

**Birth and Regeneration:
the Arts and Culture curriculum in South Africa (1997-2006).**

by

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ABSTRACT

This study explores the coming into being of a new Learning Area called Arts and Culture in the school curriculum in South Africa since 1997. The critical questions ask why Arts and Culture was deemed necessary in the new curriculum (Curriculum 2005); what factors influenced its design and did the Review process of 2000/1 effect significant changes to the Arts and Culture curriculum? The study draws its methodology from narratology, heuristic theory, discourse analysis and literary criticism in various ways. It uses narratology as the basis for analysis and as a representational device. As I was part of the policy development, the study commences with a personal narrative that sets the scene for the research.

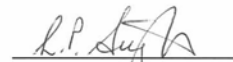
The primary data derive from interviews with policy makers, arts curriculum developers and arts practitioners and detailed analyses of relevant arts education policies. The first level of analysis entailed a narrative analysis of the interviews, focussing on the point of view and voice of the speaker. Documents were similarly analysed using a narratological lens developed for this study. The second level of analysis brought together the two sets of data and their individual stories to produce two differently focalized stories about the Arts and Culture curriculum: a curriculum of the Heart and a curriculum of the Head, both in the service of social transformation in South Africa. A third story, representing an unseen character - resistance arts, was introduced as pivotal in the Arts and Culture story.

The third level of analysis dealt with abstractions from the group stories, arguing that nation building and identity formation and the potentially transformative role of the arts were central to this Arts and Culture curriculum. Discontinuities in the socio-political context and the curriculum discourse between 1997 and 2001 resulted in shifts in focalization of the curricula and may do so in the future. Current discourse allows for the creolisation of the arts and a re-imagined cultural identity.

DISCLAIMER

I hereby declare that this thesis is my original work and has not been submitted to any other institution for assessment purposes

Further, I have acknowledged all sources used and cited these in the bibliography


RESEARCHER

DEDICATION

TO MY FAMILY:

My parents *Grace* and *Stanley Nair*,

My children *Sian* and *Sharad*

And my husband *Robin Singh* always;

**For giving me roots to ground me, and the space to try my
wings.**

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND TERMINOLOGY

ACTAG	Arts and Culture Task Group
CUMSA	New Curriculum Model for South Africa
DACST	Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology
DET	Department of Education and Training (national)
DEC	Department of Education and Training (provincial)
DNE	Department of National Education (pre-democracy)
DOE	Department of Education (national, post-apartheid)
FET	Further Education and Training (schools grades 10-12)
GEAR	Growth, Employment And Redistribution policy
GET	General Education and Training (schools grades 0-9)
ILP	Illustrative Learning Programme
KZN	(province of) KwaZulu-Natal
MPC	Ministerial Project Committee
NETF	National Education and Training Forum
NGO	Non-Government Organisation
OBE	Outcomes Based education
PACs	Performing Arts Councils
LAC	Learning Area Committee
LPPG	Learning Programme Policy Guideline
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
RNCS	Revised National Curriculum Statement
SADTU	South African Democratic Teachers' Union
Shoshaloza	Popular African work/protest song. Now sung at public events including football matches. Symbolic of 'new' South Africa.
TRC	Truth and Reconciliation Committee
WPACH	White Paper for Arts, Culture and Heritage
UBUNTU	African philosophy of the interdependence of humanity. Summed up by the saying 'a person is a person because of other people'.

CHAPTER 1

The story of a reluctant curriculum developer

The Introduction

Particularly since the political transition of 1994, personal disclosure has become part of a revisionary impulse, part of the pluralizing project of democracy itself. The individual, in this context, emerges as a key, newly legitimized concept. ... talking about their own lives, confessing, and constructing personal narratives...South Africans translate their selves, their communities, into stories.

(Nuttall & Michael 2000:298)

1.1 I WAS THERE

Being a Subject Adviser for the Department of Education (or curriculum consultant as I believe it is called in some places) is no great achievement by most standards. Being a Subject Adviser for Speech and Drama has, however, the cachet of making one a rarity, especially in a society unused to considering the arts as 'exam' subjects. My being one of that rare species of education specialists - Subject Adviser for Speech and Drama in the Province of KwaZulu-Natal - sometimes meant that my services were 'volunteered' by my supervisors, as provincial representative on various arts-related committees and organisations.

So it was that in the early 1990s I was asked to respond to the CUMSA document, having very little idea why, or what was behind this initiative. A meeting with officials of the erstwhile Department of National Education (DNE) did nothing to elucidate or reassure me. In fact, I felt strangely like a sleepwalker in someone else's dream. I made what contribution I could, but found it difficult to keep track when most of the discussions were at a level of 'academic' Afrikaans which I was slow to follow. In any event, I got the impression that the important decisions had already been made and we

(officials outside the DNE) were there just to tie up loose ends regarding the arts, particularly music, which, as usual, was regarded as the only art form that should be in the curriculum. The fact that the arts were grouped in a field called Services and Utilities only added to my confusion.

Before I could recover from this experience, I was invited to contribute to the Framework Policy for Technical Colleges. Although a little out of my depth in areas like graphic design and ceramics, I felt some affinity with the various proposals being put forward for developing policy for the arts in colleges. At least there were a number of meetings at which it seemed that one's opinion was genuinely being sought. By this time, of course, I was more aware of the momentous re-organisation of the whole educational sphere against which the rules for offering arts in technical colleges seemed a little insignificant.

The NETF process in 1994 led to the call for the 'cleansing' from all school syllabuses of offensive apartheid-related materials. The sub-committee formed to examine the Speech and Drama schools' syllabus did more than just purge the existing syllabus. They decided to rewrite the syllabus in a form that would make it more accessible to all learners in the 'new' South Africa. As Drama Adviser in the province, which had the most matric candidates taking this subject, I felt I could say something important and was able to feed into the consultative process not just my own views but also the ideas of the practising teachers of the subject. This was curriculum development at its most elemental – really 'grassroots'. The fact that I was not a serving member of this committee actually distanced me from any emotional or psychological attachment to the proposals so that I could comment quite freely. Here there was no confusion, no conflict of interest for me; this was something I could do and could do well.

In 1996 came the call for representatives to serve on a national Learning Area Committee for the Arts. After being duly elected, I represented the Province on the National Arts and Culture Learning Area Committee (LAC), where the first efforts to fashion an Arts and Culture curriculum were made.

This weeklong event held in the last quarter of 1996 was a jamboree of stakeholders from across the board for all disciplines. Again, I felt I was being swept into a series of arguments and discussions that had originated elsewhere - a character in someone else's story – and that I didn't know the plot. SADTU representatives clashed often with DNE presiding officials, especially the director, Dr Eddie Botha, on all manner of issues from points of procedure to points of pedagogy. The crucial questions "Why OBE?" and "Why the rushed implementation dates"? were not entertained. In fact, even to ask these questions marked one as reactionary, anti-change, and obviously someone who benefited from apartheid!

In any event, there was no time to look at the big picture, since the LACs were grappling with the problem of how to constitute their learning areas and how to fulfil the task of developing learning area outcomes when most participants had never heard of outcomes in education before. The Arts LAC had an even bigger issue. What were we to call ourselves? Most of the delegates represented just one art form, but we were now in a group called Arts. What did this mean? The name of the learning area became symbolic of how the arts in education were to be conceived thereafter. The strongest voices came from those in the NGO and community arts sector, especially those individuals who had made input into the ACTAG or White Paper consultative processes. Provincial education officials (like myself) who actually worked with teachers in schools were largely ignored, especially if one came from a province like the Western Cape or KwaZulu-Natal, the pariah provinces of that time politically.

It took almost three days of argument and bitter counter-argument to arrive at a name. We moved from 'high culture' to the art and craft debate in trying to name ourselves. Each name carried some political or ideological connotation to which objections were raised. All the arguments about Western and Euro-centric arts being privileged over African and local arts and cultural practices emerged with bitterness and rancour. Anything that could be labelled "Euro-centric" was taboo. Leaders and groupings formed and were hailed or shot down by other groups.

A well-known professor of Art, a gentle and obviously learned lady spoke, during the course of a debate, about developing “aesthetic appreciation” in learners. This unleashed an acrimonious argument about what constitutes standards or indeed aesthetics, which, in retrospect, I see, was not an unjustified debate. But I was stunned by the severity of the attack launched at her for presuming to use the word “aesthetic”. The word “aesthetic” became taboo and marked its user as a representative of the elite white Western arts grouping – an apologist for apartheid! Yet I am sure she was as aware as the rest of us that such a word is culturally loaded. Any argument she presented thereafter was not acceptable to the group. I suspect that this event inhibited contributions from others, as people were reluctant to speak lest they inadvertently be similarly branded.

What was really happening, of course, was that the very epistemology of arts education was being questioned, challenged and shaped in these heated and personal attacks. Those representing the arts community organisations were fiercely defending their struggle credentials forged through participation in banned or persecuted organisations. They were not very concerned with the preoccupation of arts educationists about the ‘examinability’ of the learning area or of the status of specific art disciplines within the learning area. The name of the learning area somehow became the epitome of these ideological and conceptual conflicts.

Three key words eventually emerged: art, craft and culture. Finally and with some reservations (after two days of calling ourselves Culture and Arts), the name **Arts and Culture** was accepted.

As the curriculum development process unfolded, it became apparent to me that what I had naïvely believed to be the ‘truth’ was no more than an interpretation of a context-specific reality. I saw that particular people in a special social group or from a different educational setting would create their own meanings of curriculum issues based on their own experience of the

world. I began to understand what was meant by reality being a social construction.

As the author of *Reality Isn't what It Used To Be* (1993) says, “as more people suspect that reality can be created, the world becomes a kind of theatre in which competing groups offer competing plots, and people with political aspirations try to get themselves cast in good roles”(Anderson, 1993:12). This awakening took some time, however, to crystallise into a realisation that if reality is socially constructed, one could construct any reality one wanted – and even package and market that reality as a curriculum. But this was an understanding that came to me only after the event. I was still bemused at my immersion into the world of high-powered policy-making.

What troubled me most at the time were more immediate questions. Why was my opinion, based on my real experiences in the school sector, not required on really important issues of implementation and resources? How could I make a meaningful contribution when the task in hand changed focus depending on who was in charge? First we were told that our task was to create outcomes in the arts that were broad and generalised, as many as we could generate in our field. The very next day Mr Ketsi Leroko, a chief director in the DNE, said that outcomes should be few and very specific to the particular learning area. Then Frank Rumbol, who chaired the LAC for arts, and who had been involved in the formulation of what was then called the ‘Essential Outcomes’ said that there should not be specific outcomes at all, but that we should all be working on “operationalising” the Essential Outcomes in our learning areas! Ironically, while this approach was abandoned by the DOE, it echoes the critique from Bill Spady (the American ‘guru’ on OBE) on our version of OBE. He considers the Critical Outcomes the most significant development for education in terms of transformational OBE and suitable for development in the various learning areas (Spady, 1999).

All this went on while most of us were still trying to figure out exactly what an outcome was. This period of intense negotiation and marking of territory was my first realisation that not all people who professed to be passionate about the arts were willing to put the arts before other interests and personal agendas. And so in that maelstrom of negotiation, misunderstanding and new understandings, we created the embryonic Arts and Culture Learning Area.

Subsequently, in 1997, I was nominated to serve on the Minister of Education's Technical Committee (Minister SME Bhengu) under the chairmanship of Mr John Mathfield. This committee was responsible for devising the Framework policy document for Curriculum 2005. Each Learning Area sub-committee had to give substance and shape to the work started by the 1996 national LAC. My role in this committee developed from that of a Provincial contributor to actually steering the Arts and Culture sub-committee through the development of the first set of outcomes, assessment criteria and range statements.

Even here, in a small sub-committee, there was political and personal contestation and grandstanding. I became chair of the group because I appeared to be the only person whom everyone could trust or did not have issues with. (Or perhaps each side thought I could be easily persuaded to represent their approach.) At any rate it was not an easy task to accommodate all views, to be inclusive and democratic and at the same time deliver a workable curriculum framework. We had input from a Canadian group at this time, whose task was to observe the process and help shape the outcomes.

It was at this juncture that our struggles with how to actually marry the epistemological underpinnings of each art form began in earnest. What constitutes the basis of visual art may not necessarily apply to drama or music. We also grappled with how to position the cultural aspect of the Learning Area. Should we infuse it into all the outcomes or have separate outcomes dealing with culture only? Can culture be separated from art?

There were as many notions of culture as there were writers on the committee and readers of our drafts. Could we find a common understanding of what constitutes a South African culture?

We were contacted by a very angry academic who had just published a text on culture in South Africa and who wanted to correct the 'misrepresentations' in our early drafts. I was somewhat taken aback on meeting her to find an American (married to a South African) who proceeded to lecture us on our lack of understanding of local culture. In any event we did incorporate some of her material and this mollified the 'cultural police' who were watching our every move. At times our task seemed impossible, especially given the tight time frames. To try and solve these problems we had to consult broadly and be as inclusive as possible and at the same time remain within the parameters of the DOE.

Though we found some common ground for the different art forms in themes such as composition, texture, tone and rhythm, these did not always cover or adequately represent all the art forms. In any event, we were instructed by the DOE not to use themes and not to keep the arts separate, but to integrate them. It was no wonder that our first attempts at writing specific outcomes resulted in turgid, overloaded phrases that tried to cover all eventualities.

Part of the democratic participatory process included a "carouselling" of each group's work for other groups to critique. This meant that one constantly had to defend the fledgling curriculum to people who had no experience in the arts or who wanted to see their particular art interest included. The process was extremely draining, both physically, because of the pressure of time constraints, and emotionally, because one felt constantly under attack. People, who wanted to be on the committee and had not been nominated continually harassed the committee through representative bodies, political allies or via personal friends on various working groups or in the DOE. I discovered that what I had mistaken for wifely devotion by one of the committee members in her regular phone calls

at the termination of every working session was in fact a report on the committees' discussions to a person associated with DACST who had been very vociferous on the LAC and was still smarting at being left out of this process. She therefore instructed her confidant on the committee on what issues to raise and how to undermine any decision of which she did not approve.

I began to see that the arts community was a hotbed of intrigue and power plays that spoke of something more than mere curriculum development. In any event, I learnt more about diplomacy, democratic leadership and participatory management through this process than any management course or leadership book could ever teach me. This is to say nothing about what I learnt of human nature and its response to pressure. But eventually the task was completed, and I felt as proud as any new parent when in September of that year we presented our newborn curriculum to the Minister in Parliament.

This process was subsequently followed by the development of Illustrative Learning Programmes (ILPs) during late 1997 and 1998, as soon as it was realized that the provinces were in no position to develop the actual learning programmes from the policy framework. Again the process was marked by intense power struggles and jockeying for positions. The small Arts and Culture sub-committee which had written the framework policy was expanded to include phase and art discipline specialists. The composition of the new committee was questioned by people within and outside the process. At this stage, the process also included practising teachers in order to ensure that planned classroom activities were realistic. The lack of racially equal representation became a point of contestation regarding the validity of the entire ILP process.

In the Arts committee in particular, it was difficult to find qualified black teachers of dance, music, drama and visual arts. When NGO representatives were called in they had to be paid and often this had not been budgeted for. These unexpected contingencies meant that the

committee's composition would change from one meeting to the next, and time would be spent on trying to update and inform newcomers at each working session.

People in the NGO sector were not familiar with OBE and were confused by the new terminology and endless stream of acronyms. The same debates and arguments would open up time and again and old resentments would flare up once more. This tension was exacerbated by the officials of the DOE who, charged with the responsibility of leading the curriculum process, would brook no questioning of their methods or their instructions. In fact, at provincial level it became customary to begin each feedback report with the phrase "ours not to question why". As a Provincial representative in this national process I often found myself on the receiving end of the anger and frustration of officials like district managers and principals who felt that they had been left out of the loop of the new developments.

In 2001, I was again nominated to serve on the Arts and Culture Working Group, appointed by the Ministerial Project Committee to streamline and strengthen Curriculum 2005 in the light of the findings of the Review Committee set up by Education Minister, Kader Asmal. The Arts and Culture group was chaired by Mr Sello Galane, the newly appointed Arts and Culture Deputy Director from the National Department of Education. Part of my function on this committee was to carry the "institutional memory" from the first process into the revision process. I was also responsible for the Drama input into Arts and Culture.

Although this revision process was technically a very difficult one, there was by now less distrust of the working group representatives from those outside the process, and therefore fewer attempts to destabilize the process. The group experienced tensions within itself; for example, owing to the highly technical treatment of music in the Learning Area and with some aspects of culture which were considered too abstract and academic for this age group. As another example, in dealing with the art forms as discrete forms

and as composites, the curriculum became overloaded, and many of the culture- related assessment standards were consequently excluded.

What was useful was the provision for field-testing during the process and that there was a reference group, that gave constant feedback. Once the first draft was completed, there was a comprehensive public response to its publication. Each working group was given a complete set of responses and had to respond to all the criticisms, while keeping to their original brief.

The arts and culture document was criticised mainly for a lack of conceptual coherence. This was addressed by completely reorganising the document and including an organising framework. I recalled that in the 1997 curriculum process the public responses to the draft document were addressed by the DOE officials and that whatever changes were made were done within the department without ever involving the writing committee. I had no knowledge at that time of what was said, by whom, and what changes were made until after the curriculum became public policy. In this process, at least we, the writers, were allowed some say in how we incorporated the comments of the public. Finally, when the revised curriculum was completed, it was totally regenerated, at least for Arts and Culture. The new version was very different from the first one.

The development of the 'new' GET Arts and Culture curriculum was followed by the writing of a comprehensive Learning Programme Policy Guideline (LPPG). At this point, responsibility for the curriculum passed from the hands of the Ministerial Project Committee to the Department of Education. Immediately this occurred, the question of integration was raised by departmental officials who wanted Arts and Culture to be integrated into the Intermediate Phase with Life Orientation as in the previous version. The Arts writing group opposed this strongly as we felt that integration should not be prescribed but should be allowed to occur as individual schools decided.

This decision was met with a scathing attack on the group at a plenary session at the Elangeni Hotel in January 2002, by a senior departmental official who was acting as head of the Secretariat for this process. The problem was finally resolved in our favour but not without the intervention of the DDG and the Minister.

It left a bitter taste and had a demoralizing effect on the group many of whom had participated in this process for more than a year at great personal and professional cost. Apart from this sour ending, the revision process of curriculum development was an enjoyable and constructive experience for me. I did not have the onerous responsibility of chairing the committee and could concentrate on my own discipline and its needs. Furthermore, we had had the experience of the first process and could build on that. We did not have to worry about defining outcomes or justifying the learning area. Our brief about how to fashion the learning area was clear and although pressured by time constraints, the logistical arrangements made for easier working conditions. There were fewer attempts at political power plays and one did not constantly need to justify one's work.

In 2002, I was appointed to the Further Education and Training (FET) Curriculum development process in the field of Arts and Culture and served on the Dramatic Arts working group. This group developed the new curriculum for grades 10-12. We also produced a comprehensive Guideline for teachers. As this experience is not related directly to this study, I will not go into any details of the process. Suffice to say that at this point I had the experience and the confidence to refer to myself quite openly as a curriculum developer.

All these personal experiences have motivated me to write the story of the birth of the Arts curriculum for the 'new' South Africa and inform the '**insider position**' which I inevitably bring to this research: in framing the research questions and methods, in my interactions with respondents during interviews, in commenting on the policy documents as I read them, in the data as I represent them, and in the findings as I theorise them. I

consciously intend to infuse my own experience into this study of the birth of an Arts curriculum for the 'new' South Africa. I was part of the story, and this is my rationale.

1.2 THE HISTORICAL MOMENT

The novelist Graham Greene begins his story, *The End of the Affair* with the following words:

A story has no beginning or end: arbitrarily one chooses that moment of experience from which to look back or from which to look ahead (Greene1951:1).

In telling my story of the birth of the new Arts curriculum I am able to make that same choice. I could go back to explore the provision for arts education prior to the first democratic election, to the days of the infamous racially divided Tri-cameral Parliamentary system in which education fell under 'own' or 'general' affairs. Or I could go back even further to the early twentieth century and the days of 'mission' schools. But since the focus of this study is to trace and critique the development of Arts and Culture as a learning area in the formal schools' curriculum since 1997, I am obliged to choose, not arbitrarily, the historical context of the birth of the 'new' South Africa and its first decade of democracy. I am mindful of Foucault's warnings against pure beginnings and absolute grounds even as I do so.

In investigating the reason for the genesis of Arts and Culture as a learning area, one has to consider the context of South Africa as a fledgling democracy attempting to initiate an education policy that would pull together innumerable strands of diversity in terms of racial, cultural, educational, economic and class backgrounds and interests. As Jansen states,

the policies displayed rely heavily on stated claims to address inequalities, confront the apartheid legacy and to promote equity, redress, democracy, transformation, quality, lifelong education and training, and access for all (Sayed & Jansen 2001:281).

The new government had a mammoth task on its hands and had to achieve much of this work in as short a time as possible to vindicate itself.

1.2.1 The Arts at that Time

In 1994, when the new government came into power and was able to begin giving form to its vision for education, the prevailing situation regarding arts education was as differentiated and fragmented as the society itself. The various arts had been marginalized or considered as peripheral to the core curriculum or real business of education by the various segregated Departments of Education. Education in the arts in South Africa has always had an uneven and unequal development determined largely by the prevailing political policy, the resource allocation and the interest and commitment of people in different communities.

In the so-called Indian community of KZN for example, Speech and Drama was highly valued from the early 1960s as a subject which enhanced the standard of spoken English and communication, and thereby improved one's chances of 'better' employment. It was therefore supported and promoted by private organisations and some schools. In other communities the focus was different. In some rural areas and African townships, choral music competitions, for example, enjoyed widespread support from the community and the relevant education department.

In the White (Model C) schools at the time of the transition in the mid-1990s, the arts were well catered for in the formal curriculum with subjects like Art, Music and Speech and Drama being offered as examination subjects in the high schools. Even if all the art subjects were not offered in the formal curriculum, the co-curricular programme ensured a range of art-based activities through clubs and societies, as well as school plays and concerts.

Primary schools offered Art, Handwork (craft) and class/choral Music to all learners, and all schools actively encouraged the extra-curricular development of the arts through school plays, concerts and exhibitions. Parent participation and patronage of these events was usually good. A few

schools even offered Dance (usually Ballet, but in the Cape contemporary dance was popular).

Art and Music, though not as widely subscribed, were offered as examination subjects in a smattering of the former Indian high schools. High school Music, which had been popular as a specialist subject for some decades, suffered during the rationalising processes of the early 1990s until it was all but eliminated. Speech and Drama which had been introduced as a high school subject in the mid 1980s, managed to survive the worst of the recessionary measures.

In the primary schools Art, although class music and some 'Handwork' were offered, the prevailing attitude was betrayed by referring to them as 'fillers'. These subjects were usually farmed out to any teachers who needed to make up their quotas, regardless of interest or ability. (Ironically, this is exactly what has happened to Arts and Culture at GET level in the new dispensation.) In a few schools where there were specialist art teachers and progressive principals, the arts were promoted, and participation in a range of extra-curricular activities was encouraged.

A similar situation prevailed in the so-called coloured schools with Art, Music and Handwork forming the basis of such activities, if they existed. Again, the onus was on the local parent community to encourage the development of the arts in particular schools. The result was a strong amateur dramatics tradition in some areas and well-supported choirs in other communities.

In the former African (DET and DEC) schools, the arts were not usually offered as examination subjects in the high schools, although a few did offer visual art. In the primary schools, choral/class music was actively promoted and Handcraft was often offered. Some primary schools did have art as well, again usually as a 'filler' subject.

Although the above scenario suggests that some attention (though not sufficient) was paid to the arts, the truth is that even where the arts were

offered they usually were not considered part of the real curriculum, but seen as something learners did to take a break from the actual business of learning. It was only in the private schools and in the more progressive public junior primary schools as well as in specialised schools like the Waldorf schools, that learning in the arts was actively encouraged. The notion that learning could take place both in and through the arts did not occur anywhere else except in teacher-training institutions.

The arts, of course, played a significant role in the struggle for democracy. Songs and dance were the rallying cries of many political meetings and came to represent aspects of the fight for freedom. Many writers, poets, and artists were banned or forced into exile. Artists were generally seen as 'liberals' or 'communists' by the apartheid regime and therefore as potential troublemakers. Censorship was enforced over all artworks and performances. Training in the various art forms, which was not available to most Black people, was promoted largely by non-government arts centres, many with overseas funding. The fact that the arts were so prominent in politics led to support for a cultural boycott of South Africa from the artists union Equity in 1966.

In the formal public arena, the government funded the arts in the four provinces through the performing arts councils (PACs). This meant, in effect, that only white artists and companies received funding. The performing arts councils were staffed and managed by white administrators and catered for the needs of a white, Western audience. Ballet, opera, drama and symphony concerts were on offer. Overseas artists were invited to perform or join the companies, and there were even agents in Europe to acquire artworks for galleries (Maree, 2005). The directors of the PACs made annual trips to Europe to obtain scripts and scout for artists in order to circumvent the cultural boycott. By the early 1990s, changes had been made to most of these institutions, and a more African orientation was put in place.

There were some 'multiracial' art venues like the Space Theatre in Cape Town and the Market Theatre in Johannesburg before the collapse of apartheid. Universities and their Drama and Arts departments also fostered some interracial arts and undertook much experimental work. The arts therefore flourished in the public sphere despite the many obstacles and, because of the cultural boycott, encouraged new and indigenous forms of artistic growth.

1.2.2 The Arts as a Single Compulsory Learning Area

The very notion of all the arts being grouped together as a single entity or 'learning area' is an entirely new concept for this country. The concept of 'the arts' as a single learning area arose in the early 1980s under Margaret Thatcher in the UK in anticipating a National Curriculum with a manageable number of learning areas. This idea was adopted in Australia and New Zealand in the late 1980s and early 1990s, not without a great deal of debate.

