study due to the fact that the community it serves consists mainly of white, middle class Pietermaritzburg residents and thus its aims and objectives differ from

the other centres studied. The Community Murals Project was included due to the outreach nature of its activities.

The structure of community arts projects is often shaped by the initiatives from which they emerged. Thus the funding systems, courses offered and marketing strategies of these projects will rely largely on the aims of specific projects, and might differ substantially. For example an outreach project set up by a tertiary institution will have a different focus to that of a project that depends on the sale of work for its funding.

In order to collate the information gathered through extensive interviews with the co-ordinators of these projects, as previously indicated, I have elected to group certain projects together. It must however be stressed that there is no strict division between these groups. The significance of this categorisation became apparent on assessing the information provided by certain of the co-ordinators of the individual projects. Thus to a large extent the projects are grouped together according to the emphasis that the co-ordinators placed on the aims and intentions of their projects. Certain projects were more difficult to group together than others, such as the seemingly miscellaneous third group. The object of the categorisation into groups is to facilitate the discussion of the structure and functioning of specific projects, which is considered in Chapter Three.

The first group constitutes those projects that form outreach programmes of larger institutions, examples being: Phemba Kahle and The NSA Outreach Programme. The above are two examples of many projects¹⁵ that were established by formal institutions, such as universities, technikons and galleries. The latter are becoming increasingly aware of the need for education structures of a less formal nature than those already in place.

The past perceived elitism of these formal institutions has, in recent years, been radically reformed. Many of them have thus chosen to set up community arts outreach programmes to reach sectors of the population that have not previously had access to their facilities or expertise. The emphasis in these groups is on art education, the funding for which is largely provided by the parent institution or intermittent outside sponsorship.

Secondly, there are community arts projects that operate as a businesses; the sale of the work produced sustains their existence, examples being: the Ardmore Studios, Rorke's Drift and the AAC. The emphasis in these projects is both on the production and sale of work by local artists, in addition to which, some training is provided. The participants make a living from the work sold, and the centre itself is funded by these sales. Although the income generation of these centres is their primary incentive, there is a balance between education and training, production and sales. The promotion of local artists' work is also of great importance.

The third category consists of those projects that do not fall into either of the above groups, as although self-sustaining, these centres are not strictly run as a businesses, neither are they affiliated with larger more formal institutions. This category includes: the Community Murals Project, MACS and the BAT Centre.

Although seemingly disparate, the projects in the third category have been grouped together in terms of the information provided by the co-ordinators of the projects. Their responses suggested that there are key functions and a series of common denominators that cohere these ostensibly diverse projects. The co-ordinators stressed that the function of these projects is to create a greater awareness and accessibility to the arts in KwaZulu-Natal, whether it is through education, making resource facilities available to artists or, as in the case of the Community Murals Project, a transformation of local surroundings. Funding is generated in various ways; through membership fees (MACS), classes offered (MACS), commissions (the Community Murals Project) and the availability of private sponsorship (the BAT Centre and the Community Murals Project).

Chapter Four will be a concluding chapter in which the problems and possibilities that have arisen, in the course of Chapters One, Two and Three, will be assessed. The importance of articulating a clear set of goals for Community Arts will be examined, to determine how local community arts development and, to a degree, community arts in South Africa as a whole, can benefit from a critical theoretical framework.

1. When discussing community arts projects in general, the choice of the word 'project' rather than 'centre' or 'programme' has been made. This is due to the fact that some community arts ventures function without being situated in a specific venue. In addition some ventures do not have a structured agenda, as is suggested by the term 'programme.'
2. The arts refer to all art forms, including visual art, theatre, dance, music and film. I will use the Arts and Culture Task Group's definition of culture:

"Culture relates to people's way of life, a way of perceiving and doing things. It derives its qualities from the economic, social and political conditions existing in our society. It is the landscape in which we live, which shapes our values, attitudes and customs, giving meaning to our backgrounds, our socio-economic and political circumstances and our relationships. It is a reflection and a determinant of the workings of a society's structure and its shared and collective experience." (ACTAG 1995:118)

Culture can thus refer to language, heritage and surroundings.

"The arts create symbols and the images (for individuals and communities) which help to define our thinking and our relationships with people, places and events." (ACTAG 1995:118)

Thus the terms arts and culture encompass a broad range of creative activity beyond any hierarchical notion of art and would encompass leisure and entertainment.

3. To adequately compare South African community arts with international community arts would require extensive research and constitute a dissertation in itself. To a certain extent Lize van Robbroeck (1991:8) has made a comparative study.

She points out three major differences between community arts in South Africa and the community arts movement in Britain, Europe and the United States. The first difference being that, whereas the ideological underpinnings of the community arts movement internationally were explored in depth, the community arts movement in South Africa lacks clear theoretical foundations.

The second factor that van Robbroeck emphasises is the difference in origins between South African community arts and the international movement. The community arts movement abroad developed in the sixties as "part of a wider social and political revolt against existing power structures" (1991:28) and can be seen as part of the sixties generation's insistence on every individual's right to a free and creative lifestyle. In South Africa, van Robbroeck sees the proliferation of community arts projects to be ascribed to very different causes, those being the need to provide solutions to pressing socio-economic and educational problems within the black community.

The third major difference that van Robbroeck points out is that unlike Britain,

Europe and the United States, where the community arts movement was initiated by a younger generation of politicised artists, the South African community arts movement, if it can be termed that, was set in motion by missionaries and government departments seeking to generate employment, provide recreational facilities and foster or revive creative traditions within black communities. (1991:29)

4. ACTAG Report 1995:241-267.

5. ACTAG defines art education as such:

"Arts education shall refer to the educational context in which learners have the opportunity to participate in, experience and interpret dance, drama, music and the visual arts, and may involve the use of poetry, novels, plays, films, design, craft and the media. Arts education shall refer to the arts in education as a discipline as well as a methodology." (ACTAG 1995:244)

Although this definition refers to all of the arts, due to the scope of this dissertation I will be referring largely to visual arts education.

6. House of Assembly.

7. House of Representatives.

8. House of Delegates.

9. Department of Education and Training.

10. ACTAG recommends that all feasible support is provided to ensure the establishment of community arts and culture centres in areas that do not have such structures or networks. (ACTAG 1995:130)

11. Multiculturalism could be defined as an equanimity between cultures and their forms of expression. (Leeb Du Toit 1995:interview)

12. The following is a list of community arts projects, that exist in the greater Durban and Pietermaritzburg areas. This list was drawn up largely from an existing list of arts projects in the Durban region, held at the BAT Centre. Additions have been made on becoming aware of other projects through the interviews conducted. The BAT Centre list is not indicated in its entirety as many of the listed programmes are commercial galleries such as the Elizabeth Gordon Gallery, that do not run community arts projects. Although all attempts have been made to ensure that this list is comprehensive there may be community arts projects that have not been included.

Where possible I have included the name of the project, the address and telephone number of the project, the co-ordinator's name, what the project entails and a brief reason why it was not selected for study.

ADAMS CENTRE

There is no permanent address or telephone number as the workshops are held at the community library.

Bheki Cele is the Co-ordinator.

Phone: 031-370506 (H) or 031-4651831 ext. 228 (W).

The programme consists of basis painting and drawing workshops for young adults.

This project was not selected as it has only been in existence since May 1996.

MAHLONGWA C & A

Several attempts were made at telephoning the number (0323-84484) supplied by the BAT Centre, to no avail. Neither directory inquiries nor the librarian at the BAT Centre were able to assist.

AMANDLA CULTURAL ARTS

There is no permanent venue at present. The postal address is c/o Box 61461, Bishopsgate. 4008.

Santana Ntombela is the Co-ordinator.

Phone: 031-9023902.

The programme consists at present of the musical arts only, but hope to introduce the visual arts mid 1997.

This project has the use of the Lamontville Community Centre.

This project has not been selected due to the lack of focus on visual arts.

BELVEDERE CULTURAL

Several attempts were made at telephoning the number (0322-21361) supplied by the BAT Centre, to no avail. Neither Telephone enquiries nor the librarian at the BAT Centre were able to assist.

DURBAN ART GALLERY/"EDUCENTRE"

c/o P.O. Box 4085, Durban. 4000.

Phone: 031-3006234/5.

Carol Brown is the Director/Co-ordinator.

Phone: 031-3006230.

At "EDUCENTRE" the programme consists of drawing, painting, ceramics, sculpture and beadwork.

These workshops have been run for ± 15 years in conjunction the Durban Art Gallery.

'Outreach' workshops are also run at Ntshongweni Church Hall, Marianhill Community Hall, Umlazi Community Hall. Started in 1995 they concentrate on crafts, beadwork, ceramics.

I have not include the Durban Art Gallery outreach programme as I have included the study of two other Gallery outreach programmes.

EMBO CRAFT TRAINING TRUST

P.O. Box 1363, Hillcrest, 3650.

Phone: 031-753697.

Brenda Lock is the Co-ordinator.

The programme consist of mainly handcraft and needlework.

The above has been in existence for \pm 8 years. Recently painted wood craft projects for disabled males have been introduced.

Training workshops are held at the Siyathuthuka Centre

Valley Trust, Botha's Hill and the Ethembeni School for Disabled, Harris Flats, Inchanga.

GRASSROOTS GALLERY

The Grassroots Gallery closed in mid-1996 after the death of the owner.

GRAHAM GALLERY

The number (031-3014605) supplied by the BAT Centre was incorrect and directory inquiries could not assist.

IMBUMBA CULTURAL ARTISTS

P.O. Box 4900, Durban 4000.

c/o Phone: 031-3048935.

Lylie Musgrave is the Co-ordinator.

The programme consist of performing arts only.

The programme has been in existence for \pm 5 years.

This project was not included as it consists of performing arts only.

INANDA COMMUNITY ART

The telephone number (031-5193100) repeatedly indicated a disengaged signal. Directory enquiries could not assist. Attempts were made to contact Inanda Development Trust, Phone: 031-5072055, but a disengaged signal was also received.

NDWEDWE ART CENTRE

c/o L1320 Mkhonto Road, P.O. Kwamashu. 4360.

Phone: 031-41063

Lungisani Shangase is the Co-ordinator.

The programme consists of performing arts, music, dance (traditional) and carpentry; but no visual arts.

The above has been in existence since 1989.

Workshops are held at the Mshiyane High School.

This project was not included as it consists of performing arts only.

KHAYALAMI ARTS

c/o P.O. Box 215, P.O. Clernaville. 3602.

Phone: 031-7076007.

Pat Njapha is the Co-ordinator.

Phone: 031-773506.

. The programme caters for performing arts only.
 . It has been in existence for ± 10 years.
 . The workshops are held at the Phephile Primary School.
 . This project was not studied as it consists of performing arts only.

KISWAHILI CULTURAL CENTRE

. P.O. Box 2783, Durban.

. Phone: 031-3074039.

. Joseph Khiphakhile is the Co-ordinator.

. This centre concentrates on literacy programmes at present but will be introducing performing art programmes in 1997. They do not offer visual arts programmes.

. They have been operating for ± 2 years.

. Venues for the workshops are NASA and at the Kiswahili Cultural Centre.

. This project was not studied due to its lack of focus on the visual arts.

MPUMALANGA CULTURAL CENTRE

. The phone number supplied by the BAT Centre (Phone: 031-3040318) is that of a gift shop at Workshop Shopping Centre. They had no knowledge of above or Mandla Blose - a contact name supplied. Telephone directory enquiries and Mpumalanga College of Education had no knowledge of this centre.

NTUZUMA ART CENTRE

. No number listed in the directory or available from enquiries. The BAT Centre could not help either.

NDONYANE WEAVING

. No number listed in the directory or available from enquiries.

SIYATHUTHUKA ARTS FOR DISABLED

. P.O. Box 2115, Link Hills. 3652.

. Michael Mkhize is the Co-ordinator.

. Phone: 031-7771955.

. Programmes consist of training workshops in needlework, sewing/knitting and painted woodcraft. Courses in basic literacy are also conducted.

. The official opening was in April 1996.

. The training is done at the Siyathuthuka Centre

Valley Trust, Botha's Hill. (building next to Don McKenzie Centre). This is the same venue as mentioned by Embo Craft.

. This project was excluded as it has only been in existence since 1996.

THULASIZWE WC.

. The telephone number (031-985483) supplied by the BAT Centre no longer exists and directory enquiries were unable to assist.

UMLAZI ART CENTRE

No number listed in the directory or available from enquiries. Contacted the Community Resource Centre who were unable to assist with information.

UPSTAIRS COMM. - full name of project unknown

Several attempts were made to contact the telephone number supplied (031-3093986), to no avail.

VALLEY TRUST

Zulu Reserve Road, Botha's Hill.

Phone: 031-7771955.

Dr K. Wimble is the Co-ordinator.

Mrs Princess Mhlongo is involved in the training of needlework and beadwork.

The programme consists of workshops in bead and needlework at the Nyusara Training Centre in Zulu Reserve Road. Once trained the majority of the work is done at home. Instruction in gardening and block-making is also given at this centre.

The centre started teaching beadwork in 1985. Since then the other programmes have developed.

LAMONTVILLE VISUAL

Lamontville Resource Centre.

Phone: 031-4009302.

No knowledge of above or Mr Njabulo as arts co-ordinator.

VUKANI ASSOCIATION

Eshowe.

No phone at present.

This is a well established association involved in training weaving basket work and African crafts.

Elliot Dlodla teaches basket-weaving.

13. I have been restricted in my choice of projects studied due to three main factors. Firstly the unstable political situation, and incidents of violence in the township areas, has inhibited my access to these areas. Secondly I have encountered lack of cohesion in many of the listed centres. Thus in some cases the absence of a co-ordinator or a co-ordinating body has inhibited selection. Lastly, on contacting many of the listed community arts projects, I found that their emphasis was largely on the performing arts and due to the scope of this research, had to be excluded.
14. This list includes only the projects that have been focused on in some depth. I have not included the interviews that were done with other centres such as:
 The Community Arts Project - Pietermaritzburg.
 The Natal Technikon Outreach Programme - Durban.
 The Wentworth Arts and Culture Organisation - Wentworth.