By the time South Africa began constructing its national curriculum in the late 1990s, the convention of a single learning area for the arts did not give rise to much debate, although how the various art forms were to be managed within the learning area did cause much anguish. It must also be remembered that the Canadian and New Zealand arts curricula did impact on the formation of the South African curriculum through direct and indirect means, as will be discussed later.

Perhaps the following extract from the new democracy's ill-starred Reconstruction and Development Programme's (RDP) base document goes some way towards explaining the motivation for the creation of such a learning area:

Arts and Culture is a crucial component of developing our human resources. This will help in unlocking the creativity of our people, allowing for cultural diversity within the process of developing a

unifying national culture, rediscovering our historical heritage, and assuring that adequate resources are allocated (RDP 1994, p9).

The phrase “developing a unifying national culture” is most significant in pointing to a possible reason for the genesis of this learning area. Weiler’s theoretical arguments used in analysing the politics of curriculum reform suggest that the State constantly seeks to legitimate its decision-making authority and processes in curricular reform (Weiler, 1993). What better way to co-opt popular (voter) support for major, and in the main, unpopular, innovations in education than to appeal to the national instincts of a newly created democracy? In fact, the eagerness of the people to overcome the legacy of apartheid, “coupled with overwhelming public enthusiasm and euphoria of an emerging democratic system, has shielded the policy-making process from public scrutiny” (Valley & Spreen, 2003:436). So in a way, it was not the Government legitimating its authority, but also expressing the ‘will of the people’ at the same time. There was no critical scrutiny of the curriculum proposals until after the new curriculum was released for public approval.

The popularity of ‘fusion’ art forms in the early 1990s and the slogan “one nation, many cultures” may illuminate the necessity for this learning area in the ‘new’ South Africa. The great Arts ‘indaba’, the National Arts Initiative of the early 1990s that brought together arts practitioners from all over the country and led to a comprehensive report (the ACTAG document) may also be said to be a contributing factor. Indeed, one of the stated goals of the new government is to promote ‘nation-building’, an imperative which features implicitly and overtly in many of the assessment criteria and outcomes of Curriculum 2005.

In his definition of policy as political symbolism, Jansen states that curriculum policy encapsulates national values and ambitions through representations of society in school subjects. Curriculum policy, therefore, plays a powerful role in projecting and contesting important values which he calls ‘symbols’ (Sayed and Jansen 2001). Is the inclusion of this learning area, and in particular the fore-grounding of ‘Culture’, a conscious act of

political symbolism designed to have mass appeal and identification: the 'Shoshaloza' stamp on the new education system?

The study of curriculum reform and change in other countries and contexts has lessons from which we can learn in terms of how curricula originate, are reproduced and respond to new prescriptions. Arts and Culture had a particular symbolism for South Africa. The new learning area allowed for those art forms and cultural expressions that had long been suppressed, to be revealed and celebrated. Not only was this being done in a social and political arena, but also there was legitimation through inclusion in a formal school curriculum. This could not happen in Science or Mathematics to the same extent.

Perhaps the closest parallel in other countries is the liberation and growth in the late twentieth century of Maori culture in New Zealand. Studies of curriculum change show that it is usually prompted by social and economic changes within political systems (Milburn, Goodson and Clark, 1993). The changes in the educational scenario in South Africa were prompted by a large-scale political upheaval in the dismantling of the apartheid State and the move to a constitutional democracy. The curriculum reforms of the past two decades in countries like the United Kingdom, New Zealand, The Federal Republic of Germany or, closer to home, Zimbabwe, cannot be compared in scale to the magnitude of the changes in South Africa in 1994.

In the South African context, the call was to promote cultural, economic and political democracy. At the same time there were issues of globalisation and world trade tariffs increasing competitiveness to be considered as well. In 1994, the belief was that education and training were important ways to build up the economy and improve productivity, making the choice of Outcomes Based Education a predominantly industry-led one. The move from the social democratically motivated RDP to the more conservative neo-liberal GEAR indicates the direction that was taken to move closer to the economic goals of the country. It is interesting to note, however, that more

recently the State seems to be moving toward a more interventionist role in the economy and public policy (Southall, 2004).

The introduction to the Arts and Culture Policy Document (Oct. 1997) makes the following comment in contextualising Arts and Culture education:

In South Africa, the historical domination of Western/European Arts and Culture has impacted decisively upon cultural development and the provision of Arts and Culture Education and Training. This institutionalised bias determined the value and acceptability of certain cultural practices over others. This in turn influenced which art forms and processes were acknowledged and promoted, and which were relegated to a lesser status (DOE, 1997:AC-3).

The advent of a post-apartheid parliamentary democracy in South Africa in 1994 ushered in huge changes in the educational sphere, not least being changes of attitude towards the place of the arts in education. This new attitude meant a radical shift for arts education from the periphery of the curriculum to the centre. While not given the same national importance as Mathematics and the sciences, arts education was nevertheless rescued from the status of an 'extra', intended only for the specially talented and privileged few.

With the inception of the new Government's Curriculum 2005, Arts and Culture became a fully fledged learning area, incorporating all the previous traditional art disciplines as well as Culture, and available for the first time in the history of South Africa to all learners in all schools. The policy document states:

Despite these adverse conditions, indigenous arts and cultural practices have proved irrepressible. They must now be actively preserved, developed and promoted within the educational system and the broader society (DOE, 1997:AC-3).

The rationale for the Arts and Culture Learning Area goes even further to describe quite unequivocally, the importance of this Learning Area to the new curriculum of the country:

Arts and Culture are an integral part of life, embracing the spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional aspects of human society. Culture embodies not only expression through the arts, but lifestyles, behaviour patterns, heritage, knowledge and belief systems. Arts and Culture are fundamental to all learning (DOE, 1997:AC3).

The process of Arts and Culture becoming a school discipline (or learning area) with a 'body of knowledge' or, at any rate, with specified outcomes, adds to our understanding of how knowledge is socially constructed, passing from the domain of everyday life/societal knowledge into the more codified knowledge of the academic domain. Both the quotations above demonstrate how culture and arts came to be viewed as worthy of development into formal school knowledge. This study narrates the political and curricular processes that guided that development. In spotlighting the development of the Arts and Culture curriculum some light will also be shed on the relationship between the stated intentions of educational policy and its implementation, but my intention is to tell the story of the birth of Arts and Culture and its significance in the 'new' South Africa.

1.3 THE STUDY

1.3.1 Focus

In this study I attempt to answer why Arts and Culture came to be featured in the new democratically elected Government's education flagship: Curriculum 2005. If, as stated by Corrigan (1989), curriculum is a "selection from selected traditions", why were the Arts (and Culture) selected from among so many other choices to be included as one of only eight learning areas for compulsory study in the General Education and Training Band? In view of the many competing interests and priorities of a newly created democracy, what message was being sent to the public by the inclusion of the arts in the compulsory band of schooling? Furthermore, I have to ask why Arts *and* Culture? Why is culture being fore-grounded in this way, linked to the arts but not, for example, to science, technology, history and languages? If 'culture' were infused into these Learning Areas, then why

was the same approach not used for the arts? Most developed countries and many developing countries subscribe to an Arts curriculum in which culture features to a greater or lesser extent, given the driving imperatives of that society. Nowhere else is there such a title for a school subject or discipline. It is generally assumed that when we speak of the arts we include culture.

Arts and Culture will therefore serve as a particular example of curricular reform. This study will investigate the design and the factors that have shaped the Arts and Culture curriculum. In seeking to uncover the underlying 'truths' (such as they are) about the arts curriculum, I use the structuralist lens of narratology to view and represent the data. One need not adhere, however, to structuralism as a philosophy to be able to make use of the concepts and models of narratology. Indeed, the idea of multiple realities coincides with a more post-modern approach. Foucault, for example, posits that there is no point of origin for any event. He sees historical emergence, whether of a new government or a new curriculum, as a momentary manifestation of the hazardous play of dominations, a stage in the struggle of forces (Smart, 1995). This view indicates the approach I take towards narratology in this study. Narratives are to be viewed not only as products, but also as processes, to be considered in terms of their communicative contexts (Prince, 1997).

1.3.2 Critical Questions

In order to crystallise the thoughts raised above, the following critical questions are posed:

- Why was Arts and Culture deemed a necessary part of the new South African schools curriculum (C2005)?
- What factors influenced the design of the Arts and Culture Curriculum in 1997, and how did that influence operate?
- Did the Review process of 2000/1 and the subsequent public commentary effect significant changes to the Art and Culture curriculum?

My questions reveal the interpretivist paradigm of my study, premised on the understanding that meaning is socially constructed and that events have multiple interpretations. This is why I rely on declarative sources of data, gleaned from stimulated recall interviews with significant curriculum actors and purposive readings of the policy documents which impacted on, and form, the Arts and Culture curriculum.

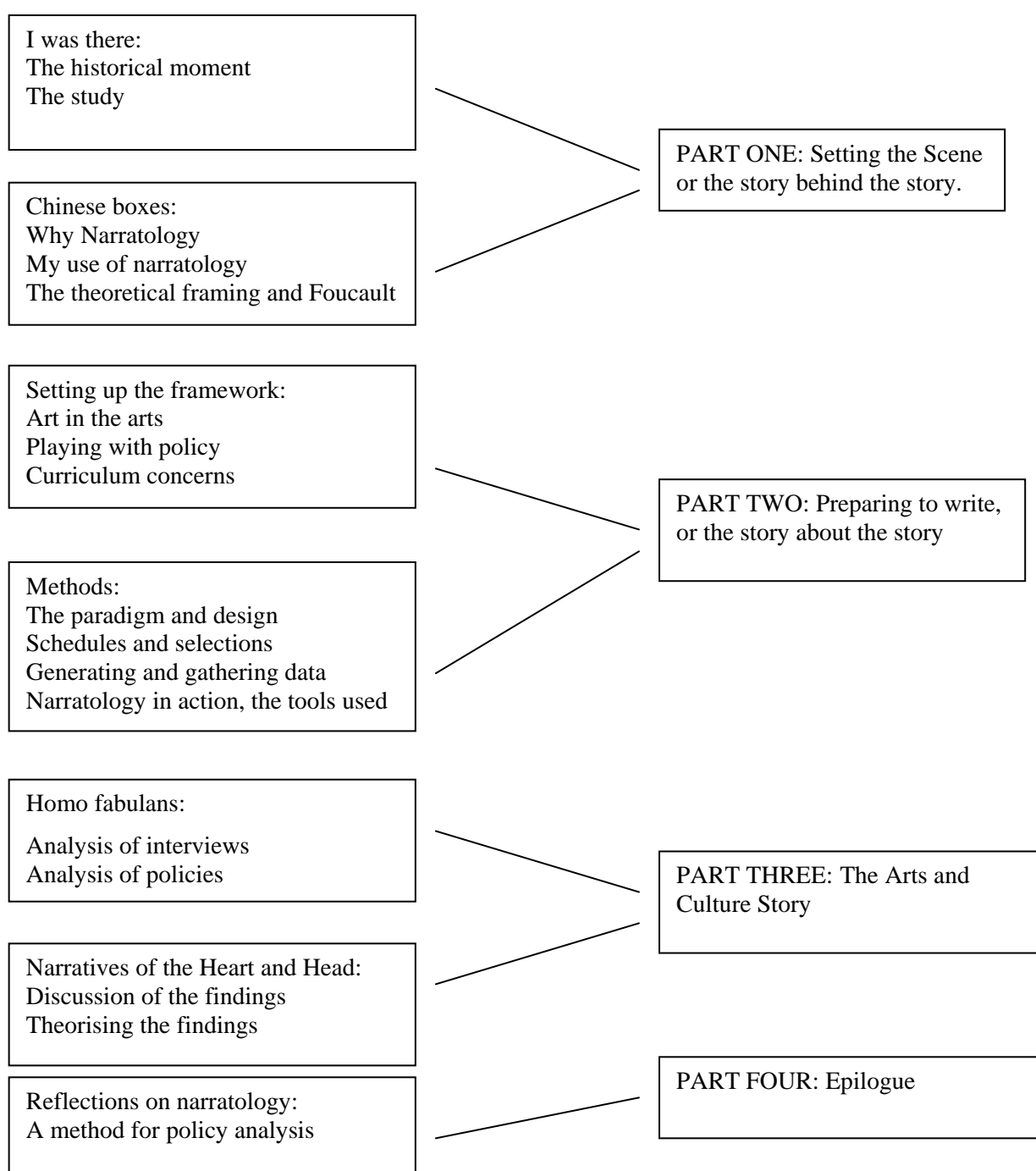
It is my intention to trace and critique the development of Arts and Culture as a learning area in the formal schools curriculum since 1997 in order to uncover the social, political and conceptual processes involved in the selection, ordering and conceptual creation of a national arts curriculum for all schools in a post-apartheid South Africa. I do not come to this research as an impartial observer. Some of these political and conceptual struggles are highlighted in my story of the curriculum development process.

1.3.3.Beginning the Narrative

In exploring and interpreting the genesis of the arts curriculum, I intend, as my opening shows, to use a narrative approach, and indeed the theoretical tool of narratology, which is the science of narrative. Narrative, according to Genette, is a “representation of an event or sequence of events, real or fictitious, by means of language and, more particularly, by means of written language,” (Genette, 1982:127). A simpler definition might be that all narrative presents a story: a sequence of events which involves characters. Narratology is concerned with all types of narratives; the main distinction is between fictional and non-fictional narratives. Non-fictional narratives (factional narrative) present a real-life person’s account of a real-life story (Jahn, 2005). It is precisely this kind of narrative of personal experience that I attempt in this study. This is the story of the Arts and Culture curriculum; how it originated, who was involved, and why it was there in the first place.

1.4 THE RESEARCH DESIGN

The entire study is envisioned as follows:



In this chapter, I have given the rationale and background to this study. My initial foray into curriculum development on a macro level raised many questions regarding the process and its effects. I realise that in order to tell my story I also have to examine a number of other stories: to look at the

people and events that played a part in the birth and development of the new Learning Area that we came to call Arts and Culture. The plan above shows how I intend to navigate my way through all these stories.

CHAPTER 2

A Narrative about Narratives

The Theoretical Framing

The narratives of the world are numberless. Able to be carried by articulated language, spoken or written, fixed or moving images, gestures and the ordered mixture of all these substances; narrative is present in myth, legend, fable, tale, novella, epic, history, tragedy, drama, comedy, mime, painting (think of Carpaccio's Saint Ursula), stained glass windows, cinema, comics, news items, conversation. Moreover...narrative is present in every age, in every place, in every society; it begins with the very history of mankind, and there nowhere is nor has been a people without narrative. (Barthes, 1997)

2.1 “NUMBERLESS ARE THE NARRATIVES OF THE WORLD”

I use these often quoted words of Roland Barthes as my introduction to the theory of narrative structure because his all-encompassing conception of narrative reminds us that narrative exists sometimes where we do not think to look for it. In my thesis, I draw upon the narratives of a number of respondents as well as official documents not usually associated with narratives: curriculum frameworks and government policies. I tell the story of the Arts policy, and I present the tales of policy-makers who affected the arts curriculum, through the lens of narratology. My theoretical framing is interpretivist in orientation: I explore the conditions and contexts of the development of the Arts and Culture curriculum. In order to do this, I use a narratological representation to manage the many layers, and the many players, involved in this process.

In this chapter, I extend the ideas about narrative that I introduced in Chapter One. I began this study with a personal story and then moved on to discuss a curriculum story. The study is located at the intersection of these two kinds of stories. The experiential and felt meanings are changed during

the course of the study into more explicit propositions about curriculum, and in particular, the Arts and Culture curriculum. The transformation from felt meanings into language that can be meaningful to others is made possible through the theories and conceptual constructs that make up the theoretical framework. In the chapter that follows, I explore the theoretical landscape that the study covers.

2.2 WHAT IS NARRATOLOGY?

Narratology is the theory of the structures of narrative. The theory provides a response to what Chatman (1978) identifies as a need of literary theory – “a reasoned account of the structure of narrative, the elements of storytelling, their combination and articulation” (Chatman, 1978:15). For my theoretical framing I shall confine my review to theorists of the ‘classical period’ of narratology such as Barthes, Todorov, Chatman and Genette writing in the 1960s and 1970s, and Bal, Rimmon-Kenen and Prince in the 1980’s. These theorists were largely influenced by Russian Formalists and French Structuralists. My study does, however, make use of more contemporary theorists in view of its poststructuralist applications.

Narratology has undergone many changes since its structuralist beginnings in the 1960s and 1970s, moving away from a focus on rules, deep structures, sentences and dualisms – the “grand narrative of structuralism” (Brockmeier & Carbaugh 2001). Contemporary literary theory since the mid-1980s has diversified into a number of “theorized practices” (Seldon et al, 1997) such as feminist criticism, poststructuralist, postmodernist, post colonialist, and gay, lesbian and queer theories. “Diversification, deconstruction and politicisation are the three characteristics of the transition in contemporary narratology (Currie, 1998:6). The current trend is to push literary studies into the arena of cultural studies since all forms of representation are seen as more than literary (Seldon et al 1997). In drawing attention to the importance of narrative to literature and life, Jeremy Tambling says: “to investigate narratives means investigating the everyday life beliefs that operate through a culture” (Tambling 1991:3). This culturally

located approach is especially suitable to my project as the social, political and conceptual processes which I identify from the data, using narratology as my instrument, reflect the cultural context of the 'new' South Africa. In her argument for the use of narratology in cultural analysis, Mieke Bal proposes "a conception of narratology that implicates text and reading, subject and object, production and analysis, in the act of understanding", leading to a theory "which defines and describes narrative; not a genre or object but a cultural mode of expression" (Bal, 1997:222).

So narratology provides a systematic and coherent way to talk about texts, and the experience of reading, analysing and evaluating them. The transition from poetics to politics in contemporary narratology, a deconstructive legacy, provides new methods of reading texts for the unmasking of ideologies and hidden values, values which often subvert the conscious intention of the narrative (Currie, 1998:5). This suggests that narratology could fruitfully be applied to policy and policy development, which has not been the case. Prince (1997) points to the varied use of narratological tools and arguments in a number of domains. In cultural analysis narratology is used to trace the way various forms of knowledge legitimate themselves through narrative: in philosophy, to analyse the structure of action; and in psychology, to study memory and comprehension (Prince, 1997:6).

Polkinghorne (1996) notes that narrative discourse has the capacity to unify and integrate disparate elements into a meaningful entity and is therefore favoured in personality studies. In the fields of sociology and education, narrative theory features to a large extent in the area of life-history research. Bal defines narratology as "the theory of narratives, narrative texts, images, spectacles, events; cultural artefacts that 'tell a story'. Such a theory helps to understand, analyse, and evaluate narratives" (Bal 1997:3). So the consideration of narratology in this study makes it pertinent not only in terms of its application to policy texts, but also expands conceptions of narratology as a research method.

2.3 WHY NARRATOLOGY?

To explain why I chose narratology as the theoretical approach for this study, I would like to quote in detail from Bal:

The point of narratology, defined as reflection on the generically specific, narrative determinants of the production of meaning in semiotic interaction, is not the construction of a perfectly reliable model which 'fits' the texts. Such a construction presupposes the object of narratology to be a 'pure' narrative. Instead, narrative must be considered as a discursive mode which affects semiotic objects in variable degrees (Bal, 1997:14).

My contention is that my thesis, the policy documents which I analyse, and the interviews which I conduct, can all be viewed as narratives. Narrativizing is the methodology I use to make my experiences of curriculum development in the arts meaningful: "simply to live within time means that we are constantly narrativizing experiences, giving it an organisation, an emplotment" (Tambling, 1991:103). As Currie (1998:1) maintains, new narratology brings its expertise to bear on narratives wherever they can be found, which is everywhere. This is why he views humans as narrative animals – as "*homo fabulans*" – the tellers and interpreters of narrative. Narrative is a way of translating the knowing and experiencing into a 'telling' and, as the opening quotation by Barthes suggests, it is an integral part of life. I believe that narratology as an instrument, conceived of as a set of tools, could give meaning to, as well as provide a means of interpretation of the texts which form the basis of my study. In particular, I am intent on developing *policy narratology* as a new domain (Gale, 2001).

It may be helpful at this point to explore some of the terms and attributes of narratology that I use in this study. I shall begin with some definitions and then move on to a detailed exploration of narratology, showing how it becomes a heuristic tool for analysis in this study.

2.3.1 Narrative

A narrative may be defined as a representation of an event or sequence of events, real or fictitious, by means of language and, more particularly, by means of written language (Genette, 1966). Bal defines a narrative text as a “story that is told in a medium, i.e. converted into signs”, and these signs are produced by an agent who relates (Bal, 1997:8). A broader definition of narrative refers to it as a human phenomenon that is not restricted to literature, film and theatre, but is found in all activities that involve the representation of events in time (Abbott, 2002).

Chatman (1978) defines the necessary components of a narrative as twofold: the first is the story (*histoire*) and the chain of events (actions and happenings), plus what is called the existents (characters, items of settings); the second is the discourse (*discours*), i.e. the expression or the means by which the content is communicated. The story is the ‘what’; the discourse is the ‘how’. The constituent parts of narrative can be represented in the following model by Chatman (1978):

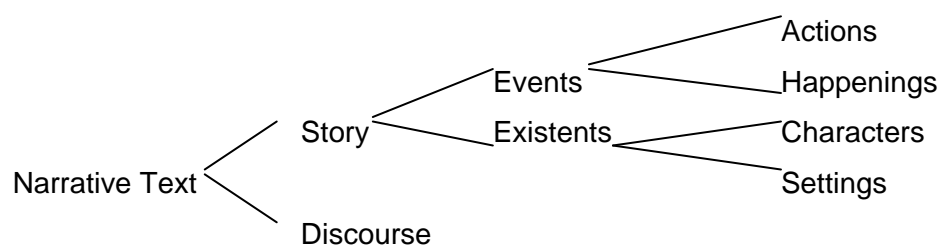


Figure 1

The text as discourse is the part that is available to us. We as readers or listeners are active participants in narrative because receiving the story depends on how we construct it from the discourse (Abbott, 2005). How we read a story takes us to the realm of discourse. If we look at the word ‘discourse’ in the sense in which Foucault might use it, then discourse represents more than the words used in a story. It is a group of statements that belong to a single system of formation, a world-view (Foucault, 1972). The word ‘discourse’ describes the text as well as the ideology that lies

behind the text (Tambling, 1991). This is an idea that I develop in the fieldwork and analysis of this study.

In Bal's definition of narrative above, reference is made to an agent who relates the events or story. In oral stories the storyteller or narrator is easily identifiable, someone whom we can hear and see and perhaps assess in terms of how much of him- or herself is being put into the story, or in terms of his or her attitude to the events. Getting to know a textual narrator is more difficult. We have to identify the 'agent'.

2.3.2 Narrator

Since we can never actually know the writer of a text, we try to locate a sensibility behind the narrative that accounts for how it is constructed, a sensibility on which we can base our interpretation – an implied author (Abbott, 2005; Chatman, 1978). This cannot be the agent mentioned in the definitions of narratives above, considering that the author can create the narrator as well. As Bal puts it: "the writer withdraws and calls on a fictitious spokesman, an agent known as the narrator" (Bal, 1997:8). A narrator, then, is the agent who/which, at the very least, narrates or engages in some activity serving the needs of narration, e.g. writing a letter or diary, although the one who writes it may not intend to narrate or be conscious of narrating (Rimmon-Kenan, 1983). This last point is especially significant for this study when it is applied to the narrator of a policy or curriculum where the writers may not have been consciously narrating. In this non-fictional study I am, of course, both the author and the narrator. The policies themselves did have authors, individual and collective, and it is their narrations and texts that form the data for this story of mine.

According to the theory of narratology, since I am the person relating this story, it may be classified as a homodiegetic narrative – a story told by a narrator who is also one of the story's acting characters (Genette, 1980). A homodiegetic narrator tells a story of personal experience (often of past experiences) which has shaped or influenced his/her life. I could also be called an external narrator (writing this text and commenting on the events)

as well as a character narrator (being involved in some of the events) as Bal (1997) describes it. In the interests of clarity, I will make use of Bal's terminology (external and character narrators) rather than that of Genette's in my methodology and analysis later.

Narrative distance refers to the temporal and psychological distance between the narrating 'I' and the experiencing 'I'. For example, my experience as a curriculum developer is being narrated years after the events occurred. Not only has time passed and conditions changed, but I have changed and my perceptions now may not be the same as when I had those experiences. So it seems that there can be no single definitive narrative of an experience. What I think about something depends on my present temporal state. In ten years' time, my thoughts will be different, because these experiences will be part of a whole different set of events that happen in time (Tambling, 1991). There is no last word on this story.

2.3.3 Layers of Narrative

In my story of the genesis of Arts and Culture as a Learning Area, I tell the stories of the arts policies as well as of those people who were involved in these policy processes. But these additional stories are sometimes told through the actors' own words: they narrate, through the technique of interviews, their own stories. As their stories meet the criteria for narrative, their embedded texts may also be considered as narrative texts (Bal, 1997). The 'narrations' of characters within the story are often referred to as 'speech acts' to distinguish them from the narrator's comments.

Narrations within narrations could be infinite, like the painting of a room which has on the wall a painting of the same room, with a painting on its wall of that room, and so on. "Such narratives within narrative create a stratification of levels whereby each inner narrative is subordinate to the narrative within which it is embedded" (Rimmon-Kenan, 1983:91). The original narrative now becomes a frame or matrix narrative, and the story told by a narrating character becomes an embedded or hyponarrative (Bal,

1981). The matrix or main narrative is always at a higher level than the story it narrates.

We can distinguish between the various levels by using Rimmon-Kenan's (1983) description. A first-degree narrative is a narrative that is not embedded in any other narrative, just as my own narrative or thesis exists in its own right. A second-degree narrative is a narrative that is embedded in a first-degree narrative, like the story of my immersion into curriculum development during the production of the Arts and Culture curriculum. A third-degree narrative would be one of my interviewee's stories, and if he/she told of another story in his/her story to me it could go on to the fourth or fifth degree.

Genette's (1972) descriptions are slightly different. He speaks of the extradiegetic level (diegesis being the story) of the main narrative with the diegetic level immediately subservient to it – the events themselves. Events may include speech acts of narration. The stories told by fictional characters constitute a second-degree narrative i.e. a hypodiegetic level. He also uses the term "intradiegetic narrator" in the hypodiegetic narrative level. In my analysis I intend to make use of my own term "respondent narrators" as I feel this term accurately describes the role played by the policy-makers whom I interviewed. As the external narrator, I can choose when to narrate my story and when to let respondent narrators speak. I need to consider how and when I make such choices. In this retrospective study, something prompted me in my decisions about which stories, events, and characters to use and not to use.

2.3.4 Focalization

It is, I suppose, focalization that leads to a specific story being distinct from another that might cover the same events. A story is presented in the text through the mediation of some 'prism' or 'perspective' or 'angle of vision' verbalised by the narrator, though not necessarily his or hers (Rimmon-Kenan, 1983:71). This is the process called focalization in narratology. When events are presented, they are always presented from within a certain vision

(Bal, 1997), so a choice is made from the various points of view from which the elements (of the story) can be presented. The resulting focalization, the relation between 'who perceives' and what is perceived, 'colours' the story with subjectivity (Bal, 1997:8). Focalization can also be described as "the lens through which we see characters and events in the narrative" (Abbott, 2002:66). In most cases the focalizing is done by the external narrator, but the focalizer could be a character within the story. In fact one could have a text where there are multiple focalizations. The technique of presenting an episode repeatedly, each time seen through the eyes of a different (internal) focalizer is a good example of how multiple focalizations work. In my text, different interviewees respond to the same event (e.g. the revision of the curriculum) and gave their opinions of the event as they each viewed it. In the case of my thesis, I am the (external) focalizer. In my recollections and story I am also an internal or character focalizer, as are the many respondents who gave their points of view (Bal, 1997 & Rimmon-Kenan, 1983).

In narratology reference is also made to voice. The basic voice question is 'who speaks? Attention to focalized narrative draws attention to the voice – who is speaking? Whose attitudes are we listening to, besides hearing the story they tell? (Tambling, 1991). Since it is the narrator who establishes communicative contact with the audience, it is the narrator who decides what is to be told and how. The narrator can also comment on the purpose, moral or message of the text (Jahn, 2005).

In trying to arrive at the distinctness of narrative voice, one might be assisted by textual elements which project a narrative voice. These are usually referred to as discourse or narrative markers. In considering content matter for example, a naturally and culturally appropriate voice for the subject is used. The narrator's beliefs, convictions and attitudes towards people and things can be found in the subjective expressions used. These often contain value judgements. Pragmatic signals are expressions that point to the narrator's awareness of an audience and the degree of his/her orientation towards it. In my study, especially when I analyse the stories of

my respondent narrators, their subjective expressions help me in my decisions of interpretation. So ultimately it is focalization that is the main tool of narratological analysis.

2.4 MY USE OF NARRATOLOGY

I chose to use Mieke Bal's approach to narratology and her three layers of narrative as the basic structure of my thesis. I find in Bal, who belongs to the 'Tel Aviv' school, a contemporary narratologist who has grappled with the limitations of the theory and has been able to contribute to its development. She is able to adapt the theory to do the 'other things' which occupy contemporary researchers: "for those 'other things,' like political and ideological criticism, cannot but be based on insights into the way texts produce those political effects." (Bal, 1997:13).

Bal distinguishes between the text, the story and the 'fabula' in a narrative. The elements that make up the **fabula** (events, actors, time and location) are organised in a certain way into a **story**. "Their arrangement in relation to one another is such that they can produce the effect desired" (Bal, 1997:7). The **text** then tells the story using a particular medium in a structured way. "Narrative texts differ from one another even if the related story is the same" (Bal, 1997:5). In applying this theory to my study, I present a many layered text, which for me echoes the many layers, seen and unseen, that constitute curriculum construction and policy generation which are the fabula of my thesis. (For the sake of simplicity I use the term fabula to represent both the singular and plural forms.)

A simple representation of my study based on what is called the standard structure of fictional narrative communication (Jahn, 2005) and following Bal's terminology would appear as:

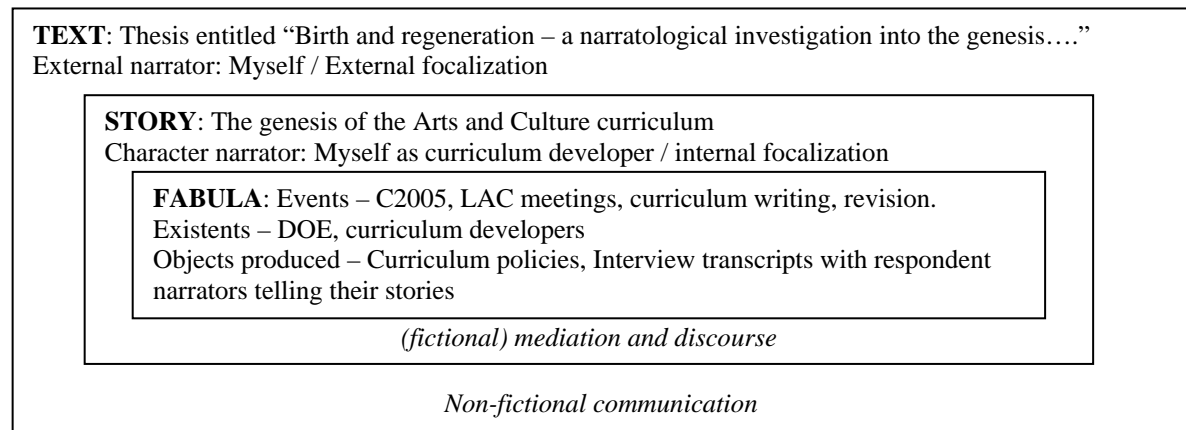


Figure 2

My study as a narrative could then be conceptualised as what is often referred to as Chinese boxes – the one inside the other as described below. This thesis entitled “Birth and regeneration...” forms what Bal refers to as the **text**. It contains a version of the story of Arts and Culture within its pages. I provide the voice of an overt (Chatman, 1978) external narrator as I ‘speak’ this text. The **story** is of course about the genesis of Arts and Culture as a learning area for schools in 1997, and also the regeneration of the learning area through the revision process of 2001. The story contains my vision – how I saw the events and processes that unfolded during the development of the arts curriculum. The **fabula** describes the actual or real events, when and how they occurred and in what order. They do not of themselves constitute the story. The fabula describe who the actors were and what processes were undertaken and objects produced by them.

2.4.1 The Character Narrator

I was one of the many actors in the arts curriculum development process. So I become a character in my own story (a character narrator) as I recall, now, the events and incidents which occurred then. “Memory is an act of ‘vision’ of the past but, as an act, situated in the present of the memory” (Bal, 1997:147). How reliable is my memory – is the story I remember identical to what I actually experienced? How have time and other factors acted as filters to memory? Perhaps the stories of my respondent narrators will support my version of events or perhaps they will show me up. I

constantly reflect as I tell of my experiences that people sometimes come to their identity stories through processes that operate outside their awareness and over which they have no direct rational control (Polkinghorne, 1996:365). I find this a sobering thought and one that cautions me to examine my own representations especially in the fieldwork and analysis.

2.4.2 The Embedded Narratives: Interviews

Within this matrix narrative of mine are embedded many other narratives. My story consists of other peoples' stories as well. In narratology these are referred to as embedded (Bal, 1997) narratives, hyponarratives (Jann, 2005) and second or third degree narratives (Rimmon-Kenan, 1983). The two data sets collected to illuminate the arts curriculum story, in themselves form other levels of narratives, each of which can also be dissected into layers of text, story and fabula. In my story, the actors in the original fabula did two things, they wrote the arts curricula (policies) and they spoke about their experiences and thoughts regarding arts and culture education (interviews). The Chinese boxes have now multiplied. So my model now appears something like this:

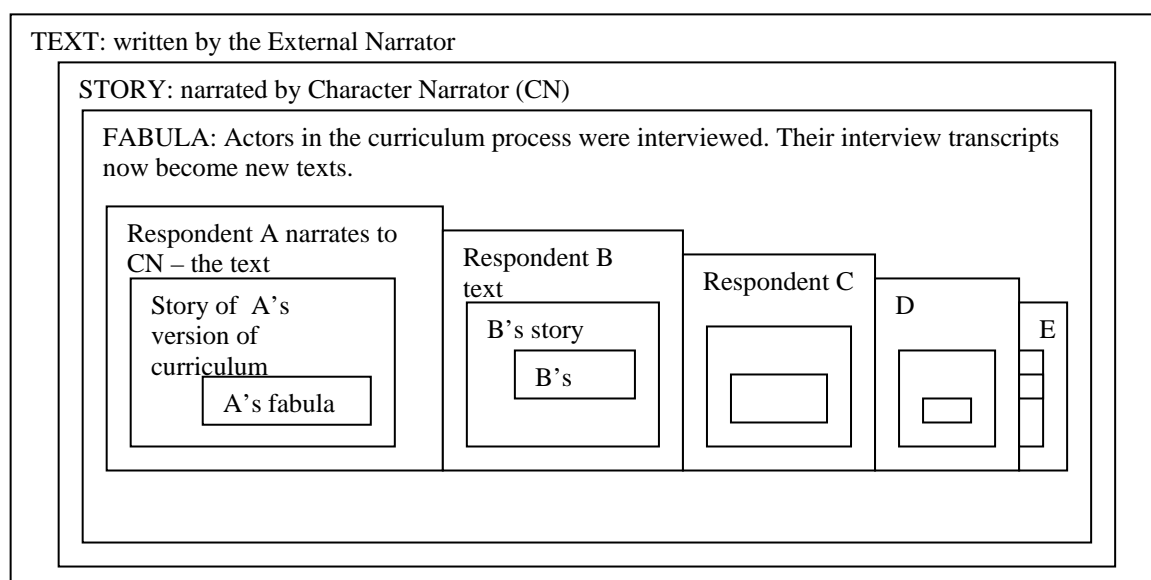


Figure 3

Each of my interview transcripts is presented as a text, narrated by a character in my story, telling his or her own story of how and why the arts

and culture curriculum came into being. The fabula they recount, prompted by my questions, cover very much the same territory, how arts education was conceptualised in Curriculum 2005, why culture was included as part of the learning area, the use of an integrated approach in the curriculum and the changes instituted by the revised national curriculum statement (RNCS).

2.4.3 The Embedded Narratives: Policy Documents

The next set of Chinese boxes, the second data set, are the embedded narratives of the arts policy documents. The three policy texts each tell their own story of arts and culture education. The story of the White Paper for Arts, Culture and Heritage (WPACH) is a story of a framework for the provision and development of the arts across all sectors of the community. It is a political story with its own fabula (actors in the arts community, the Ministry for Arts, Culture, Science and Technology), and its own series of events (consultative processes, policy production, setting up of statutory bodies and so on). All of these occur in real time. My narration focuses on the education aspect of the policy and how it impacted on the education policies which followed.

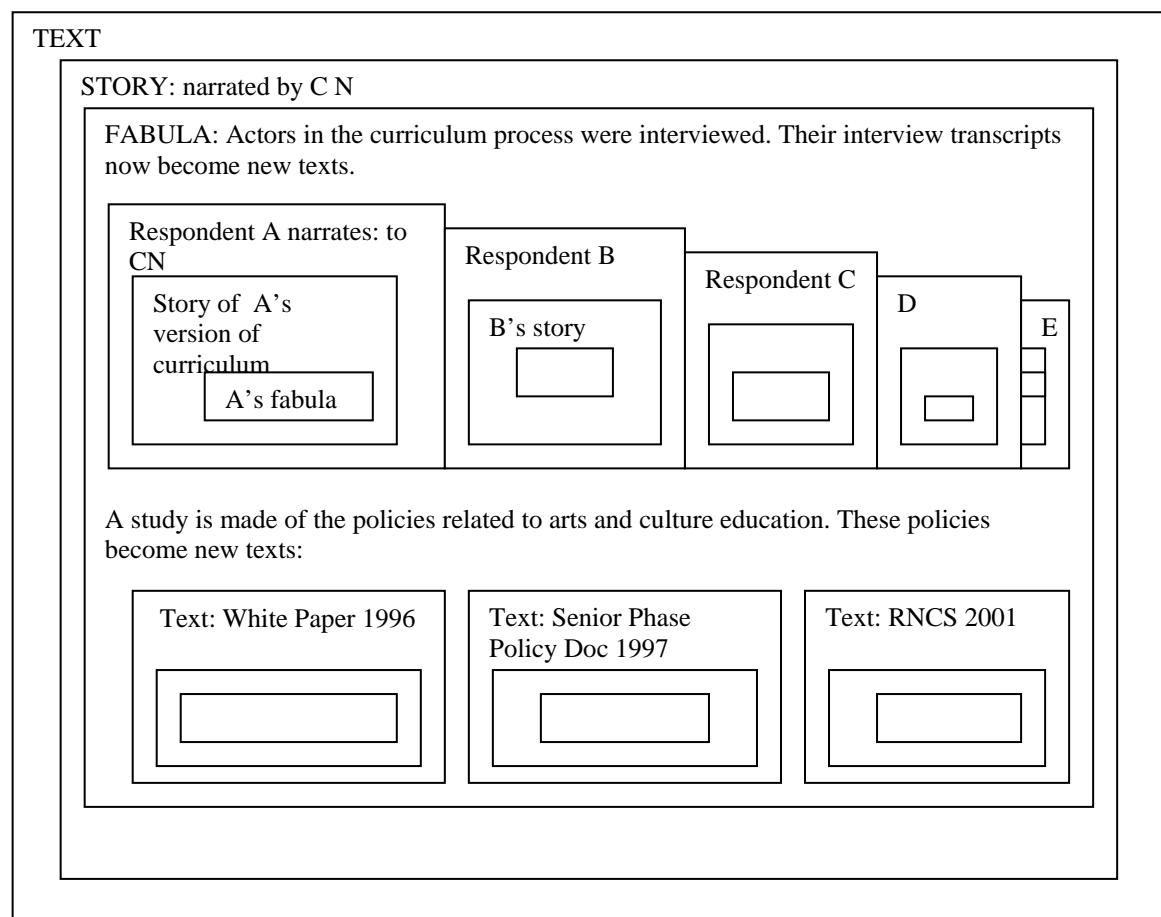
The second policy text embedded in my text is that of the first arts and culture education policy document developed in 1997. This text contains the story of the first Arts and Culture Learning Area for the Senior Phase. It is the story of how Arts and Culture came to be included in a new country's new curriculum, and why it was included. It tells how the Learning Area was conceptualised and what its focus was. It is a story of choices made and the consequences of those choices. The fabula in general recount the kinds of actors involved (curriculum developers), their functions, their experiences and the influences of that period of time. Some of the events that happened at this time are told in the stories of the policy makers and curriculum developers who were interviewed. It is interesting to see how the same event e.g. integration, is focalized in different texts.

The last embedded text is that of the Arts and Culture Revised National Curriculum Statement for GET. This is the story of the regenerated arts

curriculum, a story of streamlining and strengthening, intended to improve the first curriculum. Its story has a different focus, 'high skills and high knowledge' with the arts as discrete disciplines. Some of the actors are the same as in the first curriculum story. The events are similar but there is a different focus now so different choices are made. Who speaks this text? Is the voice of this unseen narrator the same as in the first curriculum text? These answers will be uncovered in the analysis process.

I concur with the notion proposed by Brockmeier and Harré (2001) that rather than seeing narratives as only as cognitive, linguistic, or ontological entities, we might view them as *modus operandi* of specific discursive practices. They suggest that the term narrative implies a variety of forms inherent in getting knowledge, structuring actions, and ordering experience and that in studying narratives we have to examine these discursive practices, their cultural texts and contexts (Brockmeier & Harré, 2001:53). This is why the arts policy documents assume a double significance – not only are they the data for the research they are also the cultural texts and discourse shapers of their times. My model now appears like this:

Figure 4



As the levels of narrative increase so the text becomes more layered, with the different narrators' focalizations and voices recounting their stories. The structure assists in separating out the different perspectives and voices to isolate the meanings.

Official policy documents are not usually defined as narrative texts. Roland Barthes (1966) describes texts as being 'readerly' i.e. those which limit practitioner involvement and 'writerly', those that allow the practitioner to co-author the text. Policy texts can be described as 'writerly' texts since they require the use of semantic, symbolic and cultural codes to make sense of them. While I seek answers to the critical questions of my study, I also attempt to test the boundaries of narratology in this thesis. I ask if policy narratology does more than just describe how policy texts are arranged and ordered. Is narratology, as suggested by Bal, more than a set of codes to make narrative work? I interrogate whether the act of dissecting the text into its component parts to determine the function, relationships and effects, actually illuminates the meaning, the ideology and sub-text of the policies.

2.4.4 Making Narratology and Narrative Analysis Work for Me

Up to this point I have shown how the interviews and policy documents are integrated within my story by using the analogy of Chinese boxes. All the data become embedded as (hypo) narratives within my matrix narrative. Narratology then provides me with a means of mapping out the various components of this study and demonstrating the relationship of one to another. My personal story as a curriculum developer is integrated within the larger story of the genesis of Arts and Culture. The personal experiences of the interviewees as revealed in their stories are interlinked by the fabula they all encountered in the curriculum development process.

Later in my analysis of the interview transcripts, I look at the various stories that emerge around each of the curriculum issues and ask how each has been focalized. To ascertain the focalization one could ask questions such as 'Who sees?' or 'In what way is the narrative information restricted to

somebody's perception, knowledge or point of view?' (Jahn 2005). A text is anchored to a focalizer's point of view when it presents the focalizer's thoughts, reflections and knowledge, his/her actual and imaginary perceptions, as well as his/her cultural and ideological orientation (Jahn, 2005). These notions also apply to the policy documents which are analysed as narratives. The narrative and discourse markers of the texts help me find the focalization.

Focalization can be described as the key to story-telling as it provides that unique narrative perspective that makes one story stand apart from another. It can be defined as the "relationship between the vision (agent that sees) and what is seen" (Bal, 1997:142). In the analysis of the policy documents I have used it to critique the focus of each policy in terms of how the arts were conceptualised.

Also supporting and framing my narrative methodology is the approach to narrative analysis proposed by Catherine Kholer Reissman (2002) who identifies five levels of representation in the research process viz. attending, telling, transcribing, analysing and reading. I see her first level of attending or "making certain phenomena meaningful" (Riessman, 2002:222) as applying to both the researcher and the person who tells their story. In my selections of those who I chose to interview, I survey the landscape of policy players and curriculum developers as well as the various stages of the policy process before I 'attend' to the ones that I think will make my study meaningful. In the same way the respondents recollect, reflect and select those aspects of experience that they wish to focus on. The telling, Riessman suggests, is the performance of a personal narrative, representing the event to listeners and drawing on cultural resources. Here again, in my view, this level of analysis applies as much to the respondent as to the researcher. Whilst my respondent filters and focalizes what is said to me in the interaction of the interview, I have already chosen what is to be represented at this interview by way of my guiding questions and schedules. When I describe the data production in the methodology chapter, I am

already engaged in analysis by choosing how I report these experiences and imagining a listener/reader.

2.4.5 Extending the Theoretical Framing

In this study I bring together two different perspectives as a theoretical framing. The first is from Narratology, specifically the use of focalization and the second from the early work of Michel Foucault in the area of discourse.

Whether consciously or not, the point of view or focalization of any narrator, myself included, is always chosen. My focalization in this study is centred on the discursive practices – the influences and knowledge – that shaped the Arts and Culture policy discourse. This self-awareness of point of view and voice is what brings me to the Foucauldian notions of discourse and discontinuities that help me refine my focalization.

As a matter of interest, Foucault did eschew structuralism later in his career, but perhaps, since he avoided all attempts to label his work, this is not relevant. In any event, I wish to make use of his theories as others, notably Ball (1990), Kenway (1990), and Gale (1999), have done in the area of policy analysis. Foucault's notion is that discourses are practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak (Foucault, 1972). Discourse is at the location where power and knowledge intersect. Discourses embody meaning and social relationships; they constitute both subjectivity and power relations (Ball, 1990). Discourse also refers to the conditions under which certain things are said, the conditions of its existence. This means that for the purpose of this study the question regarding the Arts and Culture curriculum should concern what conditions the curriculum developers had to fulfil, not only to make the arts education discourse coherent and true in general, but to give it value and practical application as Arts policy for the time when it was written and accepted (O'Farrell, 2005). It is important to note that discourse is not a template for the future; it describes the rules of a past system. One cannot make predictions based on past discourse.

Ironically, Foucault does not regard art – visual or performance - as a discursive practice. For Foucault an artist creates an art object, not another way of saying something (O' Farrell, 2005). This echoes Langer's explanation that artworks are images of feeling that formulate it for our cognition (Langer, 1957). Since the focus of this study is the policy governing art education, not art *per se*, the notion of discursive practice does apply. Foucault says that discursive practices are characterised by the demarcation of a field of objects, by the definition of a legitimate perspective for a subject of knowledge, and by the setting of norms for elaborating concepts and theories (Foucault, 1971). Policy discourse, whether on arts education or any other discipline, is a well-established discursive field.

Foucault's approach to history is not one of cause and effect or a progressive flow of events. His 'counter history' approach conceived of bodies of knowledge or discourses as potentially discontinuous across history rather than cumulative (Mc Houl & Grace, 1994:4). His ideas on discontinuity provide an insight into his critique of dominant knowledges (Foucault, 1972). This critique also provides us with an approach to investigate less official forms of knowledge; in this case, the development of a 'new' learning field, Arts and Culture.

Foucault was concerned not only with how disciplinary knowledges functioned but with the problem of how bodies of ideas change and transform. He does not look at discontinuity in general, but at a whole range of discontinuities between and within discourses. Discourses change because of rethinking within the discipline or mutations of its boundaries or broad transformations among discourses (Mc Houl & Grace, 1994). For my purpose, I ask how arts education, such as choral music, drawing and craft become the learning area designated Arts and Culture?

Foucault was concerned with the naïve knowledges, those taken less seriously by the official histories. They are usually the ones ranked beneath the sciences. He says that it is "through the reappearance of this knowledge, of these local popular knowledges, these disqualified

knowledges, that criticism performs its work” (Foucault, 1980). Although his examples are drawn from medicine and psychology, I believe that the Arts and Culture Learning Area fits this description.

Regarding discourse, Mc Houll & Grace (1994) posit three main tenets to Foucault's thinking, i.e. we should treat past discourse not as a theme for a commentary which would revive it, but as a monument to be described in its character-disposition (as I do of the past arts education system); we should seek in the discourse not its laws of construction as do structural methods, but its conditions of existence; and, thirdly, we should refer the discourse not to the thought, the mind or the subject that might have given rise to it, but to the practical field in which it is deployed.

I do not see it as a contradiction to bring together two ‘opposing’ systems, i.e. the structuralist focalization and the Foucauldian discourse. In my study, I do two things – I do examine the laws of construction of the policy discourse and I also uncover the conditions of existence and the rules under which the curriculum came into being. This is particularly the case in the analysis of the discourse of the policy-makers and other commentators. Here the meaning of what was said or done is affected by who is making the statement, and by the social and political power relations. This is what constitutes the rules.

Poststructuralist narratology recognises that structure is something that is projected onto the work by a reading, rather than a property of narrative ‘discovered’ by reading, i.e. reading constructs the object (Currie, 1998:3). This is what I ‘play’ with in analysis by developing a narratological lens to ‘read’ documents. The understanding of how ideology operates in narrative is an important subset of narratology, which depends on the descriptive resources of its formalist history (Currie, 1998:8). Traditional narratology assumed, that all readers would respond in the same way to the point of view analysed in a text. Poststructuralist narratology is more sceptical of the readers’ ability to suspend identity in terms of race, gender and class or, for my purposes, position (Currie, 1998:23).

2.5 TO SUM UP...

In this chapter, I have grounded my experiences and intuitions in a theoretical framework which combines Foucault's discourse theory and narratology. I have shown how this can be made to work as supporting theory, as an analytical tool, and a means of representing the report. In moving onto other parts of this study, I am able to keep the coherence of the **story** as a guiding principle. This is especially helpful as my study veers from policy analysis into personal histories and back to curriculum development. The use of narrative leads me also to answer my research questions at the end as a story. Finally, at the end of my study I want to be able to say whether the tools of narratology can be developed into a lens for policy analysis, as policy historiography, archaeology and genealogy have all been used as lenses.

CHAPTER 3

Building a Bridge to the Story

A Conceptual Framework and Literature Review

“When I use a word,” Humpty Dumpty said, “it means just what I choose it to mean – neither more nor less.”

*“The question is,” said Alice, “whether you **can** make words mean so many different things.”*
(Lewis Carroll
1865)

The subject of this study is the Arts and Culture curriculum and, more specifically, the factors that generated and shaped it. Accordingly the questions posed in the study are:

- Why was Arts and Culture deemed a necessary part of the new South African schools curriculum (C2005)?
- What factors influenced the design of the Arts and Culture Curriculum in 1997, and how did that influence operate?
- Did the Review process of 2000/1 and the subsequent public commentary effect significant changes to the Art and Culture curriculum?

Implicit in these questions are a number of assumptions and implications which will be teased out in this chapter. I begin by exploring the term ‘Arts and Culture’ as it is the most important one for the study. What is understood by this term both generally and in this study? What is meant by culture? There are a number of possible directions to take in this review and exploration. I could interrogate the conceptual construct of curriculum...what is a curriculum and what in particular is Curriculum 2005? I could refine this analysis by asking what is meant by curriculum design and focus on the design principles of C2005. The question of influence is equally important as it accounts for the direction taken by the curriculum developers. Similarly, the processes used in the policy around curriculum construction could also be interrogated.

In looking at all these constituents of the conceptual landscape of the study, I decided to isolate the most relevant dimensions that reflect on my topic, i.e. the **genesis** of the Arts and Culture Learning Area in post-apartheid South Africa. My choices reflect my focalization in this study – it is after all **my story** of arts and culture in the schools curriculum. The concepts that I have chosen to explore are broadly located around art, culture, education policy and curriculum change. Since (as Bal, 1997, points out) the argumentative parts of a text give explicit information about the ideology of a text, I reveal my own interests in my choices. My literature review is an inquiry into the discourse around the concepts which form the subject of the study.