Although these centres are mentioned when discussing certain issues, the information

gained from these interviews was insufficiently substantial to warrant an in depth study.

15. Other such projects include the Natal Technikon Outreach Programme, the University of Durban-Westville Outreach Programme and the Durban Art Gallery Outreach Programme.

CHAPTER ONE

The initial aim of this chapter is to attempt a broad definition of community arts projects in which to position the chosen case studies. The intention is then to focus on other factors that have contributed to defining South African community arts projects in general. These factors include elements that contributed to the emergence of community arts projects in South Africa, the communal nature of community arts projects and the past and present role of the 'outsider' in community arts projects.

A strict definition of community arts is almost impossible, even in a country such as Britain, where the community arts movement had a relatively structured agenda from the start, with common goals and incentives.

As van Robbroeck points out (1991:8) the problem in defining 'community arts' is perhaps due to the word 'community'. It is therefore necessary to establish what is meant by 'community'. The Oxford Dictionary (1997:190) gives various definitions of the word, one being: "An organised political, municipal or social body." That could mean a body of people who are considered as a whole due to varying factors such as race, locality, religious beliefs or profession. The word community may also be seen as a fellowship, that is, a group of people with a common purpose. In the context of community arts, this common purpose would be primarily that of creativity in all its dimensions.

Based on interviews with the co-ordinators of local community arts projects¹, it has been possible to arrive at a broad definition of such ventures. A community arts project therefore draws people from communities into an enterprise in which some form of instruction, training and assessment occurs, the reception of which is variously channelled into some form of productivity.

Community arts projects can therefore function as creative, technical and even social support programmes. The participants involved in a community arts project should ideally have access to creative and technical advice or training, if needed. This ensures that the participant is equipped with appropriate technical skills to realise his/her creative potential.

In an ideal situation training would not only concentrate on creative skills but also on administrative and marketing skills that would assist the participant vocationally. Through interaction with other participants and with guidance from trained staff, the individual should also be encouraged to develop sufficient critical assessment skills. These skills can ideally be derived from working in a group situation and through being in constant contact with the ideas and creative approaches of others.

The advantages for individuals to work in a community go beyond the benefits of education and social interaction, and can be purely practical. Thus a community arts project becomes a resource opportunity where costly equipment and facilities, often inaccessible to the individual, are made available. These may include printing presses, dark rooms, recording studios, resource libraries and exhibition facilities, to name a few.

Given the broad definition that has been proposed, there are still, however, many pertinent issues to consider in attempting to define community arts. In the current South African context the term 'community' becomes problematic. Difficulties with its definition have arisen as a result of conflicting use within specific ideological² frameworks. Thus during National Party rule (1948-1994) the word community pertained to two quite different entities.

Thornton and Ramphela (Boonzaier 1988:29) noted that the word 'community' was used by the ruling National Party as a euphemism for 'race' or 'population group', thus assuming a negative connotation.

Used in an oppositional sense however, the term 'community' became synonymous with 'the people' or more clearly those who had been marginalised. It was used positively to instill a sense of unity, and to describe the common identity of the repressed. In this sense it became a term associated with 'The Struggle' (Boonzaier 1988:29).

It is undeniable that 'community arts', both in Britain and in South Africa, have incorporated a political agenda³, yet van Robbroeck (1991:9) notes that it is these political undertones that are often understated or absent in most definitions of community arts. The following definition is a case in point:

"Community arts is a general term for a group of cultural activities that the practitioners recognise as having common features but whose precise boundaries remain undrawn. The activities referred to usually include mural painting, community photography, printing, community festivals, newsletters, drama, film projects and the like." (Kelly 1984:1)

Kelly refers to a later British Arts Council publication⁴ that attempts a more comprehensive description of community arts:

"A community arts structure consists of individuals who form themselves into an organisation of variable size and complexity. The primary concern of this group is to further its relationship with a community, to enhance the life of that community and to bring about social change." (Kelly 1984:16)

In this definition the idea of 'social change' still only subtly suggests a political agenda.

The socio-political agenda of community arts was particularly important in the South African context. Not only did community arts projects begin to fulfil a significant role in providing art training (which was severely limited), but due to the restrictions of group meetings under the apartheid government, arts organisations were seen as one of the few ways that marginalised people were able to come together to express a common purpose. Mike van Graan, former director of the BAT Centre, maintains that erstwhile repressive political conditions in South Africa actually favoured the growth of community arts programmes. van Graan notes three factors that have led to the emergence of community based arts programmes.

Firstly, the states of emergency in the mid 1980's severely restricted 'normal' forms of political activity. 'Arts' organisations were thus adopted as a 'shield' behind which to organise political activities. Secondly, van Graan notes that conventional art institutions, such as those at universities, due to reliance on state funding, were seen as siding with 'the enemy', or the apartheid regime of the time. It was felt by the majority that state institutions largely reflected and catered for the interests of the white minority. A third impetus,

according to van Graan was derived from the "internationalisation of South Africa, resulting in the availability of increased foreign funding for anti-apartheid struggles." (van Graan 1991:104) Thus potentially struggling community organisations were granted external funding that could either be utilised to establish additional centres or maintain existing arts projects.

van Robbroeck (1991:8) notes that the word 'community' has always had slightly utopian associations, encompassing an implicit common purpose, with an emphasis on social as opposed to individual action. However, this collectivity should never be seen as restrictive. van Robbroeck points out that a communal emphasis does not try to discourage individual creative expression, rather, it provides the individual with the opportunity to work within a group, often with common motivation. (1991:8)

Val Maggs, former teacher and education officer at MACS, reiterates the issue of communality in the following definition:

"A community based arts centre is a venue, which is run under some auspices of a representative body that has a constitution. The art centre has a social responsibility that goes beyond the production of art work, and plays a healing role in society. We must generate a sense of belonging and contact with others that encourages social skills. The centre then becomes a resource centre for artists, providing both human and physical resources." (Maggs 1994:interview)

Through her position as art teacher and education officer at MACS, Maggs comes in contact with two main groups of people. The first group is comprised largely of white, unemployed females; the second group consists of scholars from local schools who wish to expand their portfolios in order to be considered for tertiary art courses, such as the Graphic Design course offered at the Natal Technikon. It is within this context that she sees the need to "generate a sense of belonging" (Maggs 1994:interview). Maggs believes that through accessibility to creative processes, the former 'housewife' achieves not only personal stimulation, but also a sense of communality via art.

The above implies that community arts projects may form a creative support group, for those who come from a society in which the creative individual is isolated, and equally for those accustomed to communal creativity.

Consideration should also be given to the collective nature of the work produced within these programmes. The work produced in community arts projects⁵ is often very different from that produced in a formal institution. For example the ceramic wares and textiles produced at Rorke's Drift lend themselves to mass production. Repetitive patterns in textiles and on ceramics differ considerably from the individualised activities, such as easel painting and sculpture, expected of students in institutionally-based fine arts courses⁶. Further community arts activities are often by their very nature distinctive, and may, for example, take the form of a mural, as with the Community Murals Project, or an arts festival, as with Phemba Kahle's involvement in the Pietermaritzburg Spring Arts Festival. The sale of wares to generate income, as at the Ardmere Studios, Rorke's Drift and the AAC, necessitates a degree of mass-production that in turn influences the nature of the work produced. Finally the common incentive may merely be for the individual to work with other participants to gain experience and skills.

van Robbroeck considers the significance of 'cultural democracy' in which everyone has the opportunity to participate in cultural activity. (van Robbroeck 1991:17) In terms of cultural democracy, one is made aware of the cultural dominance that has occurred for so long in South Africa. The art opportunities available in the past have been strictly governed by those State-subsidised institutions providing facilities and tuition, and the bias was almost completely euro-centric.

Lane notes that while much energy in Europe was spent on raising the level of cultural awareness and participation of the majority of the people, the actual content of that culture was never in doubt. He notes that cultural democracy today implies the rejection of the patronising notion of culture, and consequently its replacement by another concept by which culture is defined with reference to the population itself. (Lane 1978:12)

In South Africa it has therefore become imperative to recognise the diversity of cultural

contexts and that South African art institutions, whether they are schools, universities or galleries, address the diverse cultural needs of the people they are serving. This revision has necessitated the inclusion into syllabi (and gallery collections) of Eastern, African and contemporary local art. Those involved in art education and the purchasing of works for public galleries have more recently recognised the need to make rapid changes in their policies to create a new cultural paradigm that reflects South Africa's cultural diversity.

Community arts projects are ideal places to address cultural diversity due to the nature of their teaching programmes, which often consist of short courses or workshops. Individual workshops could therefore concentrate on specific cultural aspects or practice. The informality of the teaching programmes in community arts projects and the relatively intimate size of most projects should, to a certain extent, enables participants to define the direction of certain courses. For example, Faiza Butt an exchange student from Pakistan who was working at the BAT Centre, gave talks on Pakistani art and demonstrations of the Tempera painting technique she uses.

van Robbroeck notes that in the past, the structure of community arts projects in South Africa has to some extent followed a pattern of 'outside'⁷ managerial and administrative dominance. She maintains that in some cases the curricula and structuring of projects have been conceived by management with only some regard for the viewpoints of the participants involved, resulting in systems being sometimes unsuited to the needs of the community being served (van Robbroeck 1991:69). Although this dominance might have been apparent in the past, in the projects I have elected to focus on, co-ordinators have taken steps to invite the participants to contribute to decision-making at most levels.

Mike van Graan anticipates the issue of potential dominance in his definition of community arts projects:

"A community based arts centre could be a centre that; serves a particular community; that is located in a particular community; or that is controlled by a particular community. The ideal situation being a combination of all three."
(van Graan 1994:interview)

In his view it is only when the community itself regulates the actions and decisions of the project, that it can meet the needs and complexities of that community. van Graan thus implies that the role of the 'outsider' should be limited in some way⁸.

'Outsiders' are often unaware of the cultural dynamics and socio-political intricacies of a community of which they are not a part. Ilse Mikula, co-ordinator of the Community Murals Project gives an example of this. During the painting of a certain mural⁹ she found herself in the position of co-ordinating a team of older Zulu men, who found it difficult to respect her direction, as among the older generation it is not customary in Zulu culture for women to hold decision-making roles.

Further, many of the co-ordinators interviewed cited the language barrier as a major factor inhibiting interaction. A case in point being the courses run by the AAC at the Natal Technikon. Anthea Martin, Art Development Director for the AAC has acknowledged this as an unfortunate factor, in that many of the teachers initially involved in the Saturday morning workshops were English-speaking artists, who were training Zulu-speaking participants (Martin 1996:interview). The result was that both parties found it difficult to make themselves understood. Thus to prevent potential dominance or misunderstanding, it is imperative that at least certain members of the management are directly involved in the community, and are aware of the socio-cultural priorities of that community.

The difficulties discussed above should not, however, detract from the importance of inter-cultural interaction in community arts projects. Input from one community into another is vital and inevitable in a multi-cultural society. As previously discussed, the past marginalisation of large sectors of the population has resulted in an imbalance of art education and training. It is therefore important that those who have had access to this training be involved in disseminating their knowledge. This would not only mean that white academically trained artists be involved in training marginalised black artists, but that there be cross-cultural distribution of skills and experience.

Unfortunately projects that are controlled by the members of the community are rare. Rather the tendency is that they are run by a Board of Trustees, and a management team appointed

by the board who are not in fact part of the community that they are serving. In the true sense, a community arts project would be run by members of a particular community, selected by the community, to play that role. A Board of Trustees would therefore need to represent different sectors of that community, drawn from educational institutions, trade unions or women's organisations. Thus most of these structures still have potential for dominance, as they have not yet fully incorporated members of the community, or addressed the problems of defining that community.

In conclusion, a definition of community arts would need to encompass all of the issues discussed so far¹⁰. Thus community arts projects would need to be technical and social support systems that provide training, equipment and facilities for the community that they serve.

These projects would of necessity represent the needs of marginalised communities. Through informal arts training, these projects could also balance out educational underdevelopment, making arts infrastructures available to all.

Ideally community arts projects would be controlled by the people they are serving, but in doing so should not exclude 'outside' participation, as this inter-cultural interaction leads to the plurality that is a seminal part of cultural democracy.

The issue of communality is central to the functioning of community arts projects. This collectivity often influences the work produced in a community arts project, resulting in activities such as mural painting, arts festivals and the sale of works to generate income for both the projects and the artists involved.

1. Definitions of what community arts programmes should entail have been put forward by the co-ordinators involved in specific projects that I have focused on. The emphasis of these definitions, to a large extent, reflects the ideologies upheld by the co-ordinators of the individual projects. It is however, often difficult to distinguish between the co-ordinator's ideology and the actual practice of the projects. In considering the definitions put forward by the co-ordinators of the projects, it is important to take into account the aims and socio-cultural positions of the persons who provide them.
2. It is important at this stage to define the word ideology. The Oxford English Dictionary (1987:495) puts forward this definition:

"A manner of thinking characteristic of a class or individual....ideas at the basis of some economic or political theory or system."

An ideology is therefore a belief system, or a series of premises that the group or individual wish to up hold as an ideal.

3. In South Africa the arts, have in recent decades, been synonymous with political struggle. The 'Peoples Parks' of the eighties were an example of this union, in that while they were creative, community building projects, they carried a strong political message. (van Graan 1990:8-12)
4. The Report of the Community Arts Working Party, June 1974.
5. Very often the work produced in a community arts projects is defined directly or indirectly by the strengths and skills of a particular community. For example the ceramic ware produced both at Rorke's Drift draws on skills used by the people in the area.
6. This is not to say that easel painting and sculpture do not occur within community arts projects.
7. The term 'outsider' refers to those people who are not part of the community that the project is serving. Conversely the term 'insider' will refer to community members.
8. van Graan's definition of community arts projects should not be seen to excluding 'outsiders'. Instead he is merely pointing out that there should be a balance between outside input and community control.
9. Mikula would prefer that the project remain unnamed.
10. This definition is an ideal that may not have been realised by all community arts projects.

CHAPTER TWO

The educational scope of community arts projects in the greater Durban and Pietermaritzburg region

The educational scope of local community arts projects needs to be examined in terms of their current appropriateness and as future alternative educational structures to formally structured institutions, such as schools, technikons and universities. In addition an assessment of funding and employment opportunities that such education would provide will be considered. The introduction of national and regional arts councils has been examined in order to ascertain how they might benefit community arts projects in the future.

In 1993 the Bartel Arts Trust initiated a research project to ascertain the existing training and marketing opportunities available to the arts in the greater Durban and Pietermaritzburg regions. This was done to evaluate the degree to which art education needs are being catered for. The intention was to reach informed conclusions as to the best possible channel for accomplishing BAT's aim of assisting the development of the arts in KwaZulu-Natal. (BAT 1993:3)

The existing facilities were grouped into four main categories:

- 1) state education institutions
- 2) public-funded institutions
- 3) privately funded institutional organisations (including certain community arts projects)
- 4) venues

Although these facilities were evaluated in terms of all the arts, due to the scope of my research I have chosen to concentrate mainly on the analysis of local visual arts projects.

At state institutions, it was found that, although white students had been sufficiently catered for, opportunities for black scholars were severely limited at all educational levels. At primary and secondary levels these limitations consist of a lack of trained staff and facilities needed for art education. At a tertiary level, the lack of primary and secondary training, together with financial restraints, limited the opportunities of disadvantaged scholars.

Public-funded art institutions, such as the Natal Performing Arts Council and Durban Arts, seemed to be eurocentrically biased and generally supported well-established projects.

"Approximately 70 percent of Durban Arts funds for 1992/1993 were allocated to 'recurring arts projects' which receive annual funding. In 1992/1993 they distributed approximately R1,4 million, of which about R1,1 million went to essentially eurocentric¹ projects." (BAT 1993:6)

Privately funded institutions, such as the AAC, the NSA, the Intuthuko Art and Development Centre, to name a few, were found to be less discriminatory, but being privately funded, they often struggled financially.

Venues with equipped studios for visual artists, appeared to be limited to those who had forged 'contacts' with the technikons and universities.

Opportunities for the marketing of visual art were seen to be restricted to the AAC and the NSA gallery, as "commercial galleries generally require such large commissions that they are inaccessible to all but a few recognised artists." (BAT 1993:8) Although rather emphatic, this contention can be substantiated. Commercial galleries such as the Elizabeth Gordon Gallery tend to generally exhibit work by more established artists in that they rely considerably on sales. Where unrecognised artists have exhibited at these facilities, it is normally under the umbrella of a more recognised artist or body of artists, in group-shows. For example an exhibition, in a commercial gallery, of the work produced at the Ardmore studios, would be negotiated by Fee Halsted-Berning, a well-established artist in her own right.

From the Bartel Arts Trust report on arts facilities available in the greater Durban area, there are two areas that need consideration. Firstly, existing arts training and production structures such as the performing arts councils² still seem to be dominated by the white minority. The second area of consideration is the obvious lack of facilities available to the majority of the population. Thus the needs of Natal's present and future artists are under supplied, especially the needs of those people living in the rural and marginalised black urban areas

of KwaZulu-Natal.

As noted previously this imbalance in art education, can be largely seen as a result of years of National Party rule. The Bantu Education Act of 1953 ensured that training in the arts for black South Africans did not proceed beyond primary level. The extent of this imbalance in training, is reinforced by the Draft paper on education that states:

"The funding of education and training has been grossly unequal across the racial and ethnic systems. A century or more, of discriminatory practices entrenched huge disparities in physical facilities, professional services and teaching quality. Access to education and training was severely rationed on a racial and ethnic basis.....resulting in the white adult population being completely literate for generations. By contrast, millions of black adults and youths still have little or no access to education and training. Academic learning has been given a higher status than vocational learning. The two have been strictly separated in education and training systems....with virtually no articulation between them." (Government Gazette 1994:9)

The need for alternate education structures to address this imbalance was therefore seen as imperative.

Due to the prohibitive cost of tertiary education and the lack of finance available to provide access to the arts in places where there has been no arts infrastructure, such as the extensive rural areas in KwaZulu-Natal, Mike van Graan proposes multi-functional arts centres as a primary means of making arts accessible. (van Graan 1994:interview) These community arts centres would serve a variety of functions and "provide access to all of the arts through a creatively constructed and managed building." (van Graan 1994:interview) Ideally these centres would house museum facilities, a library, a gallery, halls for music, theatre and dance productions, a shop for the sale of works produced in the centre, as well as educational facilities such as lecture theatres, studio facilities and classrooms.

As discussed in chapter one, another role that multi-functional community arts centres can

play is that of a social centre in either an urban or rural area. In this capacity a community arts initiative can fulfil a role that no tertiary institution can. Many communities do not even have civic centres. Community arts centres could then function as civic and educational centres, by being accessible to the entire community. The creative consciousness of the community will inevitably be improved. Community arts projects would not only educate the participants involved on a full time basis, but also the general public.

To a large extent, by 1996, the BAT Centre has become a well functioning example of van Graan's vision for multi-functional art centres, providing education and social facilities³ for both the participants of the centre and for the larger Durban community⁴.

Community arts centres could therefore play an important role in fulfilling the diverse cultural needs of a specific community. The ACTAG report (1995:244) defines culture as the expression of a community's identity. It reflects how a certain community thinks and feels about the world around them, both individually and collectively. Community arts centres could be places in which communities could promote and preserve their culture as well as a place where communication can take place between people of diverse cultural backgrounds.

Carey May, former co-ordinator of the AAC, sees the future role of community arts in education as vital in redressing the unnatural and limited growth of creativity in South Africa.

"We are very rich in a heritage that hasn't been 'mined' up till now, due to the lack of physical space and adequate tuition. So we have a rich source but little growth. I see community centres as a means of balancing that out."
(May 1994:interview)

May here refers, once again, to the lack of art training opportunities in the past, which have been available to marginalised sectors of the South African population.

If properly structured, one of the roles that community arts can play in education, would be to form a bridging system between those who have been marginalised at a primary and

secondary level and the more formal institutions such as Universities and Technikons. Ideally, to encourage the reciprocal relationship between community arts and the formal institutions, there should be an accreditation system that would enable secondary students from community arts centres to possibly enter tertiary institutions. Universities, technikons, or colleges such as Ndumiso⁵, could be involved in evaluating courses run at these centres, enabling people to pursue further studies at their institutions.

The idea of community arts in opposition to state institutions no longer pertains, specifically at this point in South Africa's history, when policies of tertiary institutions are rapidly being reformed, and debates entered into regarding the democratization of culture. Thus, Lize van Robbroeck points out that:

"new art forms and cultural institutions only spring up where there is a need for them, clearly community arts centres meet a need which is not being provided by state art institutions, and as such they should be regarded as supplementing the existing cultural arena, rather than threatening or replacing it." (van Robbroeck 1991:25)

Although it is important to retain the informal structure of community arts programmes, it becomes clear, through interviews conducted, that due to the shortage of facilities available to community arts projects, they may need to work in conjunction with formal institutions, at least for an interim period⁶. This would be necessary because within formal institutions there already exists a fully developed infrastructure including equipment, studio space and trained staff.

The ACTAG report comments on the integration of formal and non-formal education sectors in the provision of arts education by noting:

"The importance of both formal and community based education and training must be acknowledged: both sectors contribute to arts education in different and mutually complementary ways...arts educators should be encouraged to capitalise on the different opportunities offered by the two sectors, and to

develop strategies that offer learners mobility between them. Partnership, consultation, advocacy, planning and the sharing of resources are fundamental for the reconstruction and development of arts education." (ACTAG 1995:250)

Val Maggs, former education officer at Midlands Arts and Crafts Society (MACS), reinforces the idea that community arts centres can play a supplementary role to formal art education structures.

"I think any art organisation is important, when you consider what they can actually do, for not only the adult members of their organisation, but also for the schools. Whether it be to enhance art education, or to give the opportunity to scholars that have been deprived of the opportunity to follow art as a career." (Maggs 1994:interview)

This bridging system would obviously be only one of the roles of community arts. However, community arts projects cannot depend too closely on formal institutions, the ideal relationship being that the two bodies work, self-sufficiently, in a reciprocal relationship. If community arts projects were to merge too closely with formal institutions, their positive aspects - their autonomy and informality - would be compromised.

It has thus been established that although a reciprocal relationship between community arts projects and formal institutions can exist, both fulfil very different needs. The main difference is that training in formal institutions is governed by relatively inflexible syllabi, with a largely academic emphasis and a certain level of expectation, whereas in non-formal institutions there is a more flexible teaching programme, which includes pragmatic issues such as marketing and income generation.] 2

Community arts projects should also encourage skills in social interaction, the recreational and the therapeutic aspect of creativity as well as access to skills in basic arts administration, networking and publicity. Besides fulfilling the educational and cultural needs of a specific community, a community arts centre can also be seen to provide employment opportunities,

and generate income in a specific region and community. Thus, community arts centres could be seen as important economic and cultural developmental factors in the KwaZulu-Natal area. } 3

Both formal and non-formal arts education structures need to concentrate on developing programmes that equip students vocationally. The growth of KwaZulu-Natal's art community depends on the ability of the artist to earn a living. An example of the union between fine art and a vocational skill is the work produced at a graphics workshop held by the NSA in 1994. The same skills that were used to make a fine art print during the workshop, can be used in a graphic design studio or textile printing studio. Thus the artist is potentially able to earn an income in two ways, firstly by selling his/her works, and secondly he/she now has acquired a skill enabling employment in any venture where such skills are required. } 4

Courses offered at community arts centres should therefore be pragmatic, providing participants with fundamental skills that would render them employable, or equip them with skills to embark on entrepreneurial ventures of their own. I feel that community arts centres should consider implementing courses that incorporate the many different aspects of arts training. Potential syllabi should therefore include components in fine art, photography, graphic design, textile design as well as courses in administration, basic bookkeeping and marketing. } 5

Income generation is not only important for the independence of the individual artist, but also vital for sustaining the community arts centre itself. The greatest threat to community arts projects is a lack of funding available for their growth. Although the proposed formation of national and regional arts councils, may result in accessing government funding for the support of these programmes, it is not advisable to rely on state funding alone, as the state has other pressing needs. Community arts projects thus have had to look at other ways in which income can be generated for both the individual artist and the centre.

From the case studies chosen for this research there are many examples of ways that arts centres may generate income. The NSA's newly developed gallery space, not only incorporates exhibition space and studio venues, but includes a shop for the sale of local artists' work and a restaurant facility. Part of the income generated by the shop and the

restaurant can therefore be channelled back into both the gallery and the community arts outreach programmes that are run by the NSA. (Wellbeloved 1996:interview) Similarly, the rental of the BAT shop, the Blue Chip Cafe and the exhibition venues that form part of the BAT Centre, generate income for BAT's ongoing workshop programme.

Projects such as Rorke's Drift, the AAC and the Ardmore Studio all generate income through the sale of the works produced through the centres. Although these earnings should ideally provide support to both the community arts programme and the artists involved in the production, this is not always the case. Anthea Martin current co-ordinator of the AAC points out that sometimes the income generated is insufficient to pay the artists well, and in addition pay salaries, cover the overhead costs involved in running an art centre, and develop educational programmes. The AAC thus still needs to rely on outside funding for its educational workshop programme. (Martin 1996:interview)

Fee Halsted-Berning of the Ardmore Studio reinforces the idea that income generation for the artist is crucial. She sees economics as the most important issue in a community arts venture.

"Although students at Ardmore are learning skills that could be acquired in a university ceramics studio, the emphasis at Ardmore is that before a piece is a creative endeavour, the product is a saleable commodity. The idea of the artist being continually dependant on sponsors, institutions or community arts centres must change." (Halsted-Berning 1994:interview)

Although the Ardmore Studios provide employment for the artists involved in the project and generate a considerable income, consideration must be given to the fact that the studio facilities have been provided by Halsted-Berning. The Ardmore Studios are situated on Halsted-Berning's privately owned land and the running costs of the venture have to a large extent been absorbed by the farm. (Halsted-Berning 1995:interview) Thus the Ardmore Studios have to a certain extent been privately funded and the project was not initially self-sufficient.

Community arts projects still need the support of a larger controlling and financial body. persists. Therefore ideally government funds should be made available to community arts projects until such time as the project is developed to a stage where it is able to generate its own income. In his article "Community-based Cultural Education in the Nineties" (1991) van Graan notes that, only when the aesthetic needs and aspirations of a majority are taken seriously and reflected in Government policy and funding allocations, can there be hope of a long term future for community arts projects.

"It is when community-based cultural education is part of a national strategy to develop the cultural life of the nation as a whole, with bias in favour of those who have been marginalised by apartheid, that it will have potential to be effective" (van Graan 1991:105-109)

van Graan is of the opinion that inevitably, if community arts education becomes part of a formal education policy, government funding will be accessed with resultant growth of such projects. He is aware that, in order to offer qualitative education, funds must be made available for the salaries of skilled teachers and administrators. (van Graan 1994:interview)

Many community arts projects in the past have relied on the work of volunteers due to the shortage in funding for the projects. Although the volunteer contribution is invaluable and is often highly skilled, staff in such centres have often been under-qualified for the task of developing and undertaking educational programmes. Lack of skilled co-ordinators, managerial and administrative staff has often resulted in the closure community arts projects. The Pietermaritzburg 'Community Arts Project' (CAP) can be cited as an example of this. Although there were many students involved in CAP, and adequate studio facilities were available, the lack of finance resulted in staff shortages. Thus over and above her position as co-ordinator, Makosi Khosa had to fulfil teaching and administrative duties. Shortage of staff and finance ultimately resulted in its closure at the beginning of 1995. (Khosa 1994:interview)

An important task of the national and regional arts councils should be that of providing some structure to all community arts projects, as one of the factors restricting the growth of

community arts is a lack of unified vision between community arts structures.