3.1 THE STORY CONTINUES...

If I return to the narratological model of my study (Figure 2), I can locate the conceptual framework within the level of the text. Bal (1997) refers to textual passages which do not refer to the fabula but to an external topic or general knowledge outside the fabula, as the argumentative aspect of the text (Bal, 1997:32-33).

As I draw on the literature, develop a commentary and come to my findings about these concepts, I am also developing my own understanding and knowledge. This affects my focalization and brings me back to the level of my story. So a process of conceptual analysis becomes the bridge between text and story, moving from non-fictional communication to the level of mediation and discourse. Playing the roles of both external and character narrator makes it possible for me to do this.

My earlier model can be amended now to look like this:

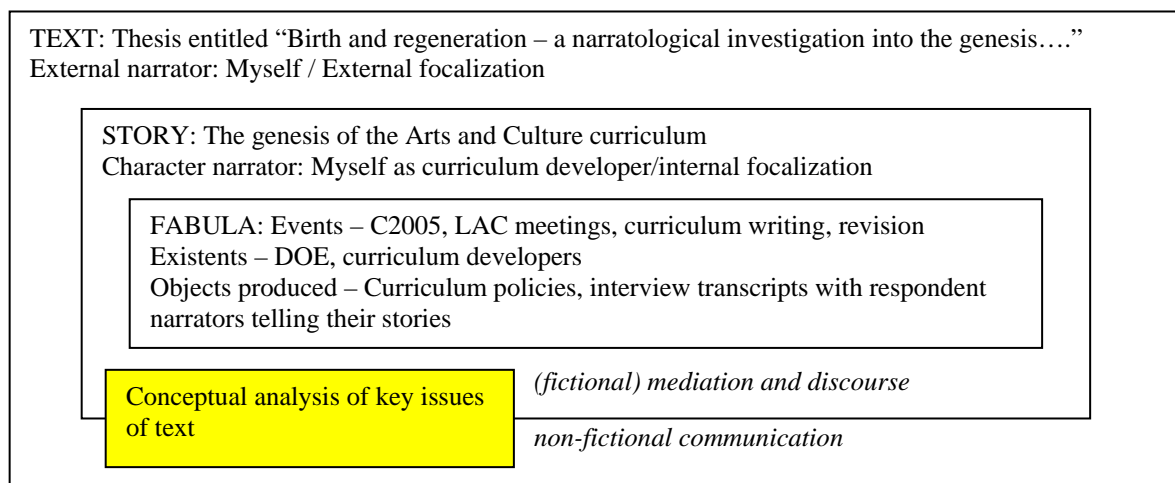


Figure 5

I promised in my opening chapter to describe how the curriculum was framed in terms of social, political and conceptual processes. My first account was a somewhat naïve narrative of my debut into the world of curriculum development. This part of the story now opens up to the larger influences on the Arts and Culture curriculum story and points to the historical and pedagogical debates around curriculum policy and the arts.

As I reflect on the object of my analysis, i.e. the Arts and Culture curriculum, I am constrained to focus consciously on my understanding of the language that forms the key concepts of this phenomenon. “Before we can ask what a term ‘should’ mean, we should ask how do we in fact employ a language concept within our language community” (de Vos et al, 2005:432). It becomes necessary, then, to develop a conceptual framework as a means of understanding how meaning has been mediated through the data that I present. This conceptual framework is not about my personal experience, but contributes to the discourse of the development of the Arts and Culture curriculum.

3.2 SETTING UP THE FRAMEWORK

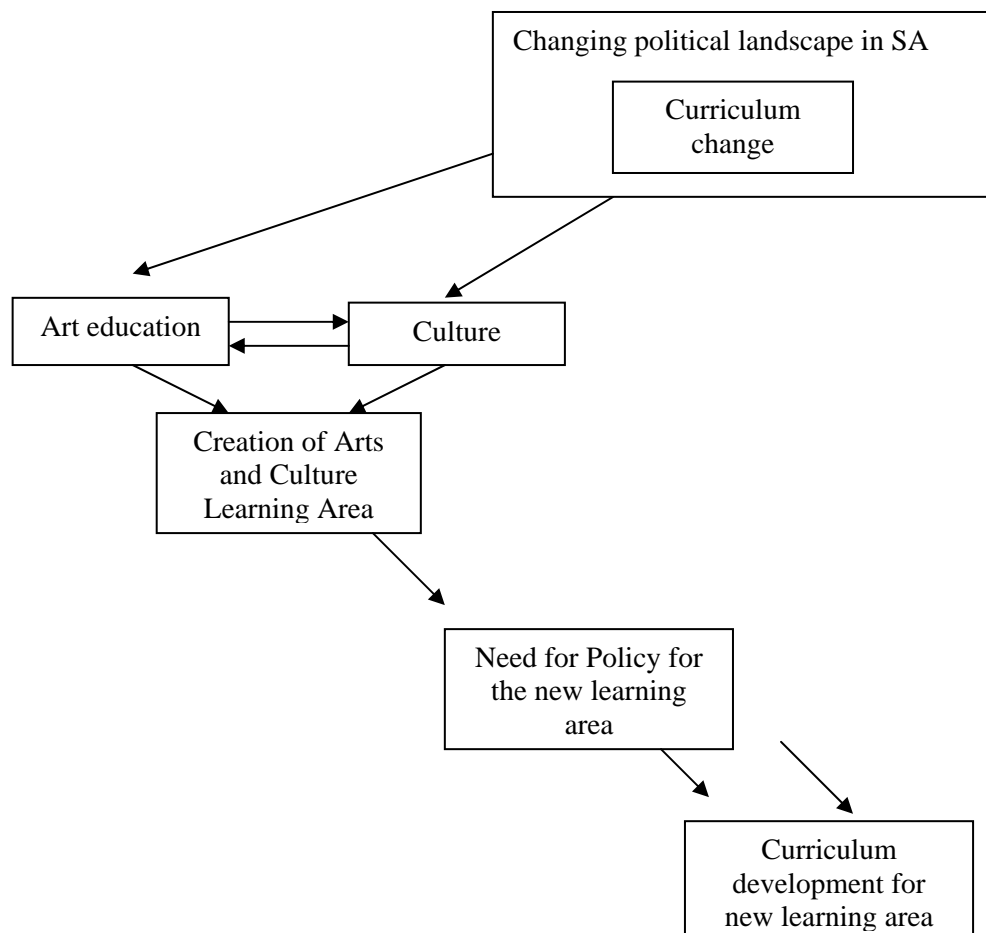
My conceptual framework begins with the exploration of the development of arts education and its changing roles and identity in current educational practice. I have already described the historical context of arts education in South Africa prior to democracy, so I move to a more generalised account here. After tracing the emergence of ‘the arts’ as a single epistemological field, I move on to discuss ‘culture’ as an allied discipline. In this section, I do not trace the history of the discipline of cultural studies in South Africa since the learning area does not itself define culture on that basis. Instead I attempt to unpack the multiple interpretations and interplays of culture related to curriculum generally and in a more specific South African apartheid-related context. In particular I am interested in the interplay between culture and identity formation.

My intention here is to bring together the conceptualisation of culture in the Arts and Culture curriculum with the notion of the arts. These two areas

were brought together by the new government through its policies and in response to public needs. This coming together created a need for a detailed and coherent curriculum policy, which was exemplified in the Arts and Culture policy framework.

The new policies require that my conceptual framework move to an analysis of the relationship between policy and the curriculum and the impact of the one on the other. I briefly explore the policy process in South Africa in respect of power relations and legitimisation. Finally, I locate the issues of policy and curriculum development in a context of changing societal needs and political upheaval. The creation of the new learning area is both the result of change and the cause of change. It came about as a result of political change and it caused a change in the curriculum landscape of art education. It therefore appears in two ways in my depiction of the framework.

My conceptual framework can be represented as follows:



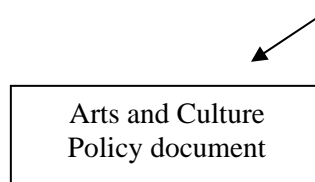


Figure 6

3.3 'THE ARTS' IN EDUCATION

Art of some kind, perceived along certain lines, and valued in particular ways, has probably been a central part of every civilization and culture. This points to the fact that the term "art" has itself frequently been used in an honorific sense - as naming something intrinsically valuable, to be admired by members of that culture.

(Bayer 1995)

The idea of art in education or art as education is by no means a contemporary phenomenon. One could go back to Plato who advocated art as the basis of education. But it is not within the scope of this study to examine art in education throughout history. My purpose is to analyse the emergence of 'art and culture' and examine the concept of 'the arts'. I will therefore look only at the phenomenon of arts education in the last century.

3.3.1 Tracing the Arts in Education

Industrialisation changed the nature of education in the early 1900s and paved the way for a more receptive view of arts instruction as part of formal schooling. During the early part of the century, art was seen in two ways: an application of skills to create various crafts, and as the product of geniuses called artists (Eisner, 1972).

In the early twentieth century school contexts, the utilitarian function of drama, for instance, became popular. Pioneers of drama in the language learning class used drama to engage students (Taylor, 2000). As early as

1917, Caldwell Cook advocated drama as a powerful learning medium, a conduit through which information could be taught. It was the philosophy of John Dewey (1934), which greatly influenced education in the arts in the twentieth century.

Those influenced by progressivism were concerned with using art to provide children with opportunities for creative self-expression. This meant that the teacher's task was to unlock the creativity of the child, not to 'teach art'. Although these ideas took time to become practice, they influenced the conceptualisation of art education for the next three decades (Eisner, 1972:49). The term 'creative dramatics', coined by Winifred Ward in the USA during the 1930s, indicates the direction being taken in drama in education. Ward was influenced by Dewey and argued that creative dramatics developed the whole person. During the 1940s influential scholars like Herbert Read (1943) in the UK, and Victor Lowenfield (1947) in the USA published works that maintained that art education was to facilitate the creative development of the child.

The conceptualisation of arts education in the twentieth century changed dramatically in the latter part of the century. Initially located in progressivism and, to some extent, modernism, art education shifted into a new more postmodern approach in the late 1980s (Abbs, 2003). During the 1950s, '60s and '70s, in the UK and the USA, the approach was based on a psychological paradigm in which personal learning, creativity, spontaneity and self-expression were the aims.

The titles of Peter Slade's *Child Drama* (1954) and Brian Way's *Development through Drama* (1964) show something of the conceptualisation of drama in education and most art education at this time. Peter Slade introduced the concept of 'child drama' in England. Arising from his own observations of children's dramatic play, he stressed the child's natural impulse to create. For Slade, child drama was an art in itself. The teacher's task was to nurture the child's natural impulse and become a

'loving ally' (Slade, 1954). This seems more like eighteenth century romanticism than Dewey's pragmatic progressivism.

Brian Way was also influenced by the progressive education movement of the 1960s. He advocated developing the 'individuality of the individual' (Way, 1967). The theories of Freud, Bruner, Jung, Piaget and Vygotsky formed the matrix of developmental art teaching. The teacher was seen as the "releaser of the child's innate creativity through acts of self-expression and self-discovery" (Abbs, 2003:49), rather than a teacher of skills or 'content'. Brian Way emphasised the development of 'people' over the development of 'drama', his goal being fully developed people who would be adept at social and life skills like sensitivity, understanding and co-operation (Way, 1967).

Art education was not in any sense an apprenticeship into the sustaining traditions of the art form or discipline. In educational drama, this led to the separation of drama as a learning medium from drama as an art form. For many decades, the word 'theatre' did not feature in the drama teacher's vocabulary; the functional held away over the aesthetic. Thus the concept of learning through the arts translated very easily to the notion of arts across the curriculum.

In the 1980s, a conceptual shift, exemplified by the works of drama theorists like Gavin Bolton (1979,1984) and Dorothy Heathcote (1999), began to emerge. In this new paradigm, the arts were seen not only as acts of self-expression and psychological growth, but as vehicles to understanding: a cognitive element. "Art makes visible the cognitive life of the senses and imagination" (Abbs, 2003:56). The new paradigm required the induction of the learner into the art form and what is called the 'aesthetic field' – a more dynamic concept than traditional use of the word 'aesthetics'. Taylor (2000), describes aesthetics as the satisfaction we find in the work, how it massages our senses. Greene (1994) claims that aesthetic education requires people to attend to the artwork with discrimination and authenticity. This points to the capacity for understanding how form manipulates content,

i.e. how art conspires to generate meaning. “In the aesthetic field nothing stays still; all is perpetual oscillation and the child’s essential creative work should be placed effectively within it” (Abbs, 2003:57).

This approach alleviates the dilemma faced by teachers of drama who, for instance, would not move from ‘process’ to ‘performance’ (the great ‘drama versus theatre’ debate) for fear of inhibiting the child’s spontaneous creativity. It also reduces the notion of self and culture as opposites. The self becomes part of the cultural matrix, and there is the possibility of placing contemporary work in a continuum of all art, allowing for intertextuality and multiple readings. At the core of artistic practice, argues Greene, are the elements of reflectiveness, self-discovery and surprise (Greene, 1994).

3.3.1.2 Emergence of Collective View of ‘The Arts’

With this paradigm change came another important conceptual development: “all the arts belong together as one single epistemic community” (Abbs, 2003:57). The arts were seen as a family of related forms, all working through the aesthetic, all addressing the imagination, and all concerned with the symbolic embodiment of human meaning. Visual arts (including architecture and photography), drama, dance, music, film and literature make up the generic community of the arts (Abbs, 2003). Taylor (2000), in asking why it is that the term ‘arts’ education has crept into the vernacular of the music, dance, theatre and visual art specialist, provides an answer by asserting that it was political imperatives that drove arts specialists to align in a manner previously not considered. He cites the example of Australia where ‘the arts’ were identified by government as one of eight learning areas to which all children should have access. It was left to the curriculum experts to decide how to conceptualise the field. If what happened in Australia, Canada, the US and the UK is indicative of the global trend, it is no wonder that - given the close working relationship that South Africa had with many of these countries during the period of the formulation of the National Qualifications Framework and the introduction of

Outcomes Based Education - this country, too, followed global trends in including the arts in the General Education and Training band.

3.3.1.3 Emergence of 'Arts and Culture'

In South Africa, *Arts and Culture* as a single learning area came into being only in 1997. Prior to this time the arts were treated as separate disciplines in educational institutions. The concept of 'integrated arts', especially in respect of primary schools, was known, but was not in use in this country in the formal public school curriculum. It was generally confined to more progressive private schools, especially in the junior primary grades. The term 'arts and culture' first began to be widely used when the ANC set up an 'Arts and Culture' desk prior to the establishment of the new government. As Maree (2005) reminds us, "artists played a prominent role in the political struggle...enduring the wrath of the apartheid government in order to tell the world their stories of oppression" (Maree, 2005: 287). Furthermore, the cultural movement in the trade unions produced a core of 'cultural' activists committed to cultural work, alongside union work. Cultural work assumed a significant role as part of the struggle against oppression, particularly as part of the organised working classes. There was a need, as the resistance movements grew, to develop a cultural position. This helped workers remember their history, identify their heroes, write and sing new songs, and start newspapers, literary circles, theatre and discussion groups (Ngoasheng, 1989). "Culture must be a mirror and a medium. It is from this mirror that we catch a glimpse of the new liberated society free from oppression and exploitation" (Ngoasheng, 1989: 37).

It is not surprising then that artists and cultural workers were keen to find a way of expressing and actualising their hopes in the new democracy. Cultural work assumed an explicit moral and political agenda (Nuttall & Michael, 2000:10), and the arts community was active in preparing for the change as soon as it became apparent that a new order was about to begin. The National Arts Coalition, which grew out of the original civic arts organisation, the National Arts Initiative, was especially active in foregrounding the contributions artists would make in the new democracy.

The term 'arts and culture' became and remained part of the discourse of the new democracy.

3.3.1.4 Approaches to Arts in Education

There are at least two ways of conceptualising education in the arts. The first is referred to as a contextualist justification, emphasising the instrumentalist consequences of art in work and utilising the needs of students and society. The second is the essentialist justification, emphasizing the contribution to human experience and human understanding that only the arts provide (Eisner, 1997: 2).

This second position was one espoused by theorists like Dewey (1934), who felt that the arts should not be subverted to serve other ends, and that what art has to contribute is precisely what other fields cannot contribute. Suzanne Langer (1957) pointed out the unique non-discursive mode of knowing that all arts provide. A decade later, Foucault says very much the same: "making a form appear is not a roundabout way (whether it be more subtle or more naïve) of saying something" (Foucault, 1967:622). Taylor (2000:4) puts it somewhat more poetically:

It is through arts experiences that what was formerly concealed is revealed, what was unspoken is spoken and what was unembodied in the unconscious is embodied.

So the essentialist position holds that using art as an instrument to achieve other ends dilutes the experience of the arts and robs the learner of what only the arts can offer (Eisner, 1997:7).

This duality of approaches to art education remains largely unresolved and affected the curriculum debates in 1996 in SA. It was especially prominent in the arguments for and against the integrated approach advocated by C2005.

The major debates were about whether actual knowledge and skills in art techniques should be the focus of the curriculum, or whether the arts should be used to develop social skills and national identity. The orientation of

Outcomes Based Education inclined curriculum developers to focus on all knowledge events as skills, competencies and practices, a somewhat instrumentalist approach. Knowledge as knowledge was not part of the discourse of reconstruction.

The curriculum developers needed to find a theoretically sound and practically feasible unity of the dual approaches in art education. Could the social (instrumentalist) view of the arts combine with the personal (essentialist)? Beyer (1995) maintains that the 'social' and 'personal' should not be conceived of as separate and argues for the sort of critical aesthetic theory that is consistent with an integration of the personal/political, and of art/politics (Beyer, 1995:271). This view then sees the arts as contributing to both personal and social development, connected with "material, structural, and personal relations that are complex, dialectical and sometimes oppositional" (Beyer, 1995:271). As Eisner points out, there is seldom a single unified approach to the teaching of art at any one particular period (Eisner, 1972:57). In the South African scenario, culture (and arts and culture education) is recognised both as an instrument of policy and as something socially desirable, which it is the business of the state to promote (Nuttall & Michael, 2000:120).

3.4 THE CULTURE CONNECTION

Thankfully, rather than regrettably, there is as yet no homogenous South African culture. (Accone, 2000)

In examining the Arts and Culture curriculum, the question of how culture is defined by policy, arises. Generally, education debates include the following as part of the understanding of culture:

- Language, including dialect, speech melody and idiom.
- The 'deep' customs and beliefs of religion.
- The 'shallow' customs of social intercourse: feasts and ceremonies, manners and courtesies.

- Morality, and especially sexual morality.
- Popular entertainment, sport and leisure.
- ‘High’ culture, in which aesthetic values are paramount.
- ‘Political’ culture, including a sense of law and justice, and expectations as to the correct way to resolve conflicts.

(Scruton, 1987: 77)

In the curriculum debates in South Africa in 1996/7, these aspects were evident in three views of culture. First, there was the so-called high culture view, associated with social class and position, elitism and, in the South African context, with a Western (usually white) arts ethos. Then there was a view of culture as popular entertainment with accessible arts (especially music) and craft. Finally, there was a view of culture as the traditional practice (including art and crafts) of different groups of people, defined by ethnic particularities. The definition arrived at in the curriculum policy document reads:

Culture in this learning area refers to the broader framework of human endeavour, including behaviour patterns, heritage, language, knowledge and belief, as well as forms of societal organization and power relations (DOE, 1997: AC4).

This definition, while it is all-encompassing, does not indicate how selections are to be made from culture and, indeed, whose culture is being referred to in the pluralistic, heterogeneous mix that is South Africa. Cultural theorising in South Africa, because of its history of segregation, has tended to focus on “the over-determination of the political, the inflation of resistance, and the fixation on race, or more particularly on racial supremacy and racial victimhood as a determinant of identity” (Nuttall & Michael, 2000:1).

3.4.1 Dealing with the Cultural legacy

Cultural theorist Stuart Hall (1989, 1990) maintains that at the centre of all cultural studies is the interest in combining the study of symbolic forms and

meanings with a study of power. In his work he shows how the cultural perspectives become skewed to favour the dominant group. Hegemony results in the empowerment of certain cultural beliefs, values and practices to the submersion and partial exclusion of others.

The difficulty faced by the curriculum developers was precisely how to subvert this dominance in a democratic and transformative ethos while writing a workable curriculum with people who themselves were steeped in the values and ontology of their subgroups. The writing of the curriculum can be viewed then as a form of post-colonial reconstruction and resistance, an “interaction between imperial culture and the complex of indigenous cultural practices” (Ashcroft et al, 1995:1). The problem lies at the heart of the debate of integration of the arts as a single entity or seeing the arts as discrete forms being integrated in combined projects. It manifests itself in the RNCS version of the curriculum particularly in the music component which combines Western music training with, for example, the use of polyphony in African music.

The attempt to write specific outcomes to include marginalised cultural practices and to explore the origins and functions of cultural performances can be seen as an indication of how the writers dealt with the issue of exclusion and dominance. Whether it is a sufficient critique of modernity and a strong enough antidote to the suppressions of the apartheid state is too early to judge. Furthermore, how the school or individual teacher would make their selections is not specified in the policy framework. The writers were forced to assume that all teachers are committed to the same national goals and values or that all teachers subscribe to a common culture! Codd (1988) notes that

policies produced by and for the state are obvious instances in which language serves a political purpose, constructing particular meanings and signs that work to mask social conflict and foster commitment to the notion of universal public interest (Codd, 1988:237).

This is extremely problematic, as the teachers themselves are products of pre-democracy discourse. Furthermore, the curriculum developers (not only

of Arts and Culture) were faced with the task of “reviving and reconstructing a new image that would negate existing colonial models” (Mugo, 1999:211). It was not only the legacy of apartheid but apartheid meshed within the effects of colonialism that confronted the curriculum developers. This is the cultural matrix within which the new educational policy and consequently the new arts curriculum had to be developed. As Hartshorne (1999) reminds us, education cannot exist in a vacuum, but in a particular political, economic, social and constitutional surround or context.

Nuttall and Michael (2000) note that complex configurations at the level of identity, which apartheid tried to mask with the identity of segregation, were always there. The new nation has tried to mask these complex configurations by foregrounding an over-simplified discourse of ‘rainbow nationalism’ which approximates with multiculturalism. So the question of identity becomes an important issue in considering the cultural legacy of South Africa.

It is worth considering Hall’s notion of identity as a “production” which is never complete, always in process and always constituted within, not outside, representation (Hall, 1990). There are two ways of considering cultural identity posited by Hall. The first defines identity as a shared culture of the true self, hidden below the superficial imposed selves – a common history and shared cultural code. The second recognises both similarities and differences which constitute what we have become (Hall, 1990). This latter view includes the raptures and discontinuities which many post-colonial people experience. This cultural identity belongs to the future as much as to the past; it is constantly undergoing transformation.

Transformation was the key to the need to create a ‘new’ South Africa and the new curriculum was part of that transformation. Yet while this was the agenda, the experiences of those attempting to bring about these changes were based in the old ways of constituting identity. Dolby (2001) situates development of identity in South African youth at the juncture of continually changing traditional cultures, urbanizing modernity and the globalizing

influences of postmodernity. The curriculum writers had to not only to be aware of these influences but also perform a balancing act of the many forces at play in approaching the notion of 'culture' in the curriculum.

3.4.2 Culture in the Classroom

Working from a more traditional position than theorists such as Dolby (2001), Lawton (1975), in his work *Class, Culture and the Curriculum*, questions what kind of selection from culture is appropriate for secondary school education for all. Although most cultural theorists, like Lawton, acknowledge the importance of the transmission of culture as the basis of education, they differ in the emphasis they place on certain aspects of culture and the kinds of selection they would make as a basis for curriculum planning. None of those quoted by Lawton, Bantock (1968), Hirst (1970) and Williams (1958, 1961), describes how a selection from the culture might be made and structured as a planned school curriculum. This is the question Philip Corrigan (1989) also asks: how the social context becomes part of the content of state-provided or regulated schooling. These questions seem to pose more problems than answers.

Lawton identifies two problems, the first being the extent to which it is possible to identify a general or common culture as the basis for selection for curriculum planning, and the second, the extent to which sub-cultures should be reflected in educational programmes or processes of curriculum planning (Lawton, 1975). This question of aspects of 'sub-cultures' has, of course, loaded connotations for South Africa, given its history of racial tension and minority rule. Furthermore, as Nuttall and Michael (2000) point out, in South Africa, the kind of cultural forms that might have been seen as creole are often seen as sub-cultures. Many cultural discourses that occur during schooling can create a cultural capital that is not valued by the larger community (Thomas, 2000).

The irony of the minority culture being the dominant culture applies specifically to South Africa and raises the concerns regarding the hegemonic culture as described by Hall above. The approach taken by

cultural theorists such as Lawton and others of the 1970s reveal a tendency towards cultural absolutism and essentialism in respect of identity and national belonging. More recently, cultural theorising has offered a challenge to static conceptions of culture and focuses more on the productive tensions between global and local influences (Shain, 2003). Dolby (2006) offers a view of popular culture as a site for identity construction – “being part of popular culture is a key component of modernity and feeling that one is somehow connected to the global flow” (Dolby, 2006:33). So popular culture can be seen as one way of approaching culture in the classroom, where it becomes a site for negotiation and struggles with issues of race, gender and ‘nation’. It approximates with the theories of both Hall (1990) and Bhabha (1994) described elsewhere in this chapter, as popular culture can challenge hegemonic cultural practice and provide a ‘third space’.

Sneja Gunew, writing with Fazal Rizvi about the Australian experience of arts and cultural difference, makes a point that is relevant to the South African situation: “We are confronted not with the supposed authenticity of traditional culture safely located somewhere in the past as ethnicity or indigenous purity but of an urban hybridity which acknowledges the inevitable cross-cultural interactions of the past” (Gunew, 1994:10). It is this living, changing hybrid culture that the curriculum was attempting to capture. Nuttall and Michael (2000) proffer the notion of creolisation which goes beyond multiculturalism and hybridity and allows for wide possibilities for interpretation of culture-making, especially the making of identities.