Gale Snyman, one of the co-ordinators of The Wentworth Arts and Culture Organisation (WACO) explains the difficulties that she has encountered due to the lack of a regional body that oversees community arts projects and community arts facilities. During 1994 & 1995 WACO had the free use of the Austerville Community Hall. On application of the use of the hall in 1996 WACO was denied free access and was asked to pay R300 per three hour session. Due to their lack of funds WACO was not able to pay this amount. They then approached the BAT Centre for funding for an alternative venue for their community arts project. This was denied as BAT maintained that Austerville already had community facilities. Snyman and others involved in WACO are still unable to gain access to the Wentworth Community Hall. In addition, despite many attempts, Snyman is unable to establish who is in control of the Austerville Community Hall. Thus due to a lack of a regional controlling body, the Austerville Community Hall remains under-utilised and WACO has been forced to run its project from various other venues such as the local schools' halls. This has resulted in a disorganised programme that is unable to expand. (Snyman 1996:interview)

The ACTAG report recognises the development of National co-ordination for arts facilities as crucial in order to overcome fragmentation and duplication⁷ of facilities that has often occurred.

"In the context of cultural diversity and provincial autonomy, the need for national co-ordination of structures and procedures in arts and cultural bodies is vital." (ACTAG 1995:11)

These problems were similarly identified by Junaid Ahmed in his article, "The viability of grassroots cultural organisations" in which he stresses that "in attempting to reconstruct our⁸ position, we have to identify that which weakened us." (Ahmed 1992:50) He sees two main areas that are inhibiting the growth of community arts projects: Firstly a lack of national vision, and the need for a national cultural forum, and secondly the absence of a forum for skills training. Ahmed points out that the work done by community arts projects in the past

has been valuable, but has occurred in isolated pockets, sometimes with unnecessary duplication. Lack of communication and ideological differences has led to reluctance to work together. "It is only through the establishment of a national representative cultural structure that a more unified vision can be accomplished." (Ahmed 1992:50)

Ahmed suggests that this national structure be drawn from regional committees, which are made up of people involved in local community arts projects. The first task of these regional committees would be to interact with both state and other funders for these cultural programmes. This would mean that the regional committees would draw up regional budgets that address perceived needs. Regional councils would also need to formulate project proposals and assess the extent to which potential financial patrons become involved in the projects. (Ahmed 1992:52)

The regional committees would have to ensure that the projects have community credibility in order to be sustained. It would be their responsibility to develop a feedback system with funders to ensure proper control of funds, as well as an equitable distribution of these funds. Their last task would be to develop elements of self sufficiency within community arts projects. Mechanisms to reduce dependence might include involving local industry and business in the projects initiated. (Ahmed 1992:52) Ahmed's proposals have recently been substantiated by ACTAG's call for National and Regional co-ordination of the arts. The ACTAG report also substantiates his vision of extensive staff training programmes for arts education structures.

With regards to his second area of concern, that of skills training, Ahmed feels that:

"It is evident that organisations need to train people in a more vigorous and formalised way - in order to redress some of the imbalances caused by apartheid in our society." (Ahmed 1992:50)

He suggests that this training must be considered on a national level, geared to empowerment and skills training with long term vision. Ahmed sees that training in arts administration would be the first area of concern. Good arts administration encompasses managerial and

financial skills, knowledge of artistic disciplines, as well as sensitivity to both the community in which these structures exist and to the artistic process itself. As arts administration is essential to all organisations, this could perhaps form the basis for funding proposals by all organisations to establish a formalised training centre for arts administrators.⁹ (Ahmed 1992:51) If grassroots cultural organisations are to benefit a community then that process or organisation must enable the community, via training programmes, to fully participate in, or control these projects.

Community arts projects with all their possibilities appear to be the ideal place in which education, income generation and social interaction can take place. If this ideal is realised, community arts will not only play an important role in the future art education in South Africa, but in the development of arts and culture in a broader sense.

In order for this ideal to be realised there are four main areas discussed in this chapter that need to be reconsidered. The first is that access to arts training and production facilities is available to all. This is not yet the case in the KwaZulu-Natal region. As discussed in chapter one, a large percentage of this area is still rural and lacking in basic educational infrastructures. Those structures that do exist are often under utilised and duplication often occurs. The second area that needs consideration is that of funding. Community arts centres and the artists involved in those centres need to look at ways of income generation. In addition it is important for national or regional arts councils to be formed to facilitate the accessing of public sector funds by community arts projects if necessary. The fourth area that needs consideration is the lack of teacher and arts administrator training centres. Insufficient training has resulted in insufficient teachers, arts administrators and community arts co-ordinators. Further, a lack of cohesive structure in many of the existing community arts projects in South Africa, and in particular in KwaZulu-Natal needs to be addressed.

1. The term 'eurocentric' would define arts programmes whether visual arts or dramatic arts that originated in Europe or the West.
2. The ACTAG report points out the differences between future Arts and Culture councils and the Performing Arts Councils.

"The existing Performing Arts Councils are essentially production houses. They are the end-users of State subsidies. This means that they use annual government grants to produce and mount their own drama, music, dance and musical theatre productions.

The National, Regional, Metropolitan and Local Arts and Culture Councils called for by the arts community, are not end users. They are devised to distribute public funds to artists and arts and culture groups in a way that ensures that all of them receive adequate support. This is fundamentally different to the one sided focus of the existing Performing Arts Councils on specific art forms, concentrated in urban areas." (ACTAG 1995:22)

3. These social facilities take the form of a fully functional theatre, and two restaurant and bar facilities, one of which, Funky's Bar, also provides a music venue for the regular appearance of local bands.
4. The BAT Centre exists within a developed urban environment. van Graan states that it is specifically within a rural context that the multi-functional centre would best address the imbalance of educational and cultural facilities. As yet the development of such centres within a rural or marginalised urban area has not been addressed in any substantial way.
5. Ndumiso is a teachers' training college in Pietermaritzburg.
6. Most of those community arts centres that have contact with larger institutions are already turning dependency into co-existence. For example the NSA outreach programme, has up until now been using Natal Technikon studio space, facilities and the assistance from its teaching staff. Commenting on a recent print-making workshop Marlene Wasserman notes:

"What was interesting was that the students were suddenly exposed to a glimpse of the academic world, and the academic world exposed to them. I think that is extremely important, this should be happening at all art centres as intercultural interaction is extremely important." (Wasserman 1994:interview)

This kind of interaction not only facilitates the breakdown of cultural barriers but it may also help to break down the view that all art produced in tertiary institutions is 'mainstream' while art produced elsewhere is 'marginalised'.

The AAC is also often invited to use Natal Technikon facilities. Students of the Pride course, run by the M L Sultan Technikon, exhibited work at the AAC with the intention of exposing new black talent to advertising agencies. (May 1994:interview)

The interaction between formal and informal art education structures often includes teaching exchange programmes. For example Janet Purcell, a lecturer at the Fine Art Department of the University of Durban-Westville was involved with the workshops run by AAC in 1994/1995. An example of these workshops is the Introductory Watercolour Workshop conducted early in 1995. The workshop consisted of a four week course in watercolour techniques aimed at black adult scholars who had not had access to formal educational structures.

7. When duplication means serving the needs of a community then it is acceptable.
8. Ahmed maintains the position of community arts projects in South Africa.
9. Ahmed sees that a prospective syllabus for arts administrators would encompass among other things a basic management, planning and programme development component. He notes that courses in the development of arts policy, including the aesthetic, economic and political responsibility of arts administrators, would be necessary. He feels that arts administrators would need to gain fund-raising skills in order to access a local support structure for the arts. Ahmed notes that in addition to the above, courses in arts and media relationships, in law and the arts, in marketing as well as internship or correspondence programmes with other organisations, would be vital to a comprehensive training programme. (Ahmed 1992:51)

CHAPTER THREE

A study of selected centres in the greater Durban and Pietermaritzburg regions

In order to make a more in-depth and meaningful study of the individual community arts projects, I have elected to focus on some of these which have been grouped together. The divisions are determined by the origins and functions of the projects as defined by the co-ordinators of each project. When assessing the projects in each group, common elements pertaining to those projects will become more apparent. All projects chosen for examination adhere to the broad definition of community arts projects put forward at the beginning of Chapter One.

The first group consists of those projects that have their origins in formal institutions such as universities or galleries. The projects that fall into this category are: Phemba Kahle and the NSA Outreach Programme. It is my intention to emphasise the relationship between formal and non-formal structures with reference to the above mentioned case studies.

The co-ordinators of the second group have placed an emphasis on the generation of income to sustain their projects and communities. The projects that fall into this category are: the Ardmore Studios, Rorke's Drift, and the AAC. Although I will focus on the structure and functioning that enables these projects to be self sufficient, it must be stressed that income generation is not their only aim. All these projects function as education and training facilities as well as emphasizing marketing issues.

In the last group the emphasis of the projects appears to be predominantly on the promotion of local cultural and creative awareness. The projects that fall into this category are: the Community Murals Project, MACS and the BAT Centre. It is within this more diverse group that I hope to discuss factors pertaining to the growth of local community arts projects as a whole. In addition, factors that have hindered the growth of local community arts projects, and those which have strengthened them, will be considered.

Due to the fact that the bulk of this research lies in the examination of the case studies, I

have chosen to divide Chapter Three according to the proposed grouping indicated above. Further, I have divided and will discuss the groups in sub-categories as follows: History of the Projects, Structure in Relation to Decision-Making, Funding Systems, Courses or Programmes Offered, Gender Ratios and Marketing Strategies.

THE FIRST GROUP: Phemba Kahle and the NSA Outreach Programme

The first group to be studied is made up of those centres attached to formal institutions. As noted previously, due to the changing political and educational climate in South Africa many tertiary institutions such as universities, technikons and galleries have identified the need to establish outreach programmes. This has been deemed necessary in order to expand educational opportunities in the arts and thereby increase their accessibility. Thus the objectives of such outreach programmes are to assist emerging artists and art groups, regardless of educational qualification, race or financial status, and to strive for greater involvement with all communities in the region by contributing to their cultural enrichment.

HISTORY OF THE PROJECTS

Both outreach projects originated fairly recently. Their attachment to formal institutions to a large extent defines their structure and operation. A brief historical perspective demonstrates the similarity in origins of the projects studied within the first group.

Initially 'The Visual Arts Centre Trust' (VACT) was established in 1987, on the initiative of Lorna Ferguson, former director of the Tatham Art Gallery, as an offshoot of the 'Friends' of the Gallery (FOTAG). Its purpose was to provide tax relief for any incoming donations, the intention being that these funds were to be utilised for a future and undecided visual arts programme. This goal was achieved. However, the current director, Brendan Bell, maintains that VACT had been formed too hastily, as little research into the functioning of such a project had been done. According to Bell, the gallery is now in the unfortunate position of being answerable to the conditions of the trust, one of those being that the Visual Art Centre would have to adhere to a structured syllabus when introducing a teaching programme.

"If we are going to use the VACT legally, we are going to have to run courses with a proper syllabus. The problem is that ideas for the program were imposed before any research was done." (Bell 1994:interview)

Despite the initial problems encountered, the old Presbyterian church that forms part of the gallery precinct has been converted into a venue for a community arts project which is known as Phemba Kahle. The envisaged purpose of this project is to function as a visual arts training centre and exhibition venue.

At the beginning of 1995 the Tatham appointed Fred Kockett as co-ordinator of the project. Since its inception Phemba Kahle has been host to a number of art exhibitions aimed at promoting local artists, examples being the "One Nation Many Cultures Exhibition" 1995 and 1996 and a local schools' art exhibition run concurrently with the 1995 Pietermaritzburg Spring Arts Festival. The exhibition programme for 1996 is to end with the "Ngezandla Zethu Exhibition" which is to focus entirely on unknown artists. In addition to the ongoing exhibition programme Phemba Kahle has run numerous workshop projects, both at the centre and as outreach projects. These will be discussed in more depth when the workshop programmes relating to the first group are discussed.

The Natal Society of Arts (NSA) was founded in 1905. Based in Durban, it is an organisation aimed at promoting the visual arts in KwaZulu-Natal and is one of the oldest established centres for the promotion of visual arts in the country. The NSA Gallery was established in 1966 and has in recent years played host to an average of twenty two exhibitions per year, providing artists with an inexpensive showcase for their work and the community with a venue where art is accessible. (Promotional pamphlet:1995)

According to Marlene Wasserman, a member of the NSA committee and co-ordinator of the NSA outreach programme, the NSA realised the need for an outreach project at the end of 1991.

"We were starting to make money out of the shop and we felt that, because we are in a sense a community organisation, we should use this money

accordingly. We needed to put money into the community in more ways than just the gallery, which is a bit exclusive and to which not everyone has access. The outreach program is thus a result of a conscious decision by the gallery committee." (Wasserman 1994:interview)

The programme was initiated by Jeff Chandler with Marlene Wasserman as co-ordinator. A budget was then allocated by the NSA Gallery for the starting of the Amawhele and King George V Hospital outreach classes, to name a few. The success of these classes had resulted in outside funding and interest. This together with the income generated by the gallery shop, has resulted in sufficient funding for the establishment of an art complex which incorporates a gallery, a craft shop, a restaurant facility and both teaching and studio spaces.

In addition to the current outreach programmes, that will be discussed in more depth in this chapter, the intention is to introduce art programmes at the new NSA Gallery. These are to be both vocational and creative and will address educational disparities and cater for those who do not have access to formal education in the arts (Wasserman 1994:interview).

STRUCTURE IN RELATION TO DECISION-MAKING

Because of their attachment to well established formal institutions, the structuring of these community art projects takes one of two directions. Either decisions are made by a board of trustees of the existing institution or by sub-committees that are formed within the institution to deal with the structure and running of the outreach programmes.

Phemba Kahle is linked to the Tatham Art Gallery's Board of Trustees that administers and manages the affairs of the Gallery as a whole. A separate committee for the arts project, which is in the process of being formed, is then to liaise with the Gallery's Board of Trustees. Bell comments on the proposed Phemba Kahle committee as follows:

"If possible, I would like to see input come from below into that committee, which is really representative of the project's participants. The committee would obviously have limits and would need to maintain certain standards."

(Bell 1994:interview)

The NSA on the other hand, has an executive committee, with Marlene Wasserman coordinating the outreach programme. She has formed a sub-committee which consists mainly of teachers involved in the programme. Problems arising are discussed after which they are conveyed to the NSA committee.

In most community arts projects attached to larger institutions, the governing institutions see the need for participation from the people directly involved in the project, at both an informal as well as at a committee level. Marlene Wasserman claims that the former problems, at other institutions, have occurred due to a lack of understanding of what the communities needs really are.

"When one talks about disadvantaged members of the community, there are so many things that we take for granted, that we do not have the sensitivity, or sensibility to know the answers to. We can only get those answers from the participants, through direct communication with them." (Wasserman 1994:interview)

While I feel that input from the participants is necessary to a certain degree, I believe that there is a delicate balance between participants contributing to a project, and a project being run by the participants. Ideally participants would be continually moving through the project, therefore the project cannot indefinitely depend on their input. It is important to maintain community arts projects as structures that are available to individuals within a community to participate in the courses offered in order to acquire training, or to use the facilities in order to produce art. In some ways it would ultimately be counter-productive if participants became too involved in the politics of running the project. Professionals should be employed solely for that purpose¹. This is an ideal that, to a certain extent, has been reached in other projects such as at the BAT Centre.

FUNDING SYSTEMS

The main source of funding in this first group is the 'parent' institution. In the case of Phemba Kahle the Pietermaritzburg City Council funded the alteration costs of the centre. The initial running costs, that include Fred Kockett's salary, have been borne by the Tatham Art Gallery and by funds raised by FOTAG. (Bell 1994:interview)

The NSA Outreach Programme is partly funded by the NSA Gallery and through sponsorship from large companies for specific projects. For example, the print-making workshop that was held by the NSA Outreach Programme in 1994, was sponsored by the Creative Arts Foundation. (Wasserman 1994:interview)

As the 'parent' institution is generally provincially funded, most of these outreach projects are thus indirectly similarly funded. This dependence on state funding is necessary as a temporary measure, as these projects are all fairly new and have not yet established themselves sufficiently to generate adequate income and be self-supportive. It was stressed by almost all involved in such projects, that continued reliance on this funding is not ideal and that ways to make these projects self-sufficient are being sought. The advantage of this support is that, initially, these projects have immediate security and can maintain a sense of continuity. Wasserman comments:

"Perhaps when the community arts project is more established, any revenue that we receive through sale of works produced could be used as a source of funding. One of the aims with the print-making workshop held at the Natal Technikon, was to have an exhibition where the works would be sold. The money brought in through this exhibition, would then be variously channelled back into the workshop and to the individual artists." (Wasserman 1994:interview)

Bell notes that Phemba Kahle's exhibition space is earning some income for the project by taking a percentage of sales at exhibitions (Bell 1996:interview). However currently a mere 10% is charged, which is probably too low for any significant income generation. If revised,

this could be one of the ways in which Phemba Kahle could gain a greater degree of financial autonomy.

Due to the emphasis that both co-ordinators have placed on the educational role of these projects, they were reluctant to limit access to the courses by putting too many financial restraints on the participants. Thus both Bell and Wasserman have considered a 'trade-off' or 'barter' system.

Bell anticipates that whereas the Tatham would have to pay the majority of Phemba Kahle's running costs, he sees ways of alleviating some of these costs through a 'barter' system. He gives two examples:

"In the case of community sculpture, we might provide the teacher, but the students, as a group, can organise the materials. It is that kind of 'barter' or 'trade-off' system that I think we might see more of in the future. Thus it is not necessarily money that is the issue. For example, we might propose to teach a certain student how to paint if, in return, they could teach a group a skill that they have, such as weaving." (Bell 1994:interview)

This system could ensure greater community participation regardless of the individuals financial restraints.

The NSA Outreach Programme has had difficulties in considering a fee structure for courses offered. Wasserman sees that it is important for participants to contribute something to the project. This could take the form of money or perhaps the donation of work to be sold in order to recuperate money spent by the project on training.

There are three central reasons why participant contribution is important. Firstly, community arts projects are not in the financial position to offer these facilities free of charge. Secondly, it is important not to promote dependence. Finally, there is a need to promote entrepreneurial skills in participants, which will be vital to them once they leave the project.

The cost of running such projects is high and cannot be absorbed totally by the parent institution. In view of this, I feel that numerous means of generating income need to be considered.

The new NSA complex has incorporated both income generation and their outreach projects successfully. As noted in Chapter Two, the income raised by the restaurant facility and the NSA shop has helped to fund their community arts projects.

Phemba Kahle however, needs to consider more viable ways to generate income to supplement the costs of its workshop programme. Siphwe Mkhize, project facilitator, points out that local business has been approached for sponsorship of certain projects (Mkhize 1996:interview). For example, Phemba Kahle have in 1995 & 1996 held the "Abaqambi Bonculo" musical instrument-making workshop for which they needed sponsorship. They approached Acra, a local aluminium recycling firm, for support. In return for financial assistance, Acra was given extensive publicity, both in the press and throughout the 1995 and 1996 Pietermaritzburg Spring Arts Festivals, during which the workshop was held. Although the relationship between community arts projects and local business is desirable, it should not be relied on solely for income generation.

COURSES OR PROGRAMMES OFFERED

The projects in the first group clearly have arts education and training as a top priority. The courses' main emphasis is on providing access to art education for those who have been denied this in the past. Bell stresses that when structuring a programme one cannot afford to be prescriptive. However, at Phemba Kahle's inception he envisaged that the project would be both a visual arts training centre, as well as providing a space that is available for the exhibition of work by local artists. (Bell 1994:interview)

Phemba Kahle has to date functioned more than adequately as an exhibition venue. However, the training workshops that have been offered, have seemed to focus more on the performing arts than on the visual arts. The workshop programme in 1996 has thus included "Songs For Peace" a choral development programme and the "Abaqambi Bonculo" musical

instrument-making project, to name a few. In my opinion the lack of emphasis on the visual arts training programme is a result of one main factor, that being that both Mkhize's and Kockett's strengths lie in music and the performing arts and not in the visual arts. In order to expand the visual arts educational role perhaps Phemba Kahle and the Tatham Art Gallery need to consider incorporating a visual arts co-ordinator.

The NSA Outreach Programme on the other hand, has several existing visual arts workshops. Due to the fact that until recently there has been no permanent venue for the development of a community arts project, these workshops have taken the form of outreach programmes. At present there are five outreach programmes conducted by the NSA: The Marianhill Street-Wise Project, The Umlazi Place of Safety - Amawhele, The Sinethemba Place of Safety in St George's Street, Wylie House, and The Children's Ward at King George V TB Hospital in Overport.

The Marianhill Street-Wise Programme involves children who are resident at the Old Mill, near the Marianhill Mission complex. This programme was initiated by Sister Helena (CPS) Congregatio Pretiosi Sanguinis - Congregation of the Precious Blood, and subsequently assisted by two British persons, Lynne Howey and Paul (surname unknown), who expressed interest in initiating a visual arts project. They contacted the NSA in 1993 to discuss their ideas. The NSA subsequently arranged funding for the project. The programme was launched with a mural in which all the children participated. The programme incorporates regular tuition in painting, craft and wire work and holiday workshops have included sand-sculpture at local beaches. Although the programme itself is structured and consistent, attendance unfortunately fluctuates.

The Umlazi Place of Safety - Amawhele is a programme established four years ago. This programme was also launched with a mural project in which the children participated. The programme now consists of Saturday morning art and craft classes in Umlazi. The teachers have been drawn from the Natal Technikon Teacher Training Programme and all are Zulu speakers. The teachers are employed on an alternating basis in order to provide them with more experience in teaching at this level.

The Sinethemba Place of Safety in St George's Street in central Durban is relatively new. Two teachers are involved in a weekly visual arts course. In addition, Mike Graaf, a resident at Sinethemba is involved in the programme.

Wylie House caters for abused girls. The NSA programme there consists of Saturday morning visual arts courses run by art graduates from the Natal Technikon. Wasserman stressed that the programme is not to be considered an art therapy programme, but instead creates an environment that encourages creative output and visual literacy. In addition the social interaction which occurs benefits the participants.

The NSA has a programme that runs on Wednesdays and Saturdays at The Children's Ward at King George V TB Hospital in Overport. As with the other programmes, the programme consists of visual arts and crafts courses, and aims at similar outcomes as outlined above.

There was some concern among co-ordinators interviewed, as to who should design the courses available in community arts projects. Most co-ordinators indicate that the choice of co-ordinator is particularly important in that he/she should be sensitive to the needs of the community they are serving. Courses should ideally be designed noting input from the 'parent' institution, the co-ordinator of the project, the teachers and the participants involved.

It is important to consider the content of courses offered at community arts projects. These should ideally cover a wide range of disciplines, with as many approaches to these disciplines as possible. For example, in conjunction with the usual visual arts components of print-making, painting, sculpture and ceramics, courses could include copyright law, computer generated design and arts administration. This would extend vocational opportunities for students on leaving the project.

While the issue of education in community art projects is of great importance, failure to gain a recognised qualification or vocational skills may render the participant unemployable. It is in light of this that community arts projects associated with institutions are considering some form of accreditation.

Bell comments: "I think some sort of acknowledgement of the skills acquired is essential, if one is meeting a need, but I don't know if the need exists." (Bell 1994:interview) As a result of her experience with a print-making workshop held at the Natal Technikon in 1994, Wasserman suggests that there is a need for accreditation, at least on the side of the participants, acknowledging that the participant has completed a certain course and has in the process acquired skills. She also therefore seems to imply that recognition should be given to tutors.

Ideally the relationship that exists between formal institutions and their community outreach projects, could facilitate the possible progression of project participants into the universities and technikons depending on the skills and proficiency acquired.

GENDER RATIOS

The largely urban location of community arts projects in this group has an impact on the ratio of men to women attending the projects. In urban areas the full-time students involved in community arts projects are generally black males. When asked about gender ratios in the adult workshops that Wasserman has been involved with, she notes:

"There are not many females involved in such programs, which I find odd because if you look at the tradition of craft in African communities it is dominated by females. In talking with members of other community programmes it seems to be that meetings are only attended by the males, which goes back to African community structure. When one has an opinion about anything, it would be the male that voices that opinion." (Wasserman 1994:interview)

Wasserman's comment that the tradition of craft in African communities is dominated by women, is debateable. It may be more correct to say that the production of material culture in the region is the domain of both men and women. Wasserman does however account for the gender imbalance in urban-based community art projects by introducing the notion of male dominance. Other factors such as domestic duties might prevent women from

participating in such projects.

MARKETING STRATEGIES

The co-ordinators interviewed considered the marketing of participant's work to be of paramount importance. Not only was it seen as providing an income for the project and the individuals involved, but participant's familiarity with the process of marketing was also considered imperative.

Both Phemba Kahle and the NSA Outreach Programme have marketing facilities. Bell notes:

"I think one thing that could make the church (Phemba Kahle) unique is that there is no other commercial gallery in Pietermaritzburg, no real commercial outlet for an artist who wants to have an exhibition. We don't have the Goodman Gallery or the NSA Gallery. So this centre might end up filling that gap." (Bell 1994:interview)

Bell, however, stresses that it should not be the sole responsibility of the co-ordinator of the project to market participants' work.

THE SECOND GROUP: The Ardmore Studio, Rorke's Drift, and the African Art Centre (AAC)

The second group that I have examined consists of arts projects that are now running as business ventures in that they rely on the sale of the works produced to generate income. These projects were not originally only intent on income generation, but through successful structuring they are now in the position to be seen as businesses. As the three projects that I have grouped together in this category have very diverse origins, I feel that it is important to examine the origins in order to have a greater understanding of how they have come to be self-sufficient.

HISTORY OF THE PROJECTS

The Ardmore Studio developed as a result of Winterton artist Fee Halsted-Berning's need for practical assistance and to generate an income. Halsted-Berning felt that by using the facilities that already existed on her farm (Ardmore), she could establish and train a group of people to produce saleable ceramic wares. (Halsted-Berning 1995:interview) Bonnie Ntshalintshali was the first to be trained. By 1987-88 Ntshalintshali's sister Zola Ntshalintshali, Punch Shabalala and Mavis Shabalala had joined the Ardmore studio. Initially those working at the studio were farm or domestic workers. Progressively their friends from neighbouring farms joined the studio. Presently these include people from the nearby locations, and from as far afield as Greytown. (Halsted-Berning, 1995:interview)

The establishment of the Ardmore studio has thus enabled rural people in the area to learn valuable skills in ceramics, while at the same time earning an income. The Ardmore Studio is therefore not only a centre for income generation but also an important centre for ceramic training.

As is the case with many community driven ventures the Ardmore Studio developed in what Halsted-Berning called a "rather haphazard way," and has been stimulated considerably by a receptive market. (Halsted-Berning 1995:interview)

In contrast to this, Rorke's Drift which was initiated by the Swedish based Evangelical Lutheran Mission in 1962, developed according to a clearly defined set of objectives. It was decided that an art and craft centre should be established in Natal, the aims of which were as follows:

"To nurture the unique artistic heritage of Africa.

To extend, with new influences, this heritage so that it will find its rightful place in changing society.