3.4.3 Culture and the Nation

Cultural activists during apartheid maintained that culture is a struggle and a site of struggle in its own right (Ngoasheng, 1989: 34). The struggle of the oppressed classes is not only to resist oppression, but also to create new structures, hence the emphasis on equity and redress in the new dispensation. The Senior Phase Policy Document describes one of the deeper assumptions underpinning Arts and Culture Education practices as:

Using culture and arts processes to advance principles of equity, redress, nation-building, transformation and development at various levels including, culturally, personally, structurally, gender-wise, race-wise and class-wise (DOE, 1997: AC-7).

The notion of what constitutes 'nation' is, of course, crucial in this debate. "The nation fills the void left in the uprooting of communities" (Bhabha, 1994:139). Bhabha rethinks the notions of nationalism, representation and resistance and stresses the ambivalence or 'hybridity' that characterizes the site of colonial contestation – a 'liminal' space in which cultural differences articulate and produce imagined 'constructions' of cultural and national identity. For Bhabha (1994), nations are 'narrative' constructions that arise from the 'hybrid' interaction of contending cultural constituencies. We must accept the notion that all cultural traditions are mixed and affected by other cultures. There are no pure forms (Bhattacharyya et al, 2002:153).

In South Africa, the layers of cultural borrowing and blending are evident in everyday popular culture, the greetings, the food, fashion and street talk all unashamedly and joyously attesting to this blurring of cultural boundaries and give the lie to the myth of the homogeneity of cultural forms. Bhabha would have us go further in his notion of hybridisation which suggests that it is not so much a borrowing from specific cultures to create a hybrid form, but since everything is in a state of cultural flux, culture itself is a means of stilling cultural hybridities (Bhabha, 1994). An interesting South African example of the appropriation of cultural tradition can be found in Steinberg's account of the origins of prison gangs in the Western Cape in his work *The Number*. Here he uncovers how gangs in 'coloured' prisons adopted the background of the legendary Zulu bandit, Nongoloza, as part of their own heritage (Steinberg, 2004). This appropriation of a cultural hero and context provided a sense of tradition and a common cause, more especially as the original gangs were ostensibly organised as part of Black resistance to White oppression.

In South Africa at the dawn of democracy, questions of culture and identity were as highly contested and as emotive as the question of curriculum

content – in fact, they were the same question. Bhabha could have been describing apartheid South Africa when he wrote:

We are confronted with a nation split within itself, articulating the heterogeneity of its population...internally marked by the discourses of minorities, the heterogeneous histories of contending peoples, antagonistic authorities and tense locations of cultural differences. (Bhabha, 1994:148)

What the democratic process had to do was try to deal with this nation “split within itself”; the arts and culture learning area then became one of the important arenas of cultural identity. Michael Cross (1992), who examines education, culture and transformation in South Africa, asks what the implications of nation-building and national culture are for educational policy. He also examines how to reconcile national unity with cultural diversity by asking whether culture is a melting pot or a salad bowl. In other words, is there still a place for *flamenco* dancing and *bharathanatyam* alongside *ishayameni* and *kiba*? This work has direct connections with the first and second critical question of this study. It goes right to the heart of the epistemological debates around the conceptions of the learning area described in my story in the first chapter. Cross warns that:

Though culture can be conceived of as a uniting force binding social groups or classes together, it is also a divisive element, which reflects the complexity of societies generally constituted by various subgroups and subcultures in a struggle for legitimacy of their behaviour, values, ideals and life-styles against the dominant culture of the dominant society, that is, the hegemonic culture. (Cross, 1992:182)

This idea explains and contextualises some of the battles I described earlier in the first national LAC discussions about what the learning area would constitute and what it should be called. Contemporary analysis assumes that South Africa before 1994 was bound to a narrative of political liberation and that from the mid-1990s new configurations were allowed to emerge (Nuttall & Michael, 2000:1). Yet the struggles experienced by the writers of the first Arts and Culture curriculum about what aspects of the arts should be included in the curriculum were far more intense than the struggles they

experienced about culture, once the idea of including culture into the learning area was accepted. Again, Bhabha articulates the South African situation:

Once the 'liminality' of the nation space is established, and its signifying difference is turned from the boundary 'outside' to its finitude 'within', the threat of cultural difference is no longer a problem of 'other' people. It becomes a question of otherness of the people-as-one (Bhabha, 1994:150).

The writing committee was united in its desire to subvert the effects of apartheid. The Arts and Culture LAC, and the first curriculum development group tried to find an approach to culture that would be all-encompassing, without descending into the 'exoticism' of multiculturalism. They realised that any approach to culture must be broad enough to include not only previously marginalised forms but also the emergent forms of art and culture of South Africa. The curriculum framework says:

The Learning Area seeks to mediate the acculturative process and affirm, honour, respect, acknowledge and salvage elements of indigenous culture which are constitutionally aligned and therefore worthy of preservation for posterity. Considering that cultural change is a worldwide process affecting all societies, comparisons between reconstructed indigenous and acculturated settings become centrally important and invite learners to ask basic questions about the future of humankind (DOE, 1997: AC6).

Culture is thus conceptualised as inclusive, giving voice to the disposed and marginalised and narrating an imagined national identity. Further, in seeking to 'mediate the acculturative process', the curriculum policy acknowledges the dynamics of culture formation, and raises questions of who and how cultures are shaped. Diouf (2003), in his analysis of how African nationalist projects have failed the youth, draws attention to the socialisation of youth and warns that those who are excluded from arenas of power, work, education and leisure will construct new sociabilities to show their difference and no longer represent a 'national' priority. He suggests that African youth are situated in a temporality both indigenous and global, which allows them

free play of their imagination (Diouf, 2003). It becomes important then to “analyse the everyday practices of people – their cultural practices – within a framework that examines these very practices for what we can learn about the changing patterns of citizenship and the public sphere” (Dolby, 2006). In her description of the success of the television show *Big Brother Africa*, Dolby argues for more engagement with popular culture as a central component of understanding emergent public spaces and citizenship practices in Africa’s present and future (Dolby 2006). The Arts and Culture curriculum in engaging with issues of culture both indigenous and popular, in bringing everyday cultural practices into the classroom, might be construed as taking the first step towards this engagement with citizenship and identity.

3.5 PLAYING WITH POLICY

This draft White Paper represents a fledgling democratic cultural policy which is both powerful in the potential which it contains, and vulnerable in its newness. (B. Mabandla 1996)

Much has been said about what constitutes policy. Distinctions usually separate the generation and implementation phases. In critical policy analysis recently there has been a growing resistance to the idea of policy formulation and policy implementation as discrete acts. From the 1970s definition of policy as “a statement of prescriptive intent” (Kogan, 1975: 55) through to the 1990s, the separation has diminished to the point where Ball describes policy as “both text and action, words and deeds, it is what is enacted as well as what is intended” (Ball, 1994:10). The focus is on both the formulation of policy discourses and the active interpretation which occurs to link policy text to practice.

3.5.1 Policy and the South African Context

In reviewing the literature around the genesis and changing nature of the Arts and Culture curriculum in post-apartheid South Africa, I focus on the

domain of policy-making and curriculum change as the main factors shaping the nature of the Arts and Culture curriculum. The relationship between academic disciplines and the broad social, political and historical areas outside them can be understood only through the policies that generate those disciplines. “Policies are the operational statement of values” and “project images of an ideal society” while “education policies project definitions of what counts as education” (Ball, 1990a: 3).

What were the policies or the “statements of values” around the arts in education which led to arts and ‘culture’ becoming one of the eight learning areas? How were those primary policies further exemplified in the Arts and Culture curriculum, itself another statement of policy? For me to understand this, these policies documents must form the primary data of my study. Policies cannot be divorced from interests, from conflict, from domination or from justice (Ball, 1990a:3). But Ball cautions that policy-making in a modern, complex and plural society is often unscientific and irrational, whatever the claims of policy-makers to the contrary. Abstract accounts tend towards tidy generalities and often fail to capture the “messy realities of influence, pressure, dogma, expediency, conflict, compromise, intransigence, resistance, error, opposition and pragmatism” in the policy process (Ball, 1990:9); hence my need to let the arts policy developers tell their own stories. This down-to-earth assessment of the process reflects rather accurately the state of affairs regarding education policy-making and implementation in our own case, as I have demonstrated in my story already and as will be revealed in the stories of the curriculum developers.

In the South African context, Francine de Clercq extends the definition of policy as statements of intent to include “decisions, courses of action and/or resource allocations designed to achieve a particular goal or resolve a particular problem” (de Clercq, 1997:145). She goes on to analyse policies in two broad ways – either as rational activities aimed at resolving group conflict over allocation of resources and values, or as exercises of power and control and the authoritative allocation of values (material and social) between different social groups. This latter approach to policies is described

as political and leads to an analysis of policy in terms of its bases of power as well as the interests and values reflected. Though I tend to focus on the second approach, I believe that the first description of policy can be said to hold true of education policy procedure post-apartheid, just as the second approach may be said to be true of apartheid policies. It depends on the point of view of the narrator. Finally, de Clercq defines post apartheid education policies as symbolic, substantive and redistributive (de Clercq, 1997:146).

This implies that our education policies are rhetorical, that they spell out what the government should do and aim to shift the allocation of resources among social groups. "Policy, especially education policy, is a notoriously contested terrain, its complex nature defining it as more of a process than a product" (Ball, 1990:9). This idea of policy-making in education as a process has already been exemplified in terms of the curriculum review process in South Africa in 2000 as a result of the contestation, controversy and confusion surrounding the implementation of the new curriculum framework. My third research question was designed to account for the changes brought about by the review process in terms of the Arts curriculum. Within the complexity of policy outlined above, the key elements that emerge for my research concern the symbolic, substantive and redistributive aspects of curriculum policy and the power relations exemplified in its discourse.

Policy making in education has to be seen in relation to policies beyond education that affect the social, economic and political spheres of society. Equity is a stated goal of the new democracy, and a keystone of educational provision, but equity in education is problematic given the impact of economic policies on social formations. For example, economic policies such as affirmative action and black empowerment, which seek to address past imbalances, are based on apartheid-related group identities. They further have the effect of alienating other minority groupings that feel a need to affirm themselves by emphasising their own group identity. At the same time we seek core values and practices which identify us all as South Africans and promote equality and acceptance of all groupings. One

response has been to create policies that overthrow old definitions and introduce new groupings. These “overarching identities which cut across race and ethnicity” include women’s affairs, rural communities, programmes for the disabled, youth, sport, and business development (Zegeye, 2001: 340). By destabilizing existing group identities and differentiations the new groupings potentially raise the self- esteem of disrespected groups and change everyone’s sense of belonging, self and affiliation (Fraser, 1998:32). Thus there is a constant interplay of old and new, a tension caused by the change of familiar patterns and the formations of new alignments.

Issues around language and the medium of instruction in schools provide another illustration of how cultural, economic and educational policies are imbricated. The language policy recognises eleven official languages. The South African Schools Act (No 84, 1996) allows the School Governing Body to determine the medium of instruction for a particular school. Some schools have attempted to retain racial and cultural exclusiveness by using language as a means to exclude and to test the policy in the courts. The results have been mixed but the fact that parents have sought the assistance of the legal process to challenge such exclusions suggests that the democratic project is succeeding. At a second level, the hegemonic influence of English as the language of commerce and academia results in insufficient attention being paid to the continuation and development of indigenous languages. These languages are seen to represent the poor and less technologically advanced, placing them and their users outside the ‘mainstream’ economy and public life. English is then a political and strategic choice for progress (Balfour, 2003). The discussion points to the intricate relationship between cultural, economic and educational policies. Whilst maintaining their distinct shapes, they are nevertheless entwined. Cultural/social and educational development relies on economic growth and yet at the same time economic success depends on educational progress and social stability.

3.5.2 Policy as Discourse

Following de Clercq, if we assess policies from the bases of power and interests we can use Foucault's approach to power and knowledge as Stephen Ball does. Much of Foucault's work centred on how power and knowledge play out in society. He argues for the power effects of knowledge, rather than its 'truth' value and he sees that power and knowledge cannot exist separate from each other. Foucault postulates "no power can be exercised without the extraction, appropriation, distribution or retention of knowledge" (Foucault, 1971:66). "Knowledge does not reflect power relations but is immanent in them" (Ball, 1990a: 17). Discourse is key to this inter-relationship of power and knowledge. Not only is discourse about what can be said but also about "who can speak, when, where and with what authority" (Ball, 1990a: 17). This definition of discourse plays out quite significantly in the policy-curriculum investigation:

Thus the possibilities for meaning, for definition, are pre-empted through the social and institutional position from which a discourse comes. Words and propositions will change their meaning according to their use and the positions held by those who use them... Meanings thus arise not from language but from institutional practices, from power relations, from social position. Words and concepts change their meaning and their effects as they are deployed within different discourses (Ball, 1990a: 17-18).

Ball reminds us that since discourses are constituted by exclusions as well as inclusions, by what cannot as well as what can be said, they come to stand in "antagonistic relationship to other discourses" (Ball, 1990: 2). This introduces the idea of what Foucault calls "discontinuities" which is a key element in his critique of dominant forms of knowledge. So change or reform is not a rational or seamless process moving always towards some notion of truth which is fixed. There are always other claims, rights and positions. "Discourse can be both an instrument and an effect of power, but also a hindrance, a stumbling block, a point of resistance and a starting point for an opposing strategy" (Foucault, 1982, in Ball, 1990a: 2). In the

stories of the policy-makers, these “antagonistic relationships” are clearly visible.

The shift to market-based models of education and the neo-liberal education rationalisation policies of the 1990s seem at odds with the social justice agenda of the democratic state. Market-friendly policies are linked to human capital theory which holds that improving education will lead to economic growth. But human capital theory is often applied in a manner which ignores the history, social struggles and other interrelated factors that comprise an education system. A telling illustration of the effects of such a policy on the development of the arts and culture in post-apartheid South Africa occurred at the former University of Durban- Westville in the province of ZwaZulu-Natal in 1999. The departments of fine arts, music, drama and Indian languages were closed down as cost saving measure – they were not economically viable. This raises a number of questions regarding the perception of the role of the arts in the humanities and indeed the economic viability of all small specialist disciplines within universities. The move ignored the historic importance of the arts to this community during the pre-democracy period and the need for the development of Indian languages in a province that houses the largest Indian diaspora in the southern hemisphere. This episode, which ironically did not result in any major savings for the institution, may be viewed in the Foucauldian sense as the subjugation of naïve knowledge as described in chapter two above. It also points to the discourses of power at play at a time when historically disadvantaged institutions were being merged into more advantaged (White) institutions.

The discourse of colonialism and apartheid in South Africa prior to democracy had a two-fold influence on cultural processes. Some people retreated into a protective stance – to maintain and uphold traditions, languages and other cultural manifestations and preserve them in a kind of reified way. Others abandoned their traditional practices and assimilated rapidly with the dominant culture. The problem in South Africa was exacerbated by the fact that traditional and indigenous arts and cultural

products were supported by the apartheid government as a way of asserting power. It maintained the 'otherness' and therefore the inferiority of the opposed groups. As Fanon explains, "every effort is made to bring the colonised person to admit the inferiority of his culture which has been transformed into instinctive patterns of behaviour, to recognise the unreality of his 'nation'..." (Fanon, 1959:1). Therefore the apartheid government supported arts and cultural organisations that focussed on dance, craft and music that did not challenge the political status quo. Where the arts began to be used for resistance, then the full weight of the oppressive state was turned on them.

Posing the question of power for discourse means basically asking whom such discourses serve? This attention to who can speak and with what authority is directly linked with what has been termed compensatory legitimisation of education policy. What are the grounds on which the state can authoritatively interpret society's norms and traditions in setting curricular objectives, priorities and directions? What is the basis on which the state attempts to mould the many needs (actual and anticipated) of a highly divided, pluralist and heterogeneous society such as South Africa, into a coherent and binding curriculum? These questions become a matter of central importance and this is why, "of all the states' many policy pursuits, the making of curricular policy ends up having such high legitimisation needs" (Weiler, 1993:281). Education policy is a bureaucratic instrument with which to administer the expectations that the public has of education. In South Africa, these expectations include equity, access, redress and quality assurance.

3.5.3 Building Legitimacy

One of the state's main strategies in legitimisation of policy is through a discourse of participation in the policy making-process. This has played out in South Africa as what we have referred to as 'stakeholders' participation'. Stakeholder participation brings to the fore the bigger question of the governance of education in terms of structure and agency which are in turn related to the exercise of power. Is there a link, as suggested by Goodson

(1989), between curriculum and patterns of social organisation and control? Does a country moving from a totalitarian apartheid government to a constitutional democracy need to demonstrate its new ethos by way of a more egalitarian curriculum provisioning? If, as in the case of post-apartheid SA, the starting point is a political decision, a new Education Act, then the resulting policies could be construed as 'top-down' or state-centered, if not state-controlled. The alternative 'bottom up' approach would be to look at various policy networks or policy communities that would contribute to the formulation of the policy. These are, after all, the sites where implementation will occur. These two approaches should not be seen as competing processes, but rather as complementary. The question is to what degree and how they can be brought into interaction. Our answer in 1994 was to use the route of stakeholder participation in national policy-making processes. However, as de Clercq notes, "public participation in policy-making requires careful conceptualisation, especially in a context of transition, because of the unequal and uneven power relations existing between stakeholders...in this context, public participation will quickly lead to the entrenchment of the position and interests of the powerful voices" (de Clercq, 1997:161-162). Raab (1994) also asks: "Can the combination of strong state, market forces and fragile networks of consensus achieve government's own objectives in education, let alone cope with the unanticipated and unintended consequences of these instruments?" (Raab, 1994: 18). While the question of balance in stakeholder driven policies has yet to be resolved, the effect of their participation in the curriculum policy processes on the Arts and Culture curriculum is what matters. This debate is explored further in the interviews with the policy-makers.

Another legitimating strategy of the state is to invoke legal and statutory processes. A number of government acts, papers, policies and regulations exist that govern education apparently for transformation and realisation of democratic goals. But in 2001 Jansen posed a new challenge: "What if the policy stated was not in the first instance intended to change practice?" (Jansen & Sayed, 2001:271). What if the purpose of policy is only for political symbolism? Given the fact that in South Africa education policy has

been “subject to a range of sometimes conflicting rationalities and political programmes”, it is not difficult to understand why this particular view now emerges (Malcolm & Ramsurran, 2004:6).

South Africa’s switch from a socialist orientation to market-related, export-orientated policies like GEAR (the Growth, Employment And Redistribution strategy) have had an effect already on the implementation of arts policies. The General Secretary of the SA Communist Party writes that “the GEAR strategy broke the organic (and moral) link between development and growth, and made the former wholly dependent upon profit-maximising growth” (Nzimande, 2006). This approach has had an impact on all aspects of state funding and prioritising. The RDP had included the arts as part of the development project. Since the move to GEAR, the budget for the Arts Ministry has been cut drastically. The shortfall is expected to be supplied by local and provincial coffers. Furthermore, those arts enterprises that can generate funds are promoted to the detriment of others and the links to cultural tourism become an end. From an economic point of view, arts columnist, Andrew Donaldson notes that arts and culture is, in the South African context, very much a Cinderella portfolio, saying that provision of support or funding is very low on the government’s list of priorities (Donaldson, 2006).

The shift is demonstrated in a Cultural Industries Growth Strategy where film and television, music, crafts, publishing and multi-media, which produce cultural products for commercial purposes, have been identified for development (Duncan, 2001). The trend appears to be for the promotion of high-profile publicity-generating events in view of the involvement of business as sponsors of art. Those art forms (and art education) which are “incapable of corporate image building will struggle to attract sponsorship” (Duncan, 2001:292). So legitimacy is built through the creation of new policies that appear to support the growth of the arts, but the irony is these policies actually discriminate. If this continues to happen, the reinsertion of marginalised art and culture practices in the Arts and Culture curriculum becomes threatened almost before it has had a chance to become a reality.

“The goals of the apartheid struggle for a ‘people’s education’ and for democratisation and access seem sublimated to systemic decentralization and market driven rationalization” (Oldfield, 2001: 37).

This seeming incoherence in the post-apartheid state’s policies throws into focus the role of the state as an actor in social policy and highlights the need for the state’s legitimisation of its policies. In my questions to the policy-makers and curriculum writers, I ask whether they feel the inclusion of arts in the curriculum to be a symbolic act. Some of the responses are surprising, in view of the answers given elsewhere in the interview. For me, the role of policy in shaping the arts and culture curriculum is clearly vital and leads my study in the realm of policy studies to be one of the key areas of investigation.

This question of legitimisation is also addressed by Sandra Taylor who, with Fazal Rizvi, Bob Lingard and Miriam Henry (1997), looks at education policy and the politics of change and asks a series of questions in analysing policy:

Why was this policy adopted?

Why now ?

On whose terms and why?

In whose interests?

On what grounds have these selections been justified and why?

These questions focus on how the state legitimates its curricular policies. Taylor et al (1997) suggests in their approach to policy analysis that the structural location of key players, the approaches to policy implementation that they adopt, and the processes of resistance, marginalisation and co-option that they frequently invoke will determine the impact of a given policy. This view is corroborated by Dr Ihron Rensburg, former senior manager in the national Department of Education, who says,

what we have seen during the first five years is a kind of voluntaristic interpretation of the new policy regime as well as a voluntaristic

engagement with policy development and policy implementation among senior managers (Kraak and Young, 2001: 126).

Taylor et al (1997) also suggest that public policies in education have two main functions: to provide an account of those cultural norms which were considered by the state as desirable in education; and to institute a mechanism of accountability against which student and teacher performance could be measured.

Jansen also echoes the theories of Taylor et al in terms of the role of key players in the structure. In fact, he arrives at his theory of 'political symbolism' by examining 'unguarded' statements of senior bureaucrats and politicians themselves. He quotes Dr Ihron Rensburg (former Deputy Director-General, Education), who talks of two periods of policy-making. The first is "an overtly ideological political period 1994-1999" and then the period 1999-2000, which concerns consolidation and deep transformation. He also refers to Aubrey Mathole, senior SADTU official, who attached the word 'symbolic' to the first period because of the government's need to display a rapid departure from the apartheid education system (Jansen, 2001).

Jansen further notes that the making of education policy in South Africa is best described as a struggle for the achievement of a broad political symbolism to mark the shift from apartheid to a post-apartheid society. He states that the prominence assigned to the symbolic value of policy is revealed by the way that politicians and the public lend credence and support to the production of policy itself, rather than to its implementation:

The syllabus revision process was simply about achieving a symbolic and visible purging of the apartheid curriculum in order to establish legitimacy for an ANC-led government (Jansen, 2001).

Jansen (1999, 2001) uses this theory of policy symbolism as his support for why OBE would fail. He explains non-change in education after apartheid as a consequence of policy symbolism and problems in policy implementation.

Finally, for the purposes of my study, while accepting nuances of symbolism and legitimisation, the issue of the role of the state can best be summed up

in the concept advocated by Taylor et al above regarding the provision of cultural norms and a means of accountability through policy

3.6 CURRICULUM CONCERNS

Curricula are artificial... Social changes, political revolutions, economic transformations, advances in knowledge and re-evaluations of the past are some of the factors which serve to reshape curricula which are just one of mankind's many cultural products, enabling human beings to come to terms with the flux of events, perceptions, thoughts and feelings which constitute 'the world'. (Taylor & Richards 1985)

An analysis of literature around the question of educational policy and change indicates that curriculum policy has become a political issue. In modern times, the state has become the arbiter of what constitutes the curriculum, and therefore, of what values, knowledge, skills and ideology will be advocated through its education policy. This is presumably for the greater good of the citizens and the country as a whole in terms of national goals. These goals are generally of an economic nature when applied to education. Stephen Ball refers to the “crisis of capitalism” experienced in Western countries around the 1970s that had a definite impact on policy-making and led to the re-positioning of education in relation to production (Ball, 1990). A survey of the reasons behind the “Nations at Risk” philosophy of the USA and the introduction of the National Curriculum of the UK will show that both countries were motivated by market-related goals and issues around globalisation.

Goodson (1989), in his work *‘Nations at risk’ and ‘National curriculum’: ideology and identity*, examines the debate around curriculum in the United States and the United Kingdom in terms of the economic regeneration, while Aldrich (1995), in his historical perspective of educational reform and curriculum implementation in England, states that the educational reforms introduced by the conservative government were justified in terms of enabling the country to reverse its relative economic decline.

The role of the state is very clearly that of intervention and mediation. It is obliged to act in the interests of the majority and to give effect to the directives of the Constitution and other laws (Pampallis and Motala, 2001).

3.6.1 Curriculum and the South African Context

Goodson (1989) refers to the clear links between curriculum and patterns of social organisation and control. As societies evolve and as new needs and trends begin to make their influence felt, the curriculum is looked at to provide the means of addressing these needs. Carter and O' Neill (1995) make reference to "shifting values" and societal needs and speak of the "window of opportunity" created by political currents. In South Africa, this window of opportunity came with the political change from an apartheid state to a democracy. The new democratically elected government was ideally placed in 1994 to deliver a curriculum which would address the shift in values. The question to be answered was what kind of curriculum and what kind of pedagogy would "optimise the learning chances of the disadvantaged"? (Muller, 2001: 69).