To ensure that it grows with the changes in society and that its products will find increasingly profitable outlets.

To assist in raising the standard of living by extending its teaching influence, especially in the workshops, where employment is created for local people."

(Le Roux 1987:2)

An arts centre was thus ultimately set up at Rorke's Drift, and the courses offered included domestic science, an advisor course in art and craft, weaving and later textile-printing, pottery and fine arts. The fine arts course was established in 1973 but was unfortunately disbanded in 1982 as a final result of lack of co-ordination. Elizabeth Rankin notes that the emphasis, since the closure of the fine art school, was once again on craft production, with which Rorke's Drift began. There was one major difference, in that, it was no longer a "pedagogical mission venture", (Rankin 1991:114) but an independent establishment, run by members of the community.

Rorke's Drift has nonetheless suffered without a full time co-ordinator both in terms of productivity and quality and has placed unreasonable expectations on producers. It is only recently that Rev. Zulu has taken over as project co-ordinator. (Martin 1996:interview) As stated earlier in the chapter I consider it unrealistic to expect participants to be productive as well as being solely responsible for the day to day managing of community art projects, unless they are trained specifically to do so. The task of co-ordinating such projects is a full time job requiring skills in financial administration, marketing and management.

The AAC was founded in 1959 by Jo Thorpe and was developed in 1960 as a project of the

anti-apartheid organisation, the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR). It was seen by the SAIRR as a means of preserving and developing the art and craft of black South Africans at a time when traditional African arts and crafts were largely devalued and ignored and when aspiring black artists who had assimilated western influences (such as Rorke's Drift artists) had little access to developmental and marketing opportunities.³ A further purpose of the art centre was to promote inter-cultural interaction in defiance of segregationist state policy. (May 1995:interview)

Initially the focus of the AAC was as a marketing venture with no envisaged teaching component or a surplus income generation. In recent years however the AAC has seen the need to introduce education and training facilitation in addition to its marketing function. This was particularly requested by many participants over the years, and was again clearly articulated at the 1993 'Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow Conference.' (Martin 1996:interview)

The AAC proved to be most successful in its ability to locate, attract and support talented individuals and new craft projects. In 1984 the art centre became a wholly autonomous self-supporting development project and was registered under Section 21 of the Companies Act as a company not for gain. Situated in the Guildhall Arcade in the city centre of Durban, the AAC is accessible to both artists and craft workers, as well as the public. A guiding principal of the centre is to shift public opinion and artists' self perceptions away from a concept of 'curios for tourists' towards a focus on local black art as an authentic, creative, cultural expression in its own right. Although its institutional base is located in a gallery and shop, the centre's primary function is as a development agency. (May 1994:interview)

Thus not only is the history of these three projects very diverse but the structure, running and marketing policies of these projects also differs widely. Their commonality however lie rather in their allied educational and commercial emphases.

STRUCTURE IN RELATION TO DECISION-MAKING

Halsted-Berning is the central co-ordinator of the Ardmore Studio. She makes most of the

decisions with regard to the training of the participants, the distribution of funds and marketing of work produced. She has employed Phineas Mveli as studio manager who is responsible for the day to day running of the studio. The participants at Ardmore receive a percentage⁴ of the profits on the pieces that they have made, while the remaining income is utilised for replenishing materials and the studio's operational costs. If any new decisions are to be made within the centre, Halsted-Berning calls a meeting with the participants where relevant issues are discussed. Halsted-Berning gives an example:

"We have just had a discussion about the amount of work produced, our rate of production was not keeping up with our rate of sales. So what we did was set up a kind of competition which entailed a bonus for extra work done in the months before Christmas. It seems that the rate of production has improved."
(Halsted-Berning 1994:interview)

This kind of discussion can stimulate production as well as generate a sense of collective involvement which is one of the central aspects of community arts projects.

Although Ardmore fulfils most of the functions of a community arts project, it appears that the dominant control and incentive was, until recently, held by Halsted-Berning. Her initial aims were to increase her income (Halsted-Berning 1995:interview), whereas Rorke's Drift sets out as one of its initial aims, the nurturing of South Africa's unique artistic heritage (Le Roux 1987:2). Despite these diverse origins, both centres seem to presently function in a similar way in that production is largely controlled by the participants.

The structure and management at Rorke's Drift has changed since the initial years when it was under the auspices of the Swedish mission. Initially the centre was controlled by a board of management, that included representatives from the Lutheran church and the Institute of Race Relations, together with staff representatives, the financial administrator and the manager of Rorke's Drift. Since the retirement of Goran Skoglund in August 1989 and until recently, no new manager was appointed. Thus the day to day control has been the responsibility, until recently, of the financial administrator Princess Ngcobo and the supervisors of the three main areas of production, namely, pottery, weaving and textile-

printing. Thus Rankin was able to claim in her article 'Rorke's Drift Today' that "No manager is required to encourage productivity and control quality: the people are at work because the success of the centre is a joint venture." (Rankin 1991:114)

Although Princess Ngcobo's position at Rorke's Drift was officially that of financial director, upon the retirement of Goran Skoglund, she took over most of the managerial duties at the centre. When assessing the difficulties that Rorke's Drift experienced upon Ngcobo's departure, Rankin's statement may not hold true which has necessitated the appointment of Rev. Zulu as manager of the centre. (Martin 1996:interview)

The AAC has a Board of Directors which oversees the management and running of the centre. There is an Annual General Meeting which is attended by 12 directors. At this meeting the financial reports are covered and details of planning for the year are discussed. The 12 directors are divided into different committees such as a development committee, an exhibitions committee, an education committee and the management committee that controls and runs the centre. Each committee makes decisions in their area of specialisation. In addition to the annual meeting the AAC has a monthly meeting of the management committee that deals with the day to day running of the centre. This management committee consists of the Chairperson and the Vice-Chairperson of the Board of Directors, the Art Development Director (Anthea Martin), the Administration and Financial Director (Cynthia Pitt), the Shop Manager (Hlengi Dube) and the Assistant Sales Manager (Nocuthula Dlamini). (Martin 1996:interview) Other support has been given to the AAC voluntarily, by various persons and in particular, by Jo Thorpe, the founder of the centre, who was, until her death in 1995, engaged in documenting its history.

At the 'Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow' conference held at the Plaza Hotel in Durban April 1993 for both participants and administrators involved in the AAC, many participants expressed dissatisfaction with the management. The participants questioned their non-involvement in decision-making and financial control. Issues such as the pricing of their work, the sponsorship of materials and the payment 'up front' for their work were discussed. Many comments on the participants' expressed desire to contribute to the centre more actively by saying "I think if the artists understood the difficulty with the bookkeeping they would

probably then say no, this is not actually what they intended." (May 1994:interview) Although May foresees the difficulties that arise when the administrative burden falls on participants untrained in administrative skills, her statement disregards their request to become more involved with the managerial aspects of the centre.

FUNDING SYSTEMS

Although all three projects are now self-sustaining, to begin with they were all dependant on outside funding.⁵ The running costs of all three centres are now largely covered by the income generated by the centres. At Ardmore the cost of clay, glazes, studio space and marketing costs are covered by a percentage of the profit on each item sold. (Halsted-Berning 1995:interview) Most of the work at the AAC is bought on a consignment basis thus little outlay is needed. The less costly items like the baskets and beadwork, as well as the Rorke's Drift carpets are paid for in cash. (May 1994:interview)

COURSES OR PROGRAMMES OFFERED

Although income generation is of concern in these three projects this is not their only function. In addition, all three projects offer training for their participants. The training is not, however, as structured as that in the first group. Instead the system of teaching or training entails either an apprenticeship, as is the case at the Ardmore Studio and Rorke's Drift, or is based on workshops or seminars, as at the AAC.

Individuals who join the Ardmore Studio acquire skills in ceramics through an informal apprenticeship by watching Ntshalintshali or any of the other experienced ceramists. Certain skills will obviously be specifically taught, but new students are the responsibility of the studio as a whole and not of an individual teacher, employed solely to teach.

Similarly at Rorke's Drift, since the closure of the fine art school in 1982, there has been no formal training. Instead "there is....a system of informal apprenticeship (that ensures) that there is always a plentiful supply of talent and skill." (Rankin 1991:114)

The AAC differs slightly, in that while the majority of the artists that supply work to the centre are not formally trained, workshops are run by the centre for those who wish to participate. The centre has run print-making workshops up at Caversham Press a graphics studio run by Malcolm Christian (a skilled graphic artist) in the Natal Midlands, as well as a woodcarving workshop held at the Natal Technikon. Painting and sculpture courses⁶ are run under the auspices of the AAC every Saturday at the Natal Technikon. These classes were started in 1993 and cater for young adults between the ages of 16 to 25. "Our centre is involved with supporting professional artists and trying to advance their skills." (May 1994:interview) The AAC does not provide studio space but it is a resource centre for the students in other ways. For example, the workshops offered by the AAC are free and the centre provides the materials needed for the duration of the workshop. Thus in addition to earning an income and being supplied with facilities, participants at these three centres have the benefit of interacting with other participants and professional artists, and in the process acquire considerable new skills.

Due to the fact that the training at the three centres is on an ad-hoc or intermittent basis, the participants do not receive any qualifications⁷, although Halsted-Berning maintains that the ceramic skills learnt at the Ardmore Studio such as throwing, glazing and firing techniques, are equal to those acquired in any private or tertiary institution based ceramic studio. university. She has however considered awarding certification to acknowledge the level of proficiency acquired, should artists wish to leave Ardmore. (Halsted-Berning 1995:interview) Halsted-Berning is also known to attract students from such institutions as well as less-skilled ceramists to both assist her and further their training in the process.

Although the art produced in these centres consists mainly of utilitarian pieces such as beadwork, ceramic ware and woven carpets, the work is highly regarded and has been incorporated into local and national gallery collections. Certain of the artists involved in these projects, for example Bonnie Ntshalintshali and Josephine Ghesa, almost exclusively produce sculptural ceramic pieces and have acquired prestigious reputations.

Work that enters the AAC is diverse, encompassing both craft and 'high art' objects. Caery May comments that when selecting pieces:

"We will try and advance any type of art to be more original and innovative. We would look for either a traditional beer pot or strainer that has got some history to it, or we would encourage artists to go one step further and make the Hlabisa baskets which are regarded as a form of fine art because of colour design and work involved. We try and move people on to the principle of exploring their imagination, to do very finely crafted polished work, so that quality and individuality become important factors. The more they put into the innovation the more money they will be paid for the piece. We try to show them the relationship between marketing and creativity." (May 1994:interview)

GENDER RATIOS

In comparison to those urban-based projects studied in the previous group, the ratio of women to men in rural community arts projects seems to be far greater.

The fact that all three projects in this group draw on people that are rurally based⁸, may account for the increased proportion of women involved in these projects. Halsted-Berning accounts for the predominance of women involved at the Ardmore Studio by the fact that there is little work available to women in the Winterton area which is mainly a rural farming area. "We have had a lot of women who would be otherwise unemployed coming to us." (Halsted-Berning 1995:interview) Caery May suggests that the problems of domestic labour reduce the womens' ability to participate as fully as men in urban centres. She accounts for the lack of black women artists in urban projects by suggesting that "perhaps it is a cultural restraint, to be a woman artist may be seen as a frivolous pastime, when she should be attending to domestic affairs." (May 1994:interview) This comment re-iterates Wasserman's earlier statement. This is borne out by both Halsted-Berning and May who have observed that during house-building season in early winter, the production levels of the women drop as they are engaged in domestic duties such as harvesting, thatching and maintenance, which includes renovating the mud walls of their homes.

MARKETING STRATEGIES

Participants in these three projects are largely making a living from their work. This obviously depends on the production and sale of works as few participants earn a fixed salary⁹. Both the Ardmore Studio and the AAC exhibit artists work on a consignment basis, thus once the work is sold the artists receive a percentage of the profits. Most of the work produced at Rorke's Drift is sold directly to the public or at other local or international outlets.

Halsted-Berning exhibits the participants' work both at the Ardmore Studio and at her new farm, nearer Pietermaritzburg which forms part of the Midlands Meander. In addition to this she has established other national and international sales outlets in Germany and America.

The AAC functions as a shop. Consignment works are marked up by 25 percent, while other items such as the beadwork have a greater mark up. Generally the artist will receive the greater percentage on works sold. May comments that the centre finds it difficult to strike a balance between financially benefitting the artists and ensuring a rapid turnover by keeping prices reasonable. The AAC works very closely with the artists in pricing the work, and in this way simultaneously provides marketing skills. (May 1994:interview) The AAC also encourages their participants to sell privately or through other structures. The centre does however ask for first option on specific pieces, but would prefer the artists to expand their markets so as not to become too dependant on it.

The participants at all three centres have little formal education and are generally self-taught. The Ardmore studio has approximately 45 artists supplying ceramic wares, although on average there are only 10-15 people who work in the studio on a daily basis. The AAC has up to 300 artists supplying them with work. The majority of artists assisted by the AAC, the Ardmore Studio and Rorke's Drift come from the deprived and marginalised black sectors of South African society. In an interview with Caery May, she explained the role that the AAC plays in the artists lives:

"Very few of these people have formal employment and many have had little

or no education. In the context of a region with massive unemployment and very few employment opportunities for school leavers entering the job market, these people have become increasingly dependant on the sale of their art and craft works as their major source of income generation. Such creative work does more than contribute to their financial self sufficiency. It also empowers them by allowing them to recapture the dignity of their own cultural history which has been largely ignored and devalued, and gives them a legitimate sense of contributing to the cultural richness of the society." (May 1994:interview)

Marketing is thus considered an area of great importance in these three projects. The need to generate income to sustain the projects, as well as the participants' dependence on the sale of their work relies on efficient marketing practice.

THIRD GROUP: the Community Mural Project, the Midlands Arts and Crafts Society (MACS) and the Bartel Arts Trust Centre (the BAT Centre)

The third Group to be studied consists of community arts projects that have been developed to expand local arts opportunities.