If the state has the power to decide on the kind of curriculum deemed necessary for the needs of the country, then education policy-making and implementation can be described as an exercise in power. Policy is seen by the state as an attempt to specify the nature and cause of a social problem and to provide a response to that problem (Chibulka, 1995). So, by implication, the National Curriculum of the UK is an attempt to bring British education in line with global trends and make the UK a key player in world economies. Yet, more and more, the hidden agenda of the National Curriculum is being revealed as the reconstruction of class-based traditional subjects and the restoration of control of the nation state (Goodson, 1993). This state of affairs echoes Foucault's notion of discontinuities mentioned earlier. Another example is the instrumentalist use of educational reform to solve Australia's economic problems. Culture, as a starting point for curriculum construction, is the opposite of what is happening (Carter, 1995). Yet culture is what most teachers in that country would prefer to see as a determinant of the curriculum given the rapidly increasing immigrant

population, the influence of the Pacific Rim countries, and the effects of the 'Nike' culture. Ironically, the Australian Cultural policy, *Creative Nation* makes the following statements:

This cultural policy is also an economic policy. Culture creates wealth.

And...

The expression, development and preservation of unique indigenous art forms and cultural heritage is fundamental to the emergence of a contemporary Australian cultural identity (Australian Government, 1992:2,13).

Milburn, Goodson and Clark (1989) give some cultural perspectives in curriculum research, focusing on links between curriculum and patterns of social organisation. This impacts on both critical questions one and two of my study. Given the power of the state over all facets of curriculum change, construction and implementation through its chosen education policy, it is necessary, then, to inquire how the state justifies its choices of selection for curriculum content, method of implementation and involvement of stakeholders. One has to ask whether there is just cynical cooption of stakeholders and what forms of gate-keeping occur. These questions are explored in my interviews with policy makers. In this study, I try to work out what constitutional determinants shaped the assumptions underpinning the curriculum. In my analysis, I ask how Arts and Culture captures the constitutional criterion of freedom and equity in an increasingly plural and polarised world?

If we assume that education policy is explicated in the curriculum, then we see that curriculum has two functions: the curriculum reflects the cultural norms the state considers desirable in education and also that curriculum (or framework) could be used as a mechanism of accountability.

In 1994 South Africa went through social and political changes of a magnitude not often seen globally. The newly-elected government then felt mandated to implement the education policies of the ANC for the benefit of

the expectant electorate. The new policy had to be as different from apartheid education as possible.

In South Africa's context the changes were more clearly ideological (anti-racism, anti-bias, culture-fairness etc.) and educational, moving from content-based education to transformational OBE. This system combined the competency models of the late 1980s and 1990s with the more progressive outlook of the ANC backed People's Education movement. In effect it "created a learning methodology which is simultaneously radical in discursive practice but behaviourist in assessment technology" (Kraak, 1999). The implementation plan for Curriculum 2005 included the prescribing of a national framework of intended outcomes and supporting assessment criteria which would then be developed by educators at a local level through the development of Learning Programmes and support materials. Provinces and regions could interpret the framework according to local needs whilst maintaining the principles of the NQF. This moved curriculum from being a prescribed state-controlled syllabus with national and provincial examinations to a more democratic process with the devolution of control to the regions. The curriculum framework gave broad outlines, and the outcomes provided for general standardisation. It provided the transformation needed at that time for a break with a rigid content-based curriculum to a system that placed enormous power in the hands of the regions and districts, as well as teachers.

The decentralised approach which passed the development, advocacy, training and implementation powers to the Provincial departments did not have the desired effects. Therefore, when the Review process of education in 2000 occurred, we saw a swing away from the freedom and openness of the first C2005 curriculum framework to a more disciplined and content-specific curriculum. The reasons for this change are described elsewhere in this study, especially in Chapter Seven under the heading "Characteristics of the RNCS".

Critiques of OBE as the preferred system abound, of which Jansen's (1999 & 2001) are notable. However there was little popular debate or critique at the time of its inception, cloaked as it was in radical rhetoric. It was only during the Review process that public debate around misinterpretations and misunderstandings emerged strongly. Suffice to say here that both these curriculum processes, the 1997 version of C2005 and the revision process which led to the Revised National Curriculum Statements, were expressions of their times. They are related to the policy shifts described above in regard to the economic policies of the government in the shift from a socialist orientation to a more market-related one. As Milburn et al (1989) point out, changes in curriculum are caused by social and economic changes within political systems. A Foucauldian reading would suggest that discourse in the DOE reveals a shifting power balance in the 'Bhengu' (First Minister of Education in the new democracy) era and the 'Asmal' (Minister of Education after the second democratic election) era. The use of academics and discipline experts in the curriculum development process during the latter period is a case in point.

3.7 WHY A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK?

The use of a conceptual framework allows me the freedom to move between ideas and theories located in cultural studies and critical policy analysis. Babbie and Mouton (2001) define the purpose of a conceptual framework as presenting the principles guiding the study and as sharing the reasoning that led to the questions that form the pivot of the study. This is what I have done through my conceptual explorations of both arts education and culture. They further note that the construction of a conceptual framework is based on a combination of a literature review and the researcher's own experiences (Babbie & Mouton 2001:282). This is what I have attempted to achieve in designing this part of my study as I have done.

All of the issues described above are linked and inter-woven to make up the fabric of my Arts and Culture story. This conceptual framework has helped me explore the focalization of the study, and the discursive practice that shaped the Arts and Culture curriculum, in some depth. Each of the major

components has been put under the spotlight briefly so as to expose the thinking and practices associated with them. In examining the issues of curriculum change, policy, culture and arts education, I have in some measure prepared the ground for the focalizations and themes that will be brought to light by the data.

CHAPTER 4

The Story Behind the Story

Methodology and Choices

*Although the goal may be to tell the whole truth, all narratives about others' narratives are our worldly creations...**all we have is talk and texts** that represent reality partially, selectively and imperfectly.* (Riessman 2002)

In this chapter, I discuss my research methodology and how it is designed to provide answers to my research question. I justify the choices and decisions made in translating the theoretical and conceptual frameworks already developed. I present a short rationale for narrative analysis and analysis of narratives. This chapter is also a reflection on the methods, procedures and processes undertaken in various sections of the study and provides an insight into the reasoning behind the way I conduct the research. The chapter is divided into three broad sections. In the first part, I focus on the approach and research methodology as well as my techniques for data production. In the second part, I describe the generation of data and the processes of analysis. In the third part I examine the issues of ethics, validity and quality as well as other issues that arise as part of the methodology. I also theorise about the methods and approaches used in the study. Aspects of all three sections are interwoven and overlaid in the chapter as the need arises.

PART ONE

4.1 THE RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1.1. Purpose and Paradigm

My purpose in undertaking this study is to find out not only why Arts and Culture came into being as a compulsory learning area in the new South

African curriculum, but also to find out how it was conceptualised as a learning area.

I have located my study in an interpretive paradigm, which I believe is most appropriate for my purposes. Many researchers link the Constructivist-Hermeneutic-Interpretive-Qualitative together as one paradigm (Reeves T. 1996). Hermeneutics is a theory of meaning that is largely found in the humanities and emphasises a detailed reading or examination of a text: discovering the meaning embedded in a text (de Vos et al, 2005). Typically, a textual or hermeneutical analysis involves a careful analysis of the structure of implicit meanings within a text or record of human action (Braud & Anderson, 1998:278). Hermeneutics may then be applied to the analysis of curriculum and similar phenomena.

In my study of Arts and Culture the interview transcripts, both versions of the curriculum and the State Arts policy, become the texts that I read and interpret. In my research, I am interested particularly in how notions of curriculum, identity and nation are constructed, and in the factors that shape these constructions. Researchers working in the Constructivist-Hermeneutic-Interpretive-Qualitative paradigm view reality as being socially constructed and shaped by a number of contextual factors. My intention is therefore interpretive and assumes, like Neuman (1997:72), that “facts are context-specific actions that depend on interpretations of particular people in a social setting”.

This interpretive approach calls for contextualising the experiences and phenomena of the curriculum writers and being prepared to look at multiple interpretations and different points of view. For example, in my interviews, it is important to note who is being interviewed and what position they were holding in relation to the curriculum, and to allow social, political, historical, economical and other influences to emerge and be incorporated into the findings. While participants’ observations and long interviews will be primary methods of data collection, commentaries and analyses by participants and researchers will also be important. They have to be seen not only in the

specific context of curriculum development, but also in the broader context of the emergence of a post-apartheid South Africa. There are differences in individual perceptions and experiences and at the same time an underlying commonality, as the writers work together in one organisation in one country. It is important that a number of individuals be identified so that a multi-layered perception emerges. It is my task to weave all these experiences into a narrative that captures their essence and answers the critical questions of the study. The study focuses in a narrative way on the voices which influenced, contested and ultimately shaped the Arts and Culture curriculum.

I have chosen to refer to my interviewees not as participants but (respondents and) narrators. Polkinghorne (1996) points out that when stories are produced as part of a conversation or interview, they are shaped by the questions and responses of the person to whom they are told, so the resulting story is not a product of the teller alone but can be said to be co-authored. I had shared a previous experience with all of the interviewees and so already had a relationship with each one. Each interviewee assumed a common knowledge and a bond of some kind between us. Notwithstanding my own participation in the interviews (and in the curriculum development), I tried to adopt a stance during interviews that encouraged respondents to tell their own stories in their own ways. So I maintain a critical distance. The production of data is not an iterative process either; the respondents and I do not collaborate over time to produce a common story.

4.1.2 The Narrative Framing

My choice of narratology arises from a need to frame both the methodology and the theoretical interests of the study outlined in the previous chapters. Since I intend to approach the data with guiding theoretical perspectives rather than an established theory or hypothesis, narratology provides a facet of the prism through which I am able to read the texts of my data and also a way to represent the data. Brockmeier & Harré (2001) suggest that narrative should be conceived of as an expression of a set of instructions and norms

for carrying out a variety of practices of communication, ordering and making sense of experiences, becoming, knowing, giving excuses and justifications among other things. This is precisely what I intend to achieve with my use of narratology.

Narrative has of recent years been seen as a new theoretical approach, another post-positive approach and as a refinement of interpretive methodology (Brockmeier & Harre, 2001:39). I see the use of narrative as a logical point from which to view all the stories, the methods and discussions that make up this research. Because we ask why the story is told in the way that it is, analysis in narrative studies is not just about the content that the language refers to, but also opens up the forms of telling about the experience (Riessman, 2002). Gough maintains that “narrative enquiry is concerned with analysing and criticising the stories we tell and hear and read in the course of our work...we tell stories informally in our anecdotes and gossip, and we tell them more formally in policy documents, textbooks and journal articles and all the other texts and artefacts and media that we use to construct and convey meaning in our daily lives” (Gough, 2001:121). So narratology seems to me to offer, in a serendipitous way, an appropriate interpretive framework for the analysis of the data as well as a way of representing the data and the whole study. It supports the detailed analysis of implicit structures of hermeneutical analysis.

In using a narrative approach in analysis, I am able to examine some of the respondents’ stories about curriculum, look at how they focalize certain issues and how they try to persuade the listener of the authenticity of their claims. I have to be aware during the interviews that “individuals construct past events and actions in personal narratives to claim identities and construct lives” (Reissman, 2002:217). I find this particularly true of one respondent who refers to herself as a *policy custodian* not a *policy shaper, manipulator or dictator*. It fascinates me that she creates this custodial role for herself after the event. I wonder whether this is done to justify and explain her actions or whether she genuinely believes this was her role. The gap between the publicly presented story and the lived identity story

requires the researcher to infer the actual operating stories (Polkinghorne, 1996:366). Given my insider experience of her actions, I saw her role as distinctly manipulative and often dictatorial. It becomes important for me to maintain a critical distance at this point and remain true to her presentation of her identity.

Narratology, the theory of narrative, provides the coherent matrix in which the thesis develops. It brings together the disparate parts of the study as it offers a coherent and compelling technique of analysis and theorising of the findings. I am able to tell not only my curriculum development story but also the stories of all my interviewees, and the story of the policy documents. Narrativisation tells not only about past actions but shows how individuals understand those actions – how they give them meaning (Riessman, 2002). It is through our stories that we construct ourselves as part of our world – narratives are both models of the world and models of the self (Brockmeier & Harré, 2001:53). I use these narratives as models to understand the world that generated the Arts and Culture learning area. I use the narrative models also to theorise my findings and come to the final answers of the study. I find in narrative a flexibility that allows me to incorporate a number of other theoretical constructs as well. All my different narratives and different approaches contribute to the major narrative of the study, viz., the story of the birth and development of the Arts and Culture curriculum. In using narratology and narratives as my primary methodological approach, I endorse Currie's (1998) view of humans as narrative animals, as *homo fabulans* – the teller and interpreter of tales.

4.1.3 The Foucault Lens

In addition to the narratology tool developed to analyse the data, I also use Foucault's theories of discourse and discontinuity. The discourse of democracy and change that surrounded the development of the new curriculum set itself up as a break with the past. The curriculum development process was to be part of the transformation into democracy. Foucault advocates a counter-historical approach, an anti-cause and effect approach that I find rather destabilising at first. What draws me into his

ideas is the notion that there is no new beginning, no clean slate from which we begin. This notion contradicts the discourse of educational change and the new curriculum in 1997, which was set to sweep away everything associated with apartheid education.

Foucault argues that history is not the result of intention, destiny and design, but the result of human error, illusion, accidents and struggles for power (Foucault, 1971). This view coincides with my own experiences of what Ball (1990) calls the “messy reality” of the curriculum development process. Foucault’s rejection of continuity as a way of explaining history and his focus on the discontinuities, breaks and differences that embody the event seem to me a valid and comprehensive way of analysing, explaining and understanding the curriculum changes that I describe in this study. This is why I choose to make use of his ideas.

I also use Foucault’s methods of archaeology and genealogy to guide my analysis of the documents. Archaeological investigations tend to analyse the unconscious and conscious rules of formation which regulate the emergence of discourse in human sciences (Hoy, 1986). Genealogical analysis reveals the emergence of the human sciences, their conditions of existence, as inextricably associated with particular technologies of power embodied in social practices (Smart, 1985:56). All of these ideas come together in how I apply Foucault’s notion of discourse which he sees as lying at the intersection of power and knowledge. Foucault’s methods provide an additional facet to the prism I develop for analysis. Eco (1994) focuses on discourse which is the form or mode of presentation apart from the fabula and story and highlights the ways in which structure, form and purpose of discourse are related to the content. These ways in which narratives are presented reflect the power/ knowledge perspectives of Foucauldian discourse.

4.2 THE RESEARCH DESIGN

Having established my purpose and paradigm I then strategise how best to answer the critical questions of my study in the light of the methodology

described above. My questions ask why the Arts and Culture curriculum came into being and also why it was shaped the way it was. To answer this requires information and insights about the Arts curriculum process and background information to the curriculum development processes of 1997, as well as the 2001 revision process.

I also intend to explore how culture was conceptualised by those who were involved in the writing process. What were the conceptual steps followed in devising the curriculum and the social and political influences that impacted on the design and content? My critical questions require me to find out about public opinion and how it helped shape the curriculum (if it did), so I intend to find out from all the stakeholders, as well as the bureaucrats, how this was managed. I therefore chose the semi-structured interview as the best means of obtaining the data I want. The policy documents related to the arts and the Arts curricula themselves are also key to providing much of the information required. I see that including both document analysis and interviews are necessary in order to produce the data that I require for this study.

4.2.1 Sources

My data source is declarative, gleaned from interviews and documentation analysis. These two sets of data illuminate the critical questions that frame the research.

The first critical question asks why Arts and Culture was included in C2005, so the interviews seek to determine the motivation for including Arts and Culture as a learning area. This requires interviews with policy-makers who were privy to these decisions. The first data set comes from the in-depth interviews I conducted with key policy players in the curriculum processes of 1997 and 2001. In this process, I examine and interpret their experiences, attitudes and understanding of the Arts and Culture curriculum. Some of those who are interviewed were curriculum developers in the Arts and Culture curriculum writing process who were commenting on their personal understanding and interpretations of that process.

Since the second question examines the factors which influenced the design of the curriculum in 1997, the responses of the Arts curriculum developers and writers are especially crucial. The last critical question deals with the effects of the review process and public commentary on the curriculum. The interviews seek to ascertain how the shifts in policy impacted on the Arts and Culture curriculum. The views of those involved in the second curriculum development process are important. All the respondents were deeply immersed in either the field of arts or the area of curriculum change and development. This factor helps me make my selection of possible respondents.

In this study, I move from a highly interactive method of data collecting, like interviews, to a non-reactive source, like policy documents. The second data set I develop comes from the study of state policies in respect of art education. The study of the policies is undertaken to provide the socio-political, historical and empirical evidence for the inclusion of Arts and Culture in C2005 and provide the rationale for Arts and Culture as well as an indication of the content that clarifies that rationale. The documents also provide information about how Arts and Culture education was to be conceptualised in terms of national imperatives. They show, too, where the shifts are in the revision process. The arts curricula of other countries are also examined for comparative purposes. These comparisons will indicate the extent to which C2005 and the RNCS were products of local pressures and needs and how they responded to international influences.

The following table gives an idea of how I see the critical questions in relation to the production of data:

Critical Question	Instrument	Data source	Additional
Why was Arts and Culture deemed a necessary part of the new South African schools	Semi-structured interview using questionnaire as Stimulus.	Interviews	

curriculum (C2005)?	Document analysis schedule.	Policy documents	
What factors influenced the design of the Arts and Culture curriculum in 1997?	Semi-structured interview using questionnaire as stimulus. Document analysis schedule.	Interviews Policy documents	Researcher's experience.
Did the Review process of 2000/1 and the subsequent public commentary effect significant changes to the Arts and Culture curriculum?	Semi-structured interview using questionnaire as stimulus. Document analysis schedule.	Interviews Policy documents	Researcher's experience. Articles provided by respondents. Documents given to working groups by the MPC at the launch of the streamlining and strengthening process.

Table 1

4.2.1.1 Documents

My initial strategy was to approach the document analysis through the use of content analysis. This is, after all, a standard and reliable technique for gathering and analysing the content of a particular text and of comparing content across many texts (Neuman, 1997:273). Furthermore, this kind of analysis is favoured by interpretive research. Although content analysis can reveal the messages in a text that are difficult to see with casual observation (Neuman, 1997:274), I wondered whether the intention, the ideology and the point of view of the writers would emerge in this method of analysis.

As I proceeded I began to realise that my critical questions did not benefit from this kind of analysis, whether of the manifest or the symbolic content of the text. For my purposes, the content analysis method and quantifying of words, messages or symbols would reveal only part of the message. This did not suit my purposes. While my critical questions ask 'why' and 'how', this technique would focus my analysis more on the 'what'. I needed to be able to understand not only the propositions contained in a document but also to elicit how the propositions are oriented. I realised that I would not be able to supply the background and purposes of these texts through the

standard content analysis. My experiment with this kind of quantitative analysis showed it to be inadequate. I would not be able to say with certainty how credible my final findings would be in terms of the purposes of my study. As Neuman (1997) points out, content analysis describes what is in the text; it cannot reveal the intentions of those who created the texts or the effects that messages in the texts have on those who receive them. My critical questions are designed to explore both the intentions and the effects of what the arts policies contain. Given my narrative framing, I am concerned both with the reading and the writing of the texts. So I abandoned the quantitative content analysis method for the documents and remain consistent in the qualitative approach for both sets of data. It is this understanding that helps me develop a narratological tool for the analysis of policy.

4.2.1.2. Interviews

The lived experiences of my respondents in terms of curriculum development and Arts education give each one of them a unique perspective. My departure point is the “insider perspective on social action” that each one of the respondents brings to the curriculum development story (Babbie & Mouton, 2001: 270). Some have a deep knowledge and love of the arts while others have more of an interest in the big picture of the curriculum change which includes the arts. By giving the respondents the freedom to express their experiences, I will be able to obtain an insight into that lived experience which will contribute to answering my questions.

In the opening narrative, I declared my intention of using my own insider view of the curriculum development process, and this is something that I implement throughout the study. Maykut and Morehouse (1994) speak of the “indwelling” posture which the researcher assumes while engaging in research, an immersion, as it were, into the deep waters of the study. While this is true of my fieldwork and analysis, my first experience of this indwelling began before I had even conceived of the study. I had actually been ‘dwelling within’ the Arts curriculum process for some time before I began this research. It is, in fact, the reason why I started this study. My

own insider perspective may be viewed as both a strength and as a weakness. I try to use it as a strength and resource by consciously calling it to the fore and by positioning it as I do in the study. Indwelling is reflective, and it was my reflection on my immersion in the Arts and Culture curriculum development process that inspired and compelled me to write this narrative. Reflexivity remains an important stance for me in maintaining quality as I move through the data production and analysis and representation phases of this study.

I choose to use interviews with the various policy players and curriculum developers as my main technique for the production of data. I want to see what it was they saw of the Arts and Culture debates and development; I want to view the phenomenon through their eyes. In my analysis and discussions, I allow the respondent narrators to speak through my text in their own words. Narrative is an open and flexible structure that allows us to examine precisely these fundamental aspects of human experience, its openness and flexibility (Brockmeier & Harré, 2001:52). The use of the narrators' own words are part of my way of assuring the quality and credibility of the research.

4.2.2 Selections

In all my selections, whether of possible respondents or policy documents, I am guided by the critical questions of the study.

4.2.2.1 Sample 1

The selection of possible respondents (whom I refer to as 'narrators' once they tell their stories) is driven by my quest to explore the contextual conditions of the genesis of Arts and Culture as a learning area and the dynamics of the writing process. I have to consult with the most senior officials in the DOE who have been instrumental and influential in the curriculum development and change process called C2005. I also have to include those who were closely involved with the design of the Arts and Culture curriculum in particular. As I work through those who have to appear in this story, those who can be excluded become apparent.

My initial list is very long, and top-heavy with DOE senior officials. Many of them have long since left the Department. On consideration, I realise that their contribution, in many cases, would be limited to the change from the apartheid to post-apartheid education, the new structures and the move to OBE. Whilst this is interesting information, I am not sure that it is entirely pertinent to the Arts and Culture story. This is where my own insider knowledge was useful as I go through the names of those who were key officials in the various curriculum processes. Finally, I select a list of people who had actual hands-on experiences in the processes. It becomes a question of choosing voices I need, based on their contributions to either the Arts curricula or the general curriculum process.

I decide to limit myself to two of the senior managers of the 1997 process and two of the senior managers of the revision process. Two other DOE officials are chosen because of their direct involvement with Arts and Culture in the DOE. Two Provincial Department officials are chosen because they also served on the Arts and Culture curriculum development writing groups in both versions. Another Provincial official is selected because he headed the first Learning Area Committee for Arts and Culture and guided the very first curriculum development efforts recorded in my opening story. I include two Arts NGO representatives, but later eliminate one of them as the interview process unfolds. The last interviewee is myself, a decision I grappled with.

What emerges as I drew up my list is that every one of my prospective interviewees is someone whom I have met or worked with during the curriculum process. The only persons I have not worked with directly, although they are known to me, are the Arts NGO representatives. Given my relationship with the proposed respondents, I do not anticipate any real difficulties (apart from busy work schedules) in obtaining my data. I planned all the interviews as one-off, face-to-face, in-depth sessions. I set out to gather the data with a list of twelve names. I end up with nine interviews, including three face-to-face, some e-mail, and one telephonic interview. The

reasons for these changes become apparent in the section below on the process of obtaining data.

4.2.2.2 Sample 2

Before I decide on how to approach the documents, I make a selection of which policies are going to be valid and pertinent for this study. I am guided in my selection by the critical questions of the study, as well as my experience of the arts education field. On reflection, I decide that I will focus on the official art policy for the new democracy: the seminal White Paper for Arts, Culture and Heritage, as well as the official Arts education policies, i.e., the curricula themselves. For the 1997 version, I choose the Arts and Culture section of the Senior Phase Policy Framework, as this is the only phase where the arts are not integrated with other learning areas. The 2001 RNCS version of the Arts and Culture curriculum was published as a separate document. Since these are all official government policies, I can accept them as valid and reliable and am not constrained to authenticate them, as I might have to do for personal or procedural documents. An advantage of this selection is that these official documents are easily accessible. I also decide to examine the Arts curricula of some of the countries that had an influence during our curriculum development process. These are used as a supplementary resource, not as part of the data set.

4.2.3 Instruments

The first step in my process of producing data is to devise suitable instruments for both sets of data. Although the interviews are intended to stimulate personal reflection, opinions and anecdotal evidence, I need to focus the respondent's thoughts on Arts and Culture in particular, especially with the senior policy-makers who were involved with curriculum at a more macro level. There is also the five-year gap since the initial process to consider; people have moved on and could have forgotten the events and people with which they had been associated. To this end, I opt for a semi-structured interview process. My intention in the semi-structured interview is to allow for a conversation, but to keep the direction as far as possible on arts education.

Babbie and Mouton (2001:289) note that a qualitative interview is essentially a conversation in which the interviewer establishes a general direction for the conversation and pursues specific topics raised by the respondents. So I adopt the method of using an interview schedule in order to provide a structure for the conversation and to guide this conversation into the topic of the Arts curricula. The form and shape given to the interview by the questions I ask will give me some 'control' over the content or plot of the story: the fabula will be the same and therefore provide a measure of triangulation.

4.2.3.1 The Interview Schedule

The purpose of the interview schedule is to designate the narrative terrain and engage the interviewee (Holstein & Gubrium, 1995:76). I draw up a detailed list of questions that can be used in two ways – either a step-by-step sequential response to all questions or a general feedback to the tenor of the main questions. This is not a questionnaire in the sense of having to be filled in or completed during or before the interview; in a sense it *is* the interview. The schedule has a number of questions and is fairly lengthy because I wish to remind some of the respondents about the events and actors involved, and also because I would like to get a holistic view of the context in which certain decisions were taken. This is in keeping with my paradigm and purpose. All participants are asked to use the questions as triggers to memory. There is an open-ended element to the process. All are informed that they can answer the questions as they choose and leave out questions if they wish. So this questionnaire is not used in a quantitative or comparative way; it is an instrument to engage with the events and processes of curriculum development.