HISTORY OF THE PROJECTS

The Community Murals Project was initiated by Terry Ann Stevenson. Her first commission came from the Valley Trust, in 1987, and it was also there that she worked with artist Thami Jali on painting other murals. She was later joined by Ilse Mikula. Mikula stressed that "the Community Murals Project started off on a very experimental basis. We were learning as we went along. We kept the project very low-key (at a grassroots level) and in fact that was the nicest way to get involved, rather than coming from a high expectation level." (Mikula 1994:interview)

The project was only formalised once they were approached by the Lawyers for Human Rights to do a mural at the old Durban prison. "It was then we started to realise that there was a gap in the market and we decided to fill that gap." (Mikula 1994:interview) Many community arts projects have grown in this ad hoc way.

MACS is a private, non-profit making organisation established in 1984. In 1987 it secured premises at a Council house at 28 Prince Alfred Street, Pietermaritzburg, where a community arts project was set up. Although MACS has never been racially discriminatory, it tends to cater mainly for the white middle-class sector of the population in the greater Pietermaritzburg area. The tenure of MACS house with good studio and exhibition space and the ongoing programmes offered, have established MACS as a strong link with other art-related Cultural and Educational Organisations in Pietermaritzburg and surrounding areas.

The Bartel Arts Trust came into being in 1992 when Mr Hugo Bartel bequeathed a sum of money for arts development in the region. The two trustees, Paul Mikula and Dick Breytenbach, envisaged the creation a structured programme in order to best utilise the Trust

funds. They appointed Jenny Whitehead to undertake research to ascertain the major needs of the wider Durban arts community. Based on that research they identified infra-structural needs: "people needed space, people needed equipment and that people needed resources to be able to create art." (van Graan 1994:interview) The BAT organisers identified that the establishment of an arts centre was the best way to serve the needs of the greater Durban area, by providing access to studio space, resources and equipment.

Before securing the BAT premises at the Durban harbour, the Bartel Arts Trust financially assisted emerging art projects, such as those in Cleremont and Umlazi, as well as providing funding for individual artists. That role may have diminished to some extent since the establishment of the BAT Centre. It is, however, still the intention of the Trust to provide financial support for some external projects. (van Graan 1994:interview)

STRUCTURE IN RELATION TO DECISION-MAKING

The structure of the third group of projects relies largely on volunteer work, the BAT centre being the exception due to the large amount of money that has been invested in the project and their ability to pay co-ordinators and assistants. The Community Murals Project and MACS regularly experience financial difficulties. These projects are fulfilling a great need within the community, but the reliance on volunteer work cannot continue indefinitely. The staff need to be remunerated in order to ensure their services and maintain continuity and excellence in the projects. To this end state assistance is sorely needed.

Besides the input of Terry Ann Stevenson and Ilse Mikula, the Community Murals Project, has a core of artists that assist in projects. These artists come from the greater Durban community but also often include students from the Natal Technikon Fine Art Department. Mikula sees the production of murals as similar to workshops. She has a long term plan for the project, and envisages that it should run as an art project with two facilitators who do the fund-raising, together with a small group of artists who are tutors. The tutors would then give the "workshops" which in effect constitute the commissioned murals. As Mikula explains, funding assistance would ensure continuity and structure in the Community Murals Project:

"We do want to ultimately work with the Bartel Arts. We are trying to get an office at the BAT Centre, and run the project more as an agency, in that way the more talented people we find through the murals could become involved in other projects through BAT. Unfortunately projects such as ours ultimately do need to be subsidised, in order to have some sort of security and structure. The participants cannot dedicate themselves to the project because the work is so irregular." (Mikula 1994:interview)

MACS is run by a Committee. Major decisions are taken by the Committee, while the internal running of the project is the responsibility of an Education Officer, who reports back to the Committee. Educational issues are worked out by the officer and two other members of the Committee, and together these form an educational sub-committee.

The BAT centre has two trustees (Paul Mikula and Dick Breytenbach). The introduction of a fully functional advisory board is still envisaged. At present there is a temporary advisory committee consisting of the Centre Manager (Vusi Mchunu), the Administration Manager (Rohona Heslop), the Projects Manager (Philipa Huntly) and the Bookkeeper (Jacky Gradwell). This committee meets with the trustees every week. The trustees meet with this advisory committee on a weekly basis. (Heslop 1996:interview)

van Graan sees the role of the participants in the centre to be:

".. very much transitory, they are not a permanent fixture and whatever management structure exists needs to take that into account. Many artists feel they want a space that is well run, with as little hassle as possible, where they can get on and do their work.

They don't want to be participating in managerial decisions. I do however think there needs to be some form of accommodating the interests and complaints of the artists who are working within that particular structure. I see the centre as an art centre serving people rather than a place controlled by the people who work there." (van Graan 1994:interview)

FUNDING SYSTEMS

The Community Murals Project is funded by sponsorship and through commissions for murals. For example they were recently approached by the architects for the railways and were commissioned to paint a mural for the railway employees canteen. A budget for such a commission would then be calculated, which would include the cost of materials and artists wages, which are generally R100 per day.

"Generally the artists working on the mural get paid R100 a day. We can't compromise on the budget we put forward, because we can't pay someone less than R60 a day. On top of that we pay about R10 for transport costs and lunch is provided. It is actually quite a good deal, after 6 days the person has R600, as well as an amazing experience because it is really like a workshop."

(Mikula 1994:interview)

The problems that arise through this system of payment are that there might be a month or two that there are no commissions, and therefore no income for either the co-ordinators or for the participants.

MACS has little subsidy although they have, in the past, received funding from the Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology and the Foundation for Creative Arts. This funding is used to cover the costs of the Winter School that is run over the July period. MACS relies on funding from its members, with an annual subscription of R35.00 (single) and R40.00 per family. Unfortunately most of that money is used for the printing and postage costs of the newsletter. Their main source of income is money brought in by the ongoing classes, of which they take a third. The 'Bizarre Bazaar', an annual Christmas sale, is the only other source of income for MACS. From the income generated, the salaries of the secretary, the education officer and the teachers must be paid. MACS does however experience financial difficulties.

"I think it is a pity that projects such as ours are suffering so much due to financial restraints, as I do see ourselves as a bridge between the formal arts

institutions such as the University and the Tatham Art Gallery, and the community. If we were forced to close due to financial difficulties there would be a lot of time and energy wasted. Ultimately, without skilled, well paid people to run an organisation, it will fold." (Maggs 1994:interview)

Both Community Murals Project and MACS have received support from the local city councils, in that Community Murals Projects has been sponsored in the past by Durban Arts, the MACS house is leased to MACS by the Pietermaritzburg city council at a very nominal rate. BAT is the absolute exception when it comes to a question of funding, and is perhaps the only centre studied that has no funding problems due to the generous Hugo Bartel Trust Fund. This has enabled BAT to facilitate the development of arts in the greater Durban area. Any monies raised by the lease of their venue is utilised directly in their workshops and studios.

Despite the substantial trust fund that supports the BAT Centre, van Graan sees a need for some sort of contribution from the participants of the centre. He puts forward many ideas on ways students can contribute to the centre besides monetary payment. His idea is similar to the 'trade off' system discussed earlier by Bell. van Graan suggests the provision of studio space in exchange for the skills of a certain artist, or perhaps a donation of work produced.

"We are not so dependent on income that we will not have the flexibility to do all sorts of things. Because we are privileged enough to have that capital base, we will be able to enter into all kinds of creative contracts with the artists who work there." (van Graan 1994:interview)

There has been much debate on funding for the arts in South Africa. Recent proposals by, among others ACTAG, suggest that performing arts councils may be discontinued as the primary recipients of state funding for the arts. The proposed new structure will incorporate National Arts Councils, and Regional Arts Councils that receive public grants that they distribute on application. The capacity for projects to survive on subsidies provided by such arts councils would be significantly improved. It is important that these grants are seen as

support structures, not the only source of income for community arts projects in South Africa.

COURSES OR PROGRAMMES OFFERED

The 'courses' at the Community Murals Workshop take the form of the Murals involved and, as stated earlier involve participants from a broad base. Participants are drawn from the Natal Technikon, from the larger Durban art community, from local community arts projects and from the communities in which the mural is situated. Training as such is not given, but the participants learn valuable skills from working with other artists.

MACS currently run ongoing classes¹⁰ that include figure drawing, sculpture and Saturday morning childrens' workshops. They also offer workshops where people can learn different crafts for example fabric painting and papier-mache' sculpture.

Initially the BAT Centre did not run any courses but a regular programme of dance and art classes for children, contemporary dance workshops and figure-drawing workshops is now in place. In addition several resident artists provide informal training and advice to newcomers at the centre.

Unlike those centres that run as businesses the last group of projects studied are all particularly concerned with the introduction of creativity to children at an early age. The Community Murals Project has done a mural at Kura-Mnyandu with 30 school children from the surrounding schools. When talking about working with children Mikula comments; "It is most stimulating dealing with children as they have no problems with confidence and they have an inherent sense of colour and composition." (Mikula 1994:interview) MACS has, since its inception, been running workshops and ongoing classes for children. The Bat Centre's recent introduction of childrens' workshops include the visual arts and crafts as well as dance and theatre programmes (Isitimela Samanzi 1996:8).

The co-ordinators at both MACS and the BAT Centre feel that it is important for teachers involved in classes to participate in the design of the courses that are run. While van Graan

feels that it is important to fulfil the primary needs of the community that the centre is serving, the courses can nonetheless be organised around the particular skills of available teachers.

I feel that one of the most important aims of community arts projects, such as those that I have studied, should be to give the participants the skills to become self-sufficient. van Graan reiterates this idea; "One of the aims of the centre, or the training courses that we would like to offer at a BAT Centre would be empowerment." (van Graan 1994:interview)

It is important to structure courses so as to include as many varied skills as possible as this will not only stimulate students but will also maximise their skills acquisition. A project could be introduced, the main aim being to teach silkscreening techniques, but at the same time the product of that project could be a poster advertising some event that is to occur at the centre. In this way the student learns about the silkscreening process as well as advertising and poster design.

The three projects studied all encourage both art and craft activities. The co-ordinators of the Community Murals Project for example, encourage the artists to work with designs that may be part of their craft tradition. The name Midlands Arts and Crafts Society, is in itself an indication of the type of activities offered by the centre. Val Maggs comments on these activities by saying:

"I think there is a difference between a serious life class where you have got people who have tertiary degrees, and people who come to do a plate-decorating course, who have had a little bit of art experience. We do cover both those needs, but we are aware of the fact that we don't cover enough of the fun craft needs, and the home-spun stuff, like cross-stitch embroidery and quilting, or smocking." (Maggs 1994:interview)

The Bartel Arts Trust sees their aim as serving the arts in its broadest definition, which would include visual arts, (both fine arts and traditional craft) music, performing arts as well as literature.

"I would see the debate in a much more pragmatic way. There are people who see themselves as crafts-people and there are people who see themselves as fine artists. What we want to do at the BAT Centre is make equipment and space available for whatever kinds of artists need it." (van Graan 1994:interview)

van Graan has reinforced this view, by initiating a project that involves an artisan\artists exhibition. This project would involve an artist and a crafts-person working together to create a 'new' work of art.

GENDER RATIO

From studying the ratio of men to women in these three projects it seems that in the case of the Community Murals Projects and the BAT Centre, women are under represented, the main participants being black males. At MACS those participating are largely white females. Maggs accounts for this:

"The people who attend MACS are largely from the white middle class, and in this social group the men work during the day. The classes are attended by women who would be otherwise unoccupied. The evening class, on the other hand, has a fair spread of men and women." (Maggs 1994:interview)

van Graan feels that a way to overcome a gender imbalance would be to stipulate that, when considering applications, 50 percent of the studio space provided would be for women and 50 percent for men. He does foresee a problem in achieving this ratio, as ultimately the centre relies on available applicants.

MARKETING STRATEGIES

Marketing skills are seen by most people involved in these projects as an important part of the process of independence. If through experience gained at the community arts projects the participants learn how to market work, they will be more equipped to market their own

work upon leaving the centre. It is for this reason that both MACS and the BAT Centre see the marketing of the art produced within the projects, as one of the major roles that they can play in contributing to the expansion of the arts in Natal.

MACS have two systems of marketing the students work. They have an 'Art Bank' with a lending library of 'pictures'. Participants or MACS members would 'deposit' their work in the Art Bank, from which works are then borrowed, for example, for doctors rooms, lawyers chambers, or university offices. These people hire the works on a monthly or six monthly basis. This in turn generates income for MACS as well as creating exposure and the possibility of sales for the artist. MACS also has an informal gallery space, in which anyone is able to exhibit. If the works are sold, MACS receives 20% commission. The MACS committee will in return be responsible for press releases, and exhibition invitations. In addition to this the annual 'Bizarre Bazaar' markets the work of local artists and crafts-people.

The Bartel Arts Centre has two exhibition spaces available to both the artists who work there and anyone else who applies for exhibition space. The percentage of the cost of works sold at this gallery is minimal as the BAT commitment and mission statement upholds the idea of artists earning a living from their work. The art gallery would predominantly, however, be sustained through the Trust Fund.

van Graan discusses the target market of the exhibitions to be held at the BAT centre:

"We basically needed to do two things; we need to create new markets on the one hand, and we need to enable people, practising as artists, to earn a living. It would be shooting ourselves in the foot if we tended to not attract the people who have the resources to buy art at the moment. At the same time we would seek to have exhibitions that will create new markets." (van Graan 1994:interview)

The BAT Shop also provides a marketing facility to the BAT Centre participants and other artists. More recently this shop has also attracted a substantial tourist market wanting quality

craft and art.