In the interview schedule, I want to be as broadly inclusive as possible of all the features related to the curriculum process and at the same time I want the respondents to relate to the issues of Arts and Culture education. My questions are therefore framed with this in mind. I also achieve this by having different parts to the schedule which deal with different aspects of

the process. At the same time I have to remain true to my conceptual framework and my theoretical approach. I use the Foucauldian notion of discourse as power/knowledge as well as elements of critical policy sociology (Ball, 1990, 1994 and Taylor et al, 1997) to frame questions on agency, legitimacy and representation. My own experience of the curriculum development process also guides me in drawing up the questions related to power, influence and positionality of key players. I include questions that point to the focalization of respondents in terms of culture and curriculum. First and foremost in the schedule are the critical questions of the study, although I reframe them somewhat. The interview schedule was revised after my first interview, and the amended version was subsequently used for the other respondents. The final version is attached as appendix A.

In the schedule one question in each section reflects the theoretical focus and the thrust of the other questions in that section. For instance, in Part A-1 (designed for officials of the Department of Education) the highlighted question reads: "How much did pressure or interest groups contribute to policy-making either through the political machinery or through the professional route?" This question speaks to issues of agency and power and also allows the respondents an opportunity to indicate their own personal placing. In Part A-2, I ask in question 6 directly why Arts and Culture was included as a learning area in C2005. The questions that follow in that section (7-10) are all related and provide me with an understanding of the discourse that prevailed at that time concerning Arts education.

Later in the schedule, I ask respondents what they would change about the process if they could go back in time. This question allows for free discussion from the respondents' point of view of the whole process, not only their own contributions. It also gives them a chance to stand back and reflect. I seek in these questions to allow the people being interviewed to bring their personal motives and reasons to the fore so that I can then interpret these. I want 'thick' or rich data from which I can build a description that captures a sense of actions as they occur and places events in context.

My interview schedule is intended to encourage and inspire the flow of conversation.

I also use the schedule of questions to assure the participants of the confidentiality of their contributions and ask their permission to use their offerings. Only one respondent says that she wishes to examine any quotations of hers that I use. Below is an excerpt of the actual wording used on the schedule

CONFIDENTIALITY

Please be assured that the insights and information you provide will be treated with absolute confidentiality and will be used for research purposes only.

I should mention, however, that true confidentiality will be difficult if I do mention positions held by my respondents, as the names of people in certain positions are public knowledge.

Could I contact you again to give you the opportunity to veto or correct any comments of yours that I use?

You may refrain from answering certain questions or perhaps you might like to provide some answers that are "off the record".

It is important for me in my analysis to refer to the position and role of the respondent in respect of the curriculum process. As I mention in the paragraph above, many of the names of the persons concerned are public knowledge. This possible ethical dilemma does not prove to be an issue as all of the respondents accept this situation. Perhaps the fact that the study has come so many years after the process has something to do with this. Some respondents actually enjoyed this opportunity to look back and reflect on or justify their actions. Almost all had moved on from their former positions, so again this might have something to do with their lack of concern about being identified. It is ironic that the one respondent who explicitly requested the right to veto not only gave her consent quite willingly later, but also requested that she be acknowledged by name.

4.2.3.2 The Document Schedule

I begin by reminding myself that, unlike the interviews where questions have to be asked in order to produce a text for analysis, the policy documents are ready-produced texts, so my questions are addressed directly to these texts. I see that working within a narrative framing could offer a way of approaching the texts; these are non-fictional narratives after all. “Central in theories of discourse are language and meaning – aspects which, ...have often been taken for granted in policy analysis in the past” (Taylor, 1997:25). If this is so, then I realise that my attempt could be a way to extend and enrich policy analysis.

If I wish to develop the technique of policy narratology as an alternative method for policy analysis, I need to fashion a narratological lens through which to read the texts for analysis and coding. My selection of documents is ‘awkward’ as it includes both curricula and other genres of government policy. My sources also include commentaries like those of respondent 10 (narrator F). I have to have an instrument that will not only attend to curriculum issues, but will also be applicable to broader policy effects. I am interested in finding the links between the ideas in the policies and in the fabula identified by the interview process. The questions that policy analysis asks of policy cannot always be answered in the documents themselves, so I have to find the links between the policy documents, the interviews and commentaries. If the tool is too broad, then aspects of curriculum development might escape. I have to devise a lens that is both flexible and fine at the same time. This lens will provide me with a way of reading the documents that meets my purposes and paradigm.

4.2.3.3. My Narratology Instrument for Policy Analysis

Implicit in my narratological lens is the Foucauldian notion of power/knowledge. I began my immersion in the policy landscape with a critical policy analysis drawing on these theorists’ appropriation of Foucauldian discourse. I make reference to these sources in my discussion below.

Since the 'fabula' consist of real events experienced by actors in (real) time and chronological order, and in a particular location, my treatment of the fabula of the policy documents then asks:

- Who were the actors/actants¹?
- What function did they want to achieve?
- What events were caused or experienced by the actors?
- When, in what chronological sequence (did these events/processes occur)?
- Where, is the location significant?

These questions can be likened to the questions asked by researchers such as Ozga (2000) and Ball (1990) in critical policy analysis regarding the source of the policy.

In terms of analysing the stories of the Arts and Culture policies, I frame my analysis of each policy to look at:

- How were the elements of the fabula presented/ arranged/ manipulated?
- Who sees? Whose point of view informs this story?
- What choices are made?
- How is Arts education focalized²

Again these questions can be likened to those of critical policy analysis which asks what is the scope of the policy (Ozga, 2000); on what grounds was this policy adopted; on whose terms; and how have competing interests been negotiated (Taylor et al, 1997), and what does the document claim?

Lastly, in my consideration of the policy text as a whole, I ask

- What version of the Arts education story does this policy tell?

¹ A class of actors that shares a certain characteristic quality related to the teleology of the fabula (Bal 1997:197)

² Focalization is the relation between the vision (of the fabula) and that which is seen or perceived. (Bal, 1997:142)

- Who speaks in this text? What is the status and identity of this narrating agent?
- How does the medium/ structure of the text relate to the story told?

In critical policy analysis, one could ask for whom the documents were written and what the theoretical assumptions are on which it rests. Although my questions are related broadly to those of critical policy analysis, I believe that they answer my purposes in a far more focused way. My narratological lens combines the strengths of critical policy analysis with the tools of narratology. For me, this lens enables a balance of specificity and generality when dealing with different policies.

PART TWO

4.3 THE DATA PRODUCTION AND ANALYSIS

4.3.1 Researcher as Insider, a Self Interview

Since I have declared my insider stance at the outset, I decide to conduct a self-interview. A period of about five months has elapsed since I had devised the interview schedule, so it is not difficult for me once I assume the persona of interviewee to respond in a spontaneous way to the questions. Having decided to do this, I do not spend any time thinking about how I should go about the process or trying to find an outside interviewer. I do not want to think through my answers, study my responses or prepare myself mentally. Instead I focus my mind on an imaginary interviewer and respond to the questions 'off the top of my head'. I record the first thoughts that come to mind as I read each question - in the manner of free association. The biggest challenge of this process for me is resisting the temptation afterwards to edit what I have said, especially when I later typed up the neat copy of the interview. The reason for this is not because spontaneous responses are necessarily the 'best' responses, but because I do not want to tailor my responses to suit what I think will be the outcome of the findings. I want my role of character narrator to be distinct from the role of external narrator.

The experience of the self-interview does have one immediate result. It confirms the feeling I have had that my schedule of questions needs refining and reorganisation. I am able to pinpoint the changes, even knowing that other respondents might direct me to different changes to some extent. I do make some changes to the schedule but these are not substantive

4.3.2 A Pilot Interview

When I prepared the sample I was pleased that I knew the prospective interviewees personally, but I realise that my previous interaction with these people has been as a colleague and an 'expert' in the field of Drama and Arts education. In order to overcome any awkwardness, I contact only Narrator A to be my first interviewee as he is a former colleague, an Arts and Culture practitioner, a former employee of the DOE, and a friend of long-standing. The interview lasts more than two hours, is full of information, personal anecdotes (especially about the DOE), and helpful explanations. He is very happy to participate as it gives him a chance to put on record, as it were, his actions and opinions regarding Arts and Culture and the curriculum process in 1997.

This interview in a way becomes a 'pilot' interview, as it not only points to questions and issues to be included, but also allows me to 'practice' the interviewing process and refine my techniques. I see that it is not necessary to go through all the questions in the same detail because there will be much overlapping anyway as the respondent reminisces and recalls events. I revise the schedule with greater purpose this time. This revision does not result in an entirely new questionnaire, but a better organised one with different sections and less repetition. The refinement is helpful in the light of the fact that the later interviews are done by e-mail (see 4.3.3).

This pilot interview also gives me practice also in restraining my own opinions so that I do not lead the respondent to say what I want to hear. My interjections should be such that they encourage participation and allow the respondents the 'space' to speak freely.

4.3.3 Initiating the Interview Process

When I contact the rest of the interviewees, all but one either personally or via their secretaries, agree quite willingly to be interviewed. Some are a little tentative about what they could possibly contribute to the Arts and Culture debate, but I assure them that any thoughts about the curriculum change processes will be helpful and that I could send them my interview questions in advance to prepare. Apart from these hesitations, only one person on my list refuses to be interviewed, so I am reassured.

But not all is as it appears. Although I am prepared to travel to wherever my respondents are, when it comes to giving me an actual date and time I find myself up against a number of difficulties. Most of the respondents find it hard to commit to a definite date. The more senior officials are the most problematic. Secretaries who promise to call me as soon as there is an opening never do. It seems that my 'credentials' are sufficient only to gain agreement for participating. I begin to understand that I am not only 'researching across', but also 'researching up' (Lather, 2001), with all the attendant difficulties that this term implies.

4.3.4 Alternative Options

It is at this stage that I consider the pros and cons of different methods of obtaining the data I need. I see that abandoning the advantage of the face-to-face interviews might at least be a means of yielding some data. The passing of time also becomes a factor. So I contact all the respondents and ask if I could e-mail the questions to them either as preparation for the interview or for them to respond to. Both respondents 8 and 9 on my list (narrators B and C) refuse to respond by e-mail and agree to be interviewed personally. As these are two senior curriculum players, I am quite happy about this.

Respondents 3, 4 and 5 on my list (narrators G, H and E) respond by e-mail within the week. Respondents 6 and 7, despite numerous follow up e-mails and begging telephone calls, never respond. Both initially expressed interest

in the project, both agreed that they would participate, but neither do. The SADTU representative (respondent 7), who has also been an Arts and Culture curriculum developer, expresses her appreciation of the fact that this research is being undertaken, as she feels it is a vital and long overdue study. Yet, despite numerous reminders, she never responds to the questionnaire. Although I obtain a large amount of information from the other interviews, I feel that the lack of this Teacher Union voice is something of a limitation in my study.

It was respondent number 10 on my list, about whose participation I had great hopes, who declined from the outset to be interviewed. As a senior and well-known academic who had played an important role in the curriculum process, she has decided as a matter of policy not to grant interviews. She did offer instead a series of papers she had written about the same curriculum process. I decided that I would use them as her voice in the interview section and extract from them the information that was pertinent to my questions. This formed the data of Narrator F.

Respondent 11 (Narrator D), the NGO Arts consultant, is keen to be interviewed, but was travelling extensively at that time. It became increasingly difficult for him to say when he would be available, and he was not keen about the e-mail process. After many cancelled appointments, we finally agree on a telephonic interview. It works remarkably well. It was at this point that I decide to drop Respondent 12 from my list as I felt that the one NGO representative could speak for the whole sector, so that I could leave the field. Respondent 11 had extensive community experience, had been involved in the ACTAG initiative and had worked as a Ministerial adviser; I thought this was a sufficiently broad overview of the NGO sector, and that it was not therefore necessary to include respondent 12.

4.3.5 Summary of Interviews

The following table based on my journal of the interviewing process indicates my original selection of respondents and what I actually achieved. The last column reflects some of my field notes.

No	Type of Interview	Person/Position held	Nature of Response
1 st	Self-interview	Ms --- Prov.Subject Adviser- Arts representative (KZN). Chaired Arts committee - Ministerial Technical Comm.1997. Member of A&C working group 2001.	Detailed, as best as I can remember.
2 nd	Face to face	Mr --- Former Director Arts and Culture. Dept of Education (National) Co-ordinated process in 1997	Extensive detailed responses. Very willing to assist
3 rd	E-mail	Ms --- FET Arts co-ordinator. DOE	Terse, short responses. Almost 'yes/no'type. No elaboration or personal details.
4 th	E-mail	Mr --- Former Prov.Head of Curr.(FS) Co-ordinated National Arts and Cul.Learning Area Comm. in 1996/7	Short but rich-'stream of consciousness' type of response. Happy to respond.
5 th	E-mail	Ms --- Prov. Curr.Planner. Arts rep (W.Cape) Member of A&C comm. for both 1997 and 2001	Detailed and concise. Supplied article as well. Keen to contribute.
6 th	E-mail	Mr --- Director GET, DOE (Revision process)	Agreed to participate but NO RESPONSE after 6 months.
7 th	E-mail	Ms --- Former Prov Subject Ad. (W Cape) SADTU representative on A&C com. 1997 and 2001	Very keen BUT no response in spite of having promised.
8 th	Face-to face	Mr --- Dep. Director General, FET. Chief Director in 1997 DOE	Sufficient detail, very useful. Gave general responses rather than one-to-one. Made special effort to help.
9 th	Face-to-face Refused e-mail.	Ms --- Former Director, ECD & Schools DOE Led the Curr process in 1997	Some very useful information, BUT impossible to pin down to a time. Scheduled interview interrupted continuously. Could not complete because venue was changed as often as four times in one day.
10 th	Refused interview	Prof--- Chair- Ministerial Project Com. Review process	Vital information supplied via articles – cannot be interviewed.

		Also mentor Arts and Culture working group 2001.	
11 th	Telephonic interview	Mr. --- Director Community Arts Project	Interesting view of the Arts world. Outside the education process. Could not say very much about the curriculum.
12 th	Did not interview	Ms --- Arts NGO	

Table 2

4.3.6 DATA ANALYSIS: Interviews

I use the term '*homo fabulans*' – man as storyteller - in my analysis of the interviews because I see these transcripts as personal stories or sub-plots narrated by various characters in the main story of Arts and Culture (Currie, M. 1998:2). Their narratives are interpretive and in turn need to be interpreted. Although my entire study may be seen as a narrative analysis, in this section I focus on the analysis of the narratives of my respondents and my policy documents. I make use of Polkinghorne's (1995) approach to narrative analysis where data is configured by means of a plot into a story. In analysis of narratives, the data is analysed by common threads traced across stories. I use a process of inductive reasoning as well as my guided theory approach to begin the first order analysis (Maykut & Morehouse, 1994) as described in chapters 5 and 6. I then move on to a second and third level of analysis found in chapters 7 and 8.

The figure below represents the various levels of analysis I conducted on the data once I had produced it. I begin with the analysis of the data and, having done this I move to a narrative analysis mode as I discuss and theorise the findings. I have attempted to represent the process in terms of my earlier graphic depictions of the narrative process. Here I show the analysis embedded in the theoretical framing and each step arising from the previous one and leading to the next.

4.3.6.1. A Summary of the Levels of Analysis:

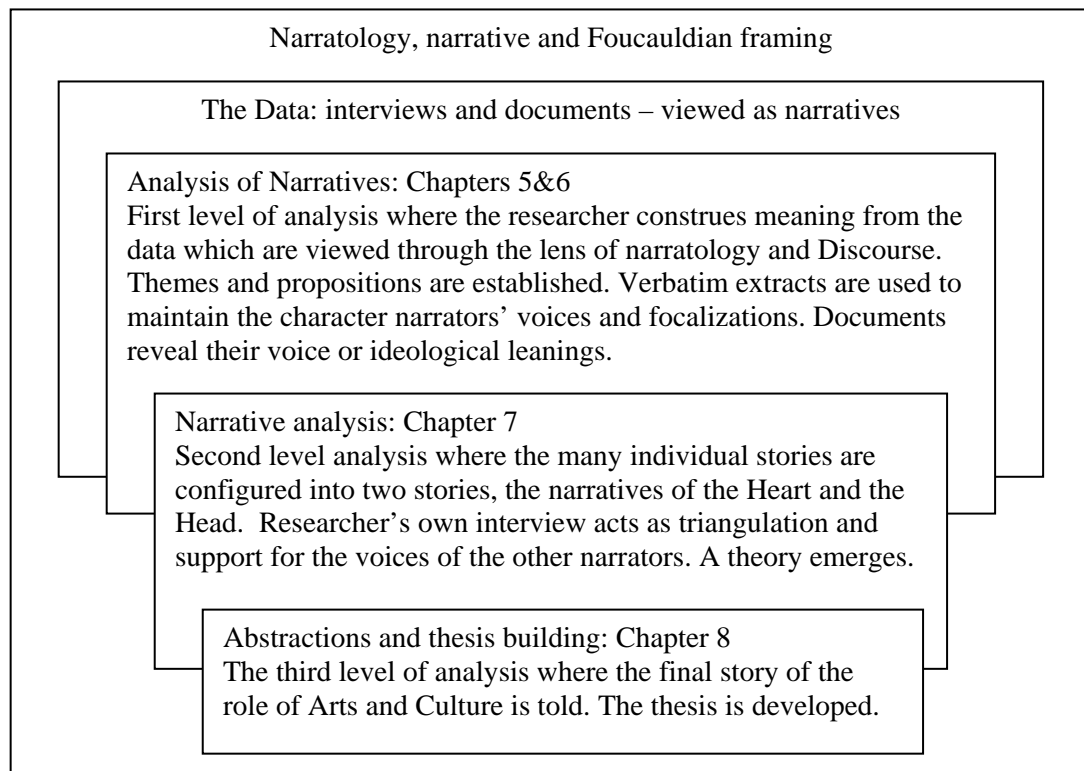


Figure 7

4.3.6.2 Transcribing

Riessman (2002) describes transcribing of narratives (or interviews) as a level of analysis. As such, it is also incomplete, partial and selective. So I ask how I can best capture the oral performance of the interview into a written form in order to ensure the rigour and validity of my research. In the transcription process, I attempt to be scrupulous in the capturing of every detail. I make use of my journal notes (see last column in the table in 4.3.5 above) and listen to the interview tape recordings over and over again. Riessman (2002) points out that it is precisely because they are meaning-making structures that narratives should be preserved and that the respondents' ways of constructing meaning should be respected. In particular, I pay attention to the discourse markers. I note pauses and laughter, I use punctuation to indicate the inflection of voice that suggests a tone of scepticism or surprise, and I highlight the emphases, but I am aware that, however meticulous I am, there is no true recapturing of the spoken word.

4.3.6.3 Different Modes

My data set for the interviews consists of data generated in four different ways: face-to-face direct interviews, e-mail responses, a telephonic interview and a non-interview set of articles. Although the face-to-face interview has the advantage over other types of interviews, I am not disturbed by the fact that I have this variety. The telephonic interview does allow one to respond to the respondent's tone of voice, hesitations and repetitions, just as one responds to facial expression and other non-verbal forms of communication in an interview. It also allows for probing questions (Neuman 1997). The e-mail responses can be scrutinised in terms of linguistic devices and, if the respondent is agreeable, one can ask for clarification and elaborations. These interviews might actually offer more in way of 'confessions' and frank responses not mediated by the presence of an interviewer. The e-mail responses are however, not without problems, because one is aware that much can also be left unsaid. One has the choice of either beginning a dialogue, which given the position of most of my respondents was not an option, or accepting the responses as they are proffered. I chose the latter course.

Since the respondents answered in different ways, one can look firstly at how the respondent chose to treat the questions – whether they answer in sequence, give full answers, or ignore some. The interview schedule assumes a more important role in an e-mail interview as the respondents are dealing directly with the questions rather than a person engaging in a conversation. The first level of representation in narrative analysis according to Riessman (2002) is a selection from the totality of the experience, so these respondents are, like the respondents in the face-to-face interviews, actively constructing reality in new ways for themselves. In the telling or writing (second level of representation), they show how they wish to be known by others. My dilemma is whether to analyse the forms of representation of my respondents as well as what they present as data. Since my primary interest is the Arts and Culture story, I decide to treat all the interview data in the same way, i.e., focus on the 'what' while keeping

alert to the manner of their presentation. I am aware that while I focus on what was said, how it was said cannot be divorced from my reading of it.

4.3.7 Approaching the Analysis

Narrative analysis provides methods for examining and relating meaning at three levels: the *ideational* function that expresses the referential meaning of what was said, the *interpersonal* function that concerns the role relationship between the speakers (myself and the respondent), and the *textual* function that refers to the structure with its syntactic and semantic connections (Riessman 2002:234). Meaning therefore comes from all three levels. This does not mean that I need to search each statement for three levels of meaning in my analysis. It means that, while I focus on significant sentences of the respondents in terms of my lens and research questions (the ideational), I remain aware of our relationship, the respondents' roles in the curriculum development process, and their use of language. So the subtext of the narratives becomes apparent as I examine who speaks and how they say what they say.

In analysing the interview data, I move between the standard constant comparative method (Lincoln & Guba 1985, Glaser & Strauss 1967) and elements of narrative analysis. My guiding theoretical lens acts as a rule for inclusion and helps move data from the 'looks/feels similar' rule to a 'fits the lens' rule. The looks/feels alike criteria advanced by Lincoln & Guba (1985) is a way of describing the emergent process of categorising qualitative data. I ask whether the unit of meaning in one interview is similar to the unit of meaning in another, so that salient categories of meaning are inductively derived (Maykut & Morehouse, 1994). In my representation of the data. I discuss the core issues in relation to the actual words of the speakers, so I include excerpts from their stories. I end the analysis with a set of propositions based on the early categories. By working with the categories and themes in this way, I can provide a "reasonable reconstruction" of the data (Maykut & Morehouse, 1994:134). In this way I move between surface analysis and a deeper interpretation. Chapter 5 contains the detailed moves

that I went through in relation to the interviews before I went on to create my story.

The notion of crystallisation explains the process I use to arrive at the final story and thesis. Crystallisation may be said to be the process that captures the essence of the ingredients in a mixture. Part of the power of the narrative approach is that it reveals how the respondent and the researcher are constantly interpreting and analysing what is said. We select from the totality of our experiences what we want to say and how we represent it (Reissman, 2002). This means that both the researcher and the respondents crystallise the meanings of their experiences in their interpretations. Even if these crystallisations are different they are nonetheless valid for the narrator.

All the respondents in my research were not equal in power, position, or experience. They also gave me data that was different both in form and content. Independently, their stories gave a variety of opinions which I crystallise into a group story in my discussion of the findings. The ‘crystals’ that begin to form in my description of the data in chapters 5 and 6 (the political versus the pedagogic approach) grow into the story (of the Heart and the Head) in chapters 7 and 8. What is interesting about this is that any one of the respondents could have provided a crystallisation that led to my thesis. But in my role as external narrator and researcher, it was left to me to crystallise all the views into a likely reconstruction. Each individual story gave me an element or two, which formed the crystallisation of the group stories.

4.3.8 DATA ANALYSIS: Policy Documents

The method of analysing the policies was similar to the process of treating the interview texts. I do initially spend some time experimenting with various lenses (critical policy analysis and archaeology and genealogy), thereby developing multiple readings of the policies. I do this because I am mindful of the notion that “reading or interpretation is not primarily a matter of forming or reinforcing personal opinions but rather a process of negotiation

among contexts” (Nealon & Giroux, 2003:23). This exercise has the added advantage of an immersion into the world of ‘policy-speak’ in respect of Arts and Culture and also gives me a chance to refine my narratology lens.

I apply each of the twelve questions of the document schedule to the three policies. The coding is again, as in the interviews, done on a line-by-line basis. I ask what the different policies have to say about the questions related to the *fabula*, the story and the text. I find that the questions on the story and how the *fabula* are manipulated especially helpful. Questions like: “Who sees? Whose point of view informs this story? What choices are made, and how is Arts education focalised?” really help me come to grips with the ideology of the documents.

From these responses, I develop themes and key words. These form the codes that I use to interrogate the data further. I am again guided by my questions, but these do not preclude my being open to what the data reveals. I continue to refine my analysis by refining the categories through combining and rearranging the data. I struggle with the minutiae like whether to separate redress and access from democracy. Are these constructs implicit in democracy or should I include them under transparency, or could they be categories on their own? Eventually, of course, I see that they are pointers to larger categories and issues around how the policies are conceptualised. I am able to create more abstract themes. As I proceed it is exciting to note how the data from the interviews and policies begin to support and complement one another. In my representation of the analysis, I do not write under headings like *fabula* or story. These are only tools that I use. My description of the policies tries to be true to the focalization of the texts, so I focus rather on their aims and special attributes; for example, the outcomes of the curriculum documents. Chapter 6 shows the details of this analysis.

PART THREE

4.4 ISSUES ARISING FROM THE RESEARCH PROCESS

There are four methodological issues that I wish to problematise in relation to this study. They are

- Issues of quality
- Issues related to ‘researching up’
- The researcher’s stance
- Issues around the self-interview

Each of these has been alluded to in the discussion above, but in this section I give a fuller account of how I deal with and resolve the issues that arose in the course of the research process. I omit the issue of policy narratology as it is commented on in the epilogue to this study.

4.4.1 Issues of Quality

The peculiarity of my study, particularly its inquiry into disparate areas such as education policy, arts education, curriculum determinants and culture, make it necessary for me to employ a variety of methods best suited to my intent and rationale. I need, therefore, to show that the assumptions on which my research methodology rests are rigorous and trustworthy but, like Lather (2001a), I question whether the discourse of ‘validity’ is still adequate to the task. The soundness of qualitative research, say Lincoln & Guba (1985), depends upon criteria such as credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability. All these criteria are addressed in this study in a number of different ways. But while I move to show how and where I can demonstrate the trustworthiness of my research if need be, I also reflect on my processes and question the notion of such proof. So I move from a policing stance to a self-reflective stance initially in adopting what Lather (2001) calls “ working within-against the dominant, contesting its borders” (Lather, 2001a: 248).

I acknowledge my own complicity in following the traditional moves in what follows hereafter as I 'work within', but also offer the suggestion of some resistance to the over-coding of the normative. So, in effect, what I am proposing is the notion of validity under erasure, using concepts such as credibility and confirmability while opening them up to scrutiny. I therefore use the term 'validity' on occasion.