There is a great need to establish markets for the arts, amongst people who do not have a tradition of buying art. Perhaps the implication in van Graan's comment is that a black art-buying market needs to be encouraged. To this end van Graan proposes the establishing of compact container-exhibitions that would travel by train to community-based art projects in rural areas, thereby eliminating the inconvenience of transporting to and exhibiting works in areas that may have limited facilities. This idea is based on the Swedish model the "Dream-train", where exhibitions travel to all parts of the country. (van Graan 1994:interview)

While his suggestions might appear to be idealistic, they nonetheless represent an innovative way to access new audiences.

1. Although these people should not be students or artists involved in the programme, for reasons discussed in Chapter One, it is important that they are drawn largely from the community that the project serves.
2. Bell uses Chickenman Mkhize as a bad example of dependence:

"Chicken Man was not a very good example of a Black man exhibiting his work. He was dependant upon the Gallery. He had always been championed by the Gallery, and the Gallery had always acted as his agent. It is not ideal because it cannot go on forever, and if it does go on, it is a very, very dependant relationship. I would prefer people to be independent, having both creative skills and marketing skills." (Bell 1994:interview)

3. This is as a result of the Bantu Education Act of 1953.
4. This percentage is normally between ten and twenty percent on utilitarian wares. The percentage that the artist receives for sculptural pieces, such as Ntshalintshali's work, is up to fifty percent.
5. Ardmore was initially funded by Halsted-Berning, until it became financially independent. (Halsted-Berning 1995:interview) It is now not only self-sustaining but is also highly profitable for all concerned.

Rorke's Drift was sponsored initially by the Church of Sweden Mission and the Lutheran World Federation until it became financially independent (Rankin 1991:113).

The AAC, although now largely self-sufficient, was supported to begin with by the Institute of Race Relations. The centre still receives donations periodically, that are used to develop educational workshops. Tongaat Sugar Association, the Canadian Embassy, and the Swedish government have been among those who have been patrons in the past.

6. Janet Purcell has been involved in running a watercolour course (1995), Bronwen Findlay has run an oil painting and fabric painting course (1994) and Lene Tempelhoff has been involved in a sculpture programme (1994).
7. Those artists attending the short courses at the AAC receive a certificate of attendance.
8. The participants in the AAC are both rural and urban-based.
9. Phineas Mveli, the studio manager at the Ardmore Studios is one of the few participants involved in these three projects who is earning a fixed salary.
10. The following is a list of courses offered by MACS. (Promotional pamphlet 1994)

Monday:Scholars drawing and painting 3-5pm - R96.00.

Kathy Arbuckle gives specialised tuition in drawing and painting for scholars doing art as a school subject and who would like to do extra work for their Portfolios.

Drawing and Painting 6-9pm - R140.00.

Michelle Coetzee covers formal and more creative approaches to drawing including working from a life model. Bronwen Vaughan-Evans offers in depth tuition to people who want to learn the basics of oil painting, techniques, approaches and themes.

Tuesday:Mixed Media Painting 9.30am-12.30 noon - R140.00

Val Maggs offers tuition for fairly experienced people who enjoy the painting processes, working in preferred painting media. Challenging subject matter and stimulation of tutor and class interaction. A few places for people with some drawing experience.

The Art of Calligraphy 3-5pm - R170.00 (exclusive of materials).

Ralph Dean teaches basic techniques, tricks and decorative approaches to beautiful script. For beginners and people with some experience.

Basic Watercolour Techniques 4.30-7pm - R180.00

Val Maggs gives participants a thorough and enjoyable grounding in the various approaches to watercolour painting. For people with some experience.

Metalworking and Jewellery Course 7-10pm - R300.00 (exclusive of materials).

Please note this unique course will be run in the third term. Chris and Patrick Morewood - experts in this field, will give instruction in more advanced and specialised techniques. Beginners can be accommodated. 10% fee reduction for previous participants. Book early. Limited to 12 persons.

Wednesday:Landscape Painting and Drawing 9.30am-12.30 noon - R140.00.

Join Val Maggs in painting and drawing on site from urban and country landscape (parks, gardens, mountains, shopping centres etc). Beginners welcome.

Portfolio Scholars 3.15-5.30pm - R200.00.

Val Maggs gives specialised tuition for scholars to meet portfolio requirements for a career in graphic, textile, interior design or fine art.

Introduction to Ceramics 5.30-8pm - R180.00 (inclusive of studio fees, exclusive of clay, glazes and kiln costs).

Hemla Makan teaches the basic techniques of hand-built pottery, pinch pots, slabbed boxes, coiled vases and moulded dishes; Glazing and decorating methods as well as some wheel throwing techniques.

Thursday:Drawing from Life 10-1pm - R140.00 + R40.00 Model fee.

Val Maggs tutors various drawing and painting approaches to working from life model. Beginners welcome.

MACS Sculpture Group 6-pm - R20.00 per month.

Group interaction, ideas and techniques. Invited specialist tutors. People with sculpture experience welcome.

Plate Decorating 19 & 26 May, 2 & 9 June 3-5.30pm - R140.00 (inclusive glazes and firing, exclusive cost of plates and brushes).

Hemla Makan tutors this course that should suit all people (experienced or novice).

Course covers into design and pattern-making from various sources (Chinese, Italian, Indian etc). Variation of brush marks and basic colour. Participants will have enough inspiration to paint beautiful and decorative plates which will be fired for permanent use.

Friday:

Tie and Dye Workshop 3 & 10 June 10-1pm - R105.00 (inclusive costs of dyes only).

Leonie Malherbe will cover all the folding and other techniques of tie and dye - a hands on process of obtaining beautiful and unusual patterns on fabric.

CONCLUSION

South African community arts has always been linked to a political context. In fact, many of the art projects in South Africa originated as a result of racial inequality and unequal opportunity under National Party rule. Since the breakdown of apartheid, the focus of many projects has shifted, and the aims are now primarily to address implicit educational disparities in South Africa.

Carey May, former co-ordinator of the AAC, notes that we are now entering an era where political ideologies are no longer seminal to cultural and educational expansion. The emphasis is now on education, production and dispersal, as well as the creation of opportunities in the arts for as many people as possible. (May 1994:interview)

This move away from political ideology is reinforced by van Graan, former co-ordinator of the BAT centre. He believes that the arts no longer need to be aligned with party-political or ideological premises. However he maintains that community arts projects would, of necessity, need to strive for a strategic relationship with those bodies that can support and provide funding for the arts. Inevitably these will be part of a national and regional funding strategy. (van Graan 1994:interview) van Graan's views are shared by most of the co-ordinators interviewed.

Therefore, the future of community arts projects in KwaZulu-Natal and in South Africa as a whole depends on their incorporation into, and acknowledgement by, state education policies. The introduction of a National Arts Council would enable community arts projects to access state funds as well as introduce a system that could rationalise and evaluate the programmes currently offered by community arts projects. A National Arts Council could also afford the establishment of strong networks of mutual support between the individual projects. It follows, too, that the arts within marginalised communities should become the responsibility of local government.

While the concept of national strategies for community arts initiatives is important, community arts organisations should also encourage mutually beneficial partnerships. These

could be formed between art projects and local authorities, such as health and social welfare organisations, other educational institutions, local artists and local business. Such community-based cultural development, encourages decentralisation, and fosters a degree of autonomy.

Community arts projects embrace not only the development of the participants but also the community audience. Thus one of the primary aims of community arts projects should be to develop a relationship between artists and their community. Another way of expanding audiences is to ensure that children are exposed to local exhibitions and art events from an early age. Regular visits by scholars to community arts projects should also be encouraged.

The arts are recognised in the Reconstruction and Development Programme as a crucial component in developing South Africa's human resources (RDP par.1.4.8). It is clearly stated that "arts education should be an integral part of the national school curricula at primary, secondary and tertiary level, as well as in non-formal education." (RDP par.3.4.8) The benefits of community arts education and the role that such projects can play in local development are numerous. The ACTAG report puts forward some benefits of arts education:

"Arts education empowers and equips learners with creative, psychological, intellectual and problem-solving skills, that encourages independence, confidence and informed participation in a fully democratic society." (ACTAG 1995:246)

Community arts projects are the ideal places in which this learning process can occur due to their social and interactive nature. Community arts education can fulfil both the individual and social needs of the community in which it is situated.

"Issues of personal and social interrelationships are recognised, developed, interpreted and reflected in the art-making process. Arts education creates, within a safe learning environment, means for challenging, affirming and exploring these relationships. Experiencing the creative expressions of the

different communities of South Africa provides insights into the aspirations and values of our nation." (ACTAG 1995:246)

The collective creativity that occurs in community arts projects encourages tolerance and develops important multicultural interaction. ACTAG also points out that the arts can be used as a useful tool in developing innovative thinking and problem-solving, critical analysis and assessment skills, the confidence to work both independently and as a member of a team, as well as developing verbal and nonverbal communication skills. (ACTAG 1995:247)

Further, the ACTAG report indicates that economic growth and development are stimulated through that sector of the economy which is organised around production and consumption of cultural goods and services. (ACTAG 1995:247) In view of this, arts education and production should be seen to be an integral part of the development of South Africa's human resources.

In lieu of the "funding fatigue" identified by Junaid Ahmed¹ (Ahmed 1991:110), income generation was seen as one of the most important aims of community arts projects. Self-sufficiency is important both for the community arts project itself and for the individuals participating in those projects. In order for this to occur there is a need for an effective co-ordinator and management team. Part of this management team's responsibility would be to make sure that the participants are not exploiting the project and are instead contributing to its growth. To do this they would have to create a programme to provide participants, not only with creative skills, but also with empowering managerial and entrepreneurial abilities.

Community arts facilitators are increasingly aware of the lack of training facilities available for potential arts co-ordinators, therefore training programmes are being incorporated into arts projects. As with the Community Arts Project (CAP) in Cape Town the Bartel Arts Trust is considering starting a training programme that could involve local participants in community arts projects. In this way managers would not be imposed from outside, but would emerge from within the community arts structures.

In KwaZulu-Natal the lack of participation by the public in community arts projects is largely

due to a general lack of awareness of what the projects involve. Awareness is nevertheless increasing. The BAT centre has played an important role in increasing public awareness of community arts in Durban. This was the result of adequate advertising and the continued organisation of crowd-drawing events since the opening of the centre. These include music concerts, art exhibitions and flea markets.

Although it is not BAT's aim to dominate local community arts ventures, because of their centrality and their fixed resources, many people go to the BAT Centre seeking advice and are channelled to other centres, in their area. It is no longer viable for community arts projects to work in isolation, and only through contact with each other can an assessment of the community's needs be made, and consequently excessive duplication of facilities be avoided.

The most cost-effective way of addressing the imbalance of creative opportunities imposed under the National Party government, and thereby providing cultural enrichment for communities that have no facilities, is the multi-functional art centre. This means that instead of having a separate art school and gallery, separate cinemas and theatres, the multi-functional art centre would be designed to incorporate all art forms under one roof, thus creating a centre of focus in areas which do not have such a facility.

Through multi-functional activities such as a stage production, formerly isolated artists can come together, in order to work toward a final goal or merely exchange ideas. This multifarious approach contributes towards dismantling specialist categories and encourages individuals to increase their competence, by participating in a wide range of creative activities.

van Graan points out that community arts projects can play an important role in the provision of employment and the generation of income through arts and craft production, in the rural areas of KwaZulu-Natal.(van Graan 1995:interview) Community arts projects such as Rorke's Drift and the Ardmore Studio are cases in point. The potential then for community arts centres in rural areas is not merely in equipping people with skills, as the skills are often intrinsic, but it is in providing facilities for the production and distribution of art works.

With the introduction of a National Arts Council, proposed by ACTAG (ACTAG 1995:20), van Graan sees a greater networking beginning to happen between rural and urban community arts centres in KwaZulu-Natal. This interaction could provide a greater market for so-called 'traditional arts' produced in rural areas and would in turn lead to a greater cultural diversity in urban centres.

ACTAG puts forward the suggestion of a Rural Arts and Development Unit (RADU) that would be represented on the Community Arts and Culture Development Panel at a National level. The RADU would ensure that community arts and culture development in rural areas are prioritised and that measures are taken to address the arts and culture imbalances in these areas.

The important task ahead is to make opportunities in the arts available in KwaZulu-Natal through the creation of more art centres and through more structured training in these centres. The concentration on strengthening the arts in Natal will have two advantages: Firstly it will provide the needed employment for artists and secondly, more exposure to the arts will result in a wider and more responsive local audience.

The main problem now seems to be that the idea of National and Regional Arts Councils put forward by ACTAG has not yet been fully realised. There is still no controlling body administering existing facilities or funding, thus community arts structures continues to result in fragmentation² and a lack of continuity in existing programmes.

Perhaps the development of new national and regional strategies regarding arts policies, has relied too heavily on state involvement. I feel that although state involvement is imperative to a certain degree, it must now be the responsibility of the individual art organisations to group together to facilitate the development of such structures.

The idea of the state providing a national arts body that would then form regional and municipal bodies is perhaps too time consuming and costly. I feel that a similar structure could be in place more quickly if the impetus was at a municipal level disseminating outwards. The term 'community arts' itself suggests that it is the responsibility of local

municipalities and community arts groups to come together and make decisions at a grass roots level. Not only would this ultimately facilitate the emergence of a national structure, but many of the problems of individual community arts projects could also be solved by learning from other local examples.

1. What Junaid Ahmed terms the "Funding Fatigue" has drastically affected community arts projects. Over the past years, foreign funding assigned to cultural organisations is tapering off, with the result that community arts has been left stranded. The uncertain position of community arts today is firstly, as a result of our past dependency on external funding, and secondly because of an underdeveloped national strategy for community initiatives. These two issues point to the fact that dependency can be a causal factor in under-development. (Ahmed 1991:110)
2. This fragmentation has taken many forms. Firstly individual community arts projects such as WACO and MACS have had to relocate due to the lack of secure venues for their projects. Relocation often causes disruption of the project. Further fragmentation is caused by the rapid turn over of co-ordinators and staff at community arts projects and is often due to reliance on voluntary work at these centres.

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