If I follow the traditional moves, credibility can be demonstrated firstly in the accurate identification and description of the subject, in this case the Arts and Culture curriculum, and then in the in-depth description of the process and the setting - the curriculum development process (de Vos et al, 2005). I attempt to show the complexity of the subject and its variables through my choices of a number and range of respondents; my selection of documents which most closely identify the Arts and Culture phenomenon; my full transcriptions of interviews, and the use of verbatim extracts in the analysis. The corroboration of the literature also establishes the credibility of this study.

I note in the opening to this chapter, in my discussion of the Constructivist-Hermeneutic-Interpretive paradigm in which I locate this study, that transferability of the findings in such a paradigm is not always possible. I approached the study with the understanding that I am interpreting a context-specific phenomenon (the Arts and Culture curriculum), and I describe it and explain it within its setting – post-apartheid South Africa. I would prefer the notion of "particularizability" (Erickson 1986) to refer to my data. In such a case, Lather (2001a) suggests, the reader can determine the degree of transferability. I am drawn to this notion of reader involvement also because of the narrative approach of the study which maintains that the reader 'writes' the text as well.

A credible study must be true to its purposes, intentions and theoretical framework. One of the ways in which I can attest to the rigour of the study is to show how it is guided and shaped by its theoretical framing. The coherence in my study is provided by narratology. My use of narratology is

not only a representation technique. It provides the framework, the tools and the approach to all aspects of the study, including the analysis and theorising of the data findings. So it works as a model for the research report and it also works on a conceptual level. In chapter 2, I quote Bal (1997) in saying that I use narratology as a heuristic tool. Heuristic research generally provides accurate depiction of an experience derived from an investigator's intensive self-searching and from the explication of others (Braud & Anderson, 1998:265). My use of narratology as a heuristic device allows me to narrate my initial curriculum experiences and my self-interview, as well as the respondents' interviews as part of the search for the story of the genesis of the Arts and Culture curriculum.

More importantly, narratology supplies a method for triangulation. Although I see triangulation as a rather positivist construct, in working within the constraints I have accepted here, I am obliged to refer to it. Triangulation in qualitative research usually refers to how data from different sources can be used to corroborate or elaborate a claim (de Vos et al, 2005). In my study triangulation is readily applicable to the fabula and adds to the dependability of the research methodology. Fabula consist of events, actors, time and location (Bal, 1997) - elements about which there is agreement from all sources. Some of these fabula are that the curriculum development process of C2005 occurred in 1997; the Ministerial Task Team consisted of certain people; the RNCS was begun in 2001; the Ministerial Project Committee ran the RNCS process, and that at different stages certain policies were gazetted. So the fabula corroborate the research. I would suggest that there is a situated validity about the research in regard to the fabula.

The research does not, however, consist only of fabula. I treat my data as stories and I narrate the findings as a story which arranges the fabula in a particular way. The question now is whether my way of telling the story can be depended upon. Furthermore, can the last criterion of confirmability be applied to the story of my findings? What evidence or theoretical constructs can I refer to in order to support the trustworthiness of the study?

4.4.1.2 A Mutually Constitutive Solution

I propose that the stories that emerge from the respondents and other data are mutually constitutive. This notion of mutually constitutive realities is based on the work of Gough and Price (2004) regarding the narrative/reality dichotomy. These researchers use the image of rhizomes to counter this dichotomy and suggest that we see a multiplicity of realities and narratives mutually constituting themselves like rhizomes – distinguishable but not strongly dichotomised (Gough & Price, 2004:5). In her work on transgressive validities, Lather (2001a) also refers to the rhizomatic – those validities that unsettle truth regimes and foster differences and heterogeneity.

The different perspectives of the respondents involved in the 1997 and 2001 Arts and Culture curricula do not always ‘agree’ with one another. In fact, Narrator B states quite unequivocally that the Review process was unnecessary in his view. The approaches of the Senior Phase Arts and Culture document and the RNCS Arts and Culture documents are also different. Put together in my story though, they provide a multidimensional picture or ‘truth’ about the Arts and Culture curriculum. Each one of the stories provides an illumination and a reflection of the others. Like rhizomes, they join, fold, displace and encircle one another: they are dependent on each other. The RNCS Arts and Culture curriculum could not stand without the C2005 version of the Arts and Culture curriculum. Neither of them would exist without the WPACH. All of them together are mutually constitutive of the Arts and Culture education story.

Interestingly, Lather also describes a constitutive practice of validity - one that constructs a “relationality, a sociality in which to assess the legitimacy of knowledge claims” (Lather, 2001a: 246). This is pointing to a space that does not yet exist, but to which research like this, which has a situated validity, could contribute.

4.4.1.3 A Crystallisation of Views

The notion of crystallisation described above (see 4.3.7) is also what supports the confirmability of the study. Ramsuran (2005) observes that crystallisation, where statements from one or another interviewee bring together various pieces of evidence (from a number of interviewees) in ways that capture the meaning of that evidence, can be a useful analytical tool. Crystallisation has an additional advantage in that it allows for further inquiry. It stimulates new ways of looking at the data and seeing meaning. A particular crystallisation may not have the agreement of others, but it is likely to be recognised as a valid interpretation and point of view, given the context of the narrator. The evidence that I use to support the crystallisation, whether of the respondents' stories or of my own findings, comes from the positionality of the respondents, their experiences and focalizations. The processes I use for analysis are also evidence for the dependability and confirmability of the study.

It is through all of the steps described above that the research establishes its credibility and dependability. The fabula ensure both transferability (or the particularizability) and confirmability. All of these are supported further by the theoretical and conceptual frameworks of the research. Finally, I offer the following criteria for making it possible for others to determine the trustworthiness of my work by

- Describing how the interpretations were produced
- Making visible what I did at all stages
- Specifying how I achieved successive steps of analysis and representation
- Making primary data available to others through full transcripts (policies are in the public domain) (Reissman, 2002: 261)

In adhering to these prescriptions of narrative analysis, I meet the internal constructs of rigour, as well as make my study trustworthy.

4.4.2 Issues Related to ‘Researching Up’

When setting up the interviews my failure to obtain an interview from respondents 6 and 7 alerted me to the difficulties of engaging with respondents who are in positions of power. Research conducted with such people is usually categorised as “elite studies” (Neuman, 1997:336). Since the senior Departmental officials fall into this category of possessing both power and knowledge, I can describe my interaction with them as an example of elite studies. Neuman (1997) argues that the researcher’s personal or social background can be a resource, because a researcher who lacks credentials or affiliations will seldom be treated seriously even if he or she manages to gain access to people who fall into this category. In this section I also make reference to my stance as an interviewer as it relates to the common understanding between the interviewees and myself.

I discover that my credentials as a former curriculum developer are sufficient to gain me some access, as in the case of respondents 8 and 9. But in the case of respondents 6 and 7, it was only enough to gain an initial contact, not enough for either of them to commit to even an e-mail interview. My attempts at follow-up and my personal appeals are easily deflected.

Despite this, the most senior serving official at the time (respondent 8) not only committed to an interview, but was very professional in his treatment of the whole process. It occurred to me during the interview, and as I analysed the contents afterwards, that he was giving the ‘party line’ – what Neuman (1997) calls the public relations version of events. It was, in fact, only during this interview that I broke my self-imposed rule of a non-committal stance and challenged his opinion on an issue. I wanted to see whether he was willing to see beyond the rhetoric of the official view. Batteson and Ball refer to the “treacherous path” a researcher treads between assuming that

‘data sources’ might tell us something about a real world of policy struggles and the idea that we are picking our way through ‘lives’ invented in the telling which owe more to the expectations of an audience than an attempt to recapture and offer revelations of past events.

(Batteson and Ball ,1995:203)

Another characteristic of elite studies is where the researcher and the interviewee tacitly assume that they share common understandings of the events and situations under discussion. It is usual for the researcher to use phrases and rituals that signal a shared outlook (Neuman, 1997). I did have a common experience with my interviewees in our shared experiences of the early curriculum development processes. These provided a source of anecdotes and shared recollections that helped set up the required train of thought and ambience for the interview. I wanted to establish what I refer to as a collegial relationship in the interviews rather than one of interviewer and interviewee only. I maintained a supportive and encouraging stance throughout the interviews and remained very judicious in my use of probing questions. I offered prompts where necessary, especially when respondents had forgotten names or dates.

I notice in my first 'pilot' interview that respondent 2 (Narrator A) makes use of a number of discourse markers and pragmatic signals that include me within his account. For example, his use of "you know" is often inflected to mean 'you, as well as I, know'. He uses the phrase "and you can bear witness to it" at one stage and frequently makes use of my name. He seems to want my agreement not only with what happened but also with his take on what happened. Again Batteson and Ball make some interesting observations regarding the dilemmas faced by researchers involved in elite policy-making

Where researchers have privileged, if transient admission into the physical and ideological home ground of policy elites, there is close proximity to the well trodden dangers of 'going native' and being persuaded to see it as 'they' do. (Batteson & Ball, 1995:202)

The experience with respondent 2 makes me cautious about maintaining my critical distance, as I do not wish to influence the story except to focus it on Arts and Culture, nor do I wish to be drawn into some kind of legitimating acquiescence.

It is respondent 9 (Narrator C) who, I feel, most illustrates Newman's comments about the difficulties of elite studies. Although no longer in the employ of the DOE, she had been an extremely important force in the curriculum development process and wielded an immense amount of power. Although she voiced her willingness to participate in the research and even thanked me for including her, she used her power as the possessor of vital knowledge to great effect. I devoted the longest time and most resources to her interview and yet came away with an incomplete interview in the sense that I did not get through all the questions I intended to ask. Fortunately, the richness of her data makes up for the lack of quantity. Her interview remains 'incomplete', but is immensely useful.

What I learnt from this experience is that in elite studies there are subtle ways for the interviewee to exert power over the interviewer. I feel that this respondent's continual changing of the rescheduled times and venues was her way of dominating and manipulating me to show that she was still in charge. Perhaps this is an unfair assessment based on past personal experiences, but certainly she illustrates Neuman's warning that those who lack credentials will not be treated seriously. As I had been a subordinate official in relation to her when both of us had been employed by the Department of Education, it was my impression that she was trying to maintain her former status in relation to me. What I find interesting is that although she sent me from 'pillar to post' in trying to complete the interview, her manner at all times remained very friendly. She kept me at bay in the most 'sincere' way, always apologising for her lack of availability and changeable schedule. I discovered from this that people in positions of power can achieve in an effortless manner the opposite of what they say they intend to do. The awkward part for the researcher is that there is no explicit statement or event to which one can object to. The person in power who chooses to wield this power can do so with impunity if you are the researcher in a suppliant position of needing an interview.

The insights that I gained from my foray into 'researching up' can be described as follows. My conclusions are not all new, but for me they serve

as a salutary reminder about the unseen pitfalls a novice researcher like myself does not always consider when planning the field-work.

First I found that though I have the right credentials for gaining initial access it does not guarantee me an interview or the completion of the interview in the way that I would like. Then I found that people in influential positions make use of gatekeepers like secretaries and other bureaucratic means to avoid committing to an interview even when they have agreed in principle to participate in the study. I also found that those who are in high-powered positions often use the interview to convey to a larger 'audience' the official viewpoint regarding policy and I discovered that common or shared experiences can be used to attempt to co-opt the researcher to a particular point of view. Finally, I saw that a powerful interviewee can use the fact that a researcher needs the information that they hold to impose their will in terms of withholding or releasing information when and how they choose.

At this point I need to point out that the entire research was not an elite study. My interviews also consisted of 'researching across', especially where I interview other curriculum writers involved in the arts. I do not intend to make a comparison between these two types of respondent, as this is not germane to the study. The way in which I approach the interviews is the same, whatever the respondent's status or relationship to me. I do remain aware, however, that recalled life experiences and autobiographies are not an unproblematic source and that I need to be mindful of this as I proceed.

4.4.3 The Researcher's Stance

As stated earlier, I want also to guard against privileging my insider knowledge and personal experiences of the curriculum development process during the data production process. It is important for my research, especially during interviews, to leave my own beliefs at home in order to find out more clearly how others structure their reality and perceive the world (Moch & Gates, 2000). My focalization has already come through in the interview schedule. I do not want the data itself to be influenced by my point of view. This is not because I am so presumptuous that I underestimate my

respondents' ability to hold their own views. In fact, some of them would have strongly resisted any attempt of mine to exert any influence. They knew my own experience in the field of Arts education, and this gave them the freedom to discuss issues in a fairly sophisticated way. But I adopt the stance I do as a precautionary measure so that I allow their stories to be told whether I agree with their point of view or not.

Although I began the interviews with reminiscences of the shared curriculum or of shared arts experiences, once I posed my questions I retreated into a more distant internal position. I used non-directive language such as "yes, okay, hmm, that's interesting..." to elicit more information, as well as to show the interviewee that I had entered their story and I was engaging with it. The style in which respondents tell a story establishes a particular rapport between them and the researcher and turns the researcher into a partner in their private drama (Moch & Gates, 2000:119). I try to be a receptive, encouraging listening partner who respects the integrity of the respondent's style. In writing about narratives as cultural discourse, Carbaugh (2001) says that to hear stories is to be situated with a teller in a particular way. The way I chose to be situated is to be a partner in the shared experience, but to maintain my critical distance at the same time. This captures my approach to all the interviews, whether face-to-face or other modes.

4.4.4 The Self Interview

To understand the stories being told to us is to know something of the local world the story is about and that it reconstructs (Carbaugh, 2001: 123). My self-interview is a consequence of my knowledge of the world of curriculum development and Arts education, the world being reconstructed by the respondent narrators. There are a number of reasons why this self-interview is an important part of this study:

- It formalises my experience as part of the data set
- It makes public my own prejudices and position
- It is consistent with the narratology approach in which I play a role as external and character narrator.

- It makes clear that I am not a naïve questioner.

I make use of Reissman's (2002) five levels of analysis of narrative representation (as described in chapter 2) to problematise this interview.

The first level is of attending to an experience – recollecting and making discrete certain features of the curriculum/policy landscape and so organising them into observations. Reissman (2002) maintains that we actually construct reality in new ways at this first level by thinking. This is why, when I conducted this interview, I did so without reflecting too much about what I needed to say or how to say it. It had to be a 'stream of consciousness' response which would itself have a level of meaning – a focalization from memory.

Then comes the 'telling' part of the experience. In my case, it is not an oral narration, but answers to questions. There is no listener or interviewer. I deliberately chose not to use a real person so that I would not tailor my responses to this listener. Told stories are affected by the audience to whom they are communicated, whether it be an interviewer or anticipated reader (Polkinghorne, 1996:366). Without an interviewer, there are no cues for me to react to – no verbal or non-verbal discourse markers. I write down my responses and move on to the next question. The meaning then cannot shift in different ways because of the interaction between the interviewer and myself. I have no need to create a self for how I want to be known by the interviewer. However, as Polkinghorne (1996) points out, told stories omit details, condense parts and elaborate and exaggerate other parts in order to produce a coherent, interesting and personally favourable tale. So I must be aware that narration is always a self-representation, but my audience here is the reader who will read this text, not an intermediary interviewer.

Transcribing the interview is the next level of representation. As I stated earlier, one of the difficulties I experienced was in the 'transcription'. I scrupulously avoided 'editing' what I had written as my first response. The only structural change I did allow myself was to write out in full the many abbreviations that I had used. I also used of punctuation like exclamation,

quotation and question marks to point out emphasis and tone. I did not try to 'interpret' what I had written. I realise that if I had spoken my responses my transcribing might perhaps have constituted the meaning in a different way.

In the third level of analysing the interview, I treated my transcript as I did the others. I identified similarities with the categories and themes that are used in the first level of data analysis. But the issue for me is how to treat this self-interview data. Should I go back and use it in the introduction to the opening chapter of the study? Could I lose it in the anonymity of all the other interviews? Would this be ethical? Whatever method I choose, I know that I do not want to privilege it or exploit my character narrator status. Given my role as external narrator, I want to draw less on the details of my own story than I do of the other stories.

I decide that perhaps, as I go through the analysis of the data (the fourth level of narrative representation) I could run my interview parallel to the responses of other respondents. This could be a form of triangulation. But later, when I do get to that stage, I find that although my narratological representation allows for it, I don't want the analysis coloured by my own comments and experiences. I have adopted the stance of letting the respondents tell their own stories. I do eventually find a home for it in a supportive role when I discuss the findings in the second level of data analysis in chapter 7.

The fifth level of narrative representation is at the point where the reader encounters the written report (Reissman 2002). I have already taken the view that all texts are open to several readings and interpretations. The reader is as much an agent of the text as the writer. After all, "the meaning of a text is always meaning to someone" (Reissman, 2002:227). My issue here is that the reader of this interview text is also the writer! I am the external narrator reading the story of a character narrator who is myself. This problem intensifies my dilemma of how to treat this data. I resolve the issue by acknowledging that my reading is that of the researcher and I must see, the data in that light. I go back to the opening narrative. I see that my

story as a character narrator has been told already – in a different way. So I decide to use this data minimally, in a reflective way that helps me crystallise the views that emerge from the first level of analysis into the next level.

4.5 LOOKING BACK

In this chapter, I explain how I prepared for the story of Arts and Culture to be told. I show how I link the narrative theory to the methods and techniques that I use to produce the data and then analyse it. My methods are transferable and confirmable. Data were produced through a variety of interview modes and a hermeneutic treatment of documentation. I describe how the instruments for analysis were created and in particular I focus on the narratological tool for policy analysis. I give a brief overview of the analysis process as, in the chapters that follow, I go into deeper levels of analysis. I discuss the methodological issues that arose from the study and spend some time on problematising them before I give an indication of how they were accommodated. I offer my narratological tool for policy analysis as a new development in the field of policy analysis. I will leave a fuller discussion of this to the epilogue where I will also discuss the limitations of narrative analysis and the study.

CHAPTER 5

The Telling of the Tales

Analysis of Interviews

‘Mine is a long and sad tale!’ said the Mouse...

*“It **is** a long tail, certainly,” said Alice... “But why do you call it sad?”*

(Lewis Carroll 1865)

In narrativising the many stories of the Arts and Culture curriculum development process that emerged from interviews with the policy players (the embedded narratives), I adopt a multi-layered approach in order to arrive at a single ‘story’ of Arts and Culture. Each interview is regarded as a text which is an artefact (Bal, 1997) that tells a story. I retain the respondent narrators’ own words and expressive styles. The story emerges via the subjective expressions used, the value judgements and pragmatic signals of the respondent narrators. These discourse markers identify the voice of the focalizer and give rise to the thoughts, reflections, knowledge, perceptions and cultural and ideological orientation of the focalizer.

As I read and listen, I ask why this respondent is developing his/her tale in this way in conversation with this listener (Reissman, 2002). In my representation alongside the excerpts of narrators’ texts, I say something of who each narrator is in terms of position and influence in the curriculum story. This is a way of linking their accounts to my story of the genesis of the Arts and Culture curriculum.

Currie (1998:22) reminds us that we are “yoked to the narrator, our distance... controlled by the subtle shifts in point of view between layers of represented views and thoughts, by the information we are given and that which is withheld from us”. This is a timely reminder and makes me constantly aware not only of who tells the story, but why they say what they do. I also include commentary from the relevant literature, reinforcing my

role as external narrator and creating a meta-narrative. The story that will finally emerge is one that has been ‘read’ from these embedded narratives.

5.1 SETTING THE SCENE

In telling these stories, I am aware that, although these stories about the curriculum were created by the respondent narrator, they were constrained to some extent by the events that were already known. They could not be too inventive about the fabula which are verifiable. In the re-telling of public stories some of the fabula must remain as they occurred, though the focalizations will change. Therefore the sequencing of events is not a choice, though I can look for discrepancies in story time and discourse time. The units of action were not invented by the narrators – they were actual events (fabula) which occurred as part of the policy process. Here is a summary in table form of the fabula, the events and existents relevant to this study as they unfolded in the policy process.

DATE	EVENTS
1992	ANC un-banned. NEPI – National Education Policy Initiative submitted report: options regarding Education and Training. National Arts Initiative met.
1994	First democratic election: Education Minister S. Bhengu appointed. NETF syllabus revision of existing curricula - the ‘cleansing’ of apartheid-related material. National training Strategy Initiative report: proposed creation of integrated Education and Training system. National Arts Coalition conference. Appointment of Arts and Culture Task group – ACTAG
1995	SAQA Act. White Paper on Education and Training.
1996	NQF and National Education Policy Act National Learning Area Committees instituted Call for nominations to Ministerial task team (Technical committee) White paper for Arts and Culture published.
1997	Technical Committee begins work on Curriculum 2005 (March). October 1997 launch of Policy Framework: Advocacy and Training for C2005
1998	Second democratic election: Minister K. Asmal appointed.

	White Paper on FET. Development of Illustrative Learning Programmes.
1999	Expected Levels of Performance (ELPs) drawn up for Learning Area (integrated)
2000	Review Process of C2005 – report published. Call for nominations to Minister's task team.
2001	Launch of revision of C2005- streamlining and strengthening process.
2002	Completion of RNCS. Learning Programme Policy Guidelines developed. FET curriculum development process - appointing of working groups.

Table 3

5.1.1 Filters and Focalizations

To the list above, I cannot add the personal fabula that were caused or experienced by the respondent narrators in relation to the curriculum process – the inspiring discussion or book, the persuasive speaker (Bill Spady is said to have advised the DOE), or, in the case of more than one of my narrators, an enforced resignation. I am aware that “individual’s narratives are situated in particular interactions but also in social, cultural and intellectual discourses, which must be brought to bear to interpret them (Reissman, 2002: 256). These events are real, because my narrators are real, not paper beings, and they would have been affected by them. But since this is my story of the Arts and Culture curriculum, the fabula common to this story must remain as the central elements. Narrativisation assumes point of view, so the ordering and interpretation will change depending on the interests of the narrator (Reissman, 2002). As external narrator, I have to be aware of the role of personal perceptual screens that filter and colour the narration as it unfolds. This is the first form of focalization.

Secondly, the storytelling is in response to the stimulus of **my** questions. Some respondents used the questions as a narrative frame for remembrance, some answered each one in the manner of a quiz, and others ignored them and wrote in a ‘stream of consciousness’ style. Here we have the second instance of focalization. The style in which they chose to respond must say something about their attitude to the interview, the subject, or the interviewer. The sense of audience is important: I am one audience, my readers are another; there may even be ‘imaginary’ audiences

(e.g. “What would the Minister like me to say?” or “This is what my former boss needs to hear.”). Every story implies a reader or listener, as it does an implied teller or author. A simple diagrammatic representation of the narrative-communicative act can be given as:

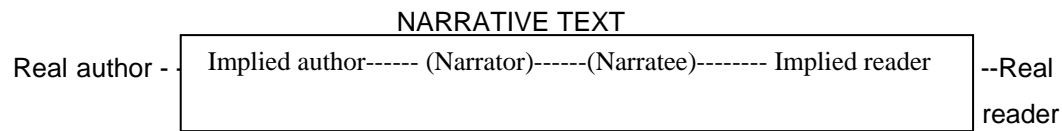


Figure 8 (Chatman, 1978:151)

For the purpose of this study, I could amend this process to look like this:

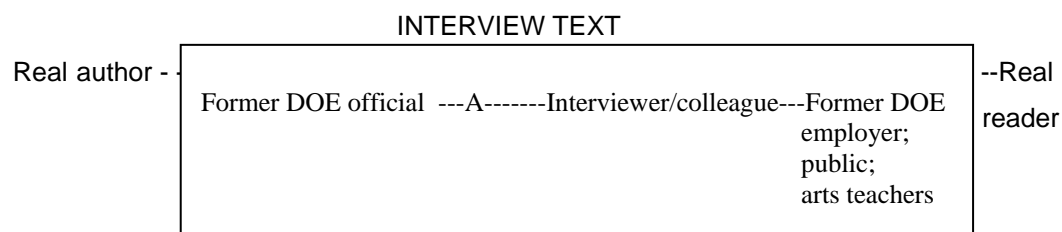


Figure 9

If we view narrative as a process, then the context under which the narrative was produced is part of the text. The process of internal focalization allows the respondent to present thoughts, reflections, knowledge and perceptions, as well as cultural and ideological orientation, to **me** as the interviewer – across the table, at the other end of the telephone, or as the reader of an e-mail interview. My nods, frowns, tone of voice, interjections and other discourse markers must have an effect. My presence, real or virtual, as the reader of this text, must influence what is said and how it is said.

Thirdly, then, my relationship vis-à-vis the respondent must have affected the focalization and how I interpellated the text as I transcribed it. Some respondents saw me as a colleague or friend, others as an official of the Provincial department, and yet others as a persistent researcher. Their attitudes were transmitted to me, perhaps not always overtly. So a layer of focalization already exists whether I see it or not, even in the verbatim extracts from the interview transcripts which form the embedded narratives.

According to Reissman (2002:226), decisions about how to transcribe are theory-driven, and by displaying text in particular ways we provide grounds for our arguments. So the way in which I represent the stories that follow speaks to my theoretical framing and my own interests. I am aware that as the external narrator I have already focalized the responses of my respondents.

5.2 HOMO FABULANS

In representing the responses, I group parts of the respondents' stories into certain categories. These categories emerge largely from their own tales, their own focalizations and points of view. Once I examine the structure of the narrative and how it is organised, the method I follow when analysing the stories can be summed up in Reissman's account of how she conducts narrative analysis: "I start from the inside, from the meanings encoded in the form of the talk, and expand outwards as I identify underlying propositions" (Reissman 2002:255). The meanings that I gleaned from the 'inside' of the talk were crystallised into categories. The categories that emerged were:

- Contextual/historical factors
- Voice, agency and stakeholder influence
- Curriculum issues
- Arts and Culture issues
- Public commentary
- Policy shifts.

These categories form the constants against which my respondents narrate their versions. The categories were further refined into topics used as the headings in order to avoid overlap, e.g., comments about public commentary were included with voice and stakeholder involvement. The stories of the respondent narrators in respect of each of these categories follow. I let the embedded narratives perform their explicative function, i.e., they provide answers to the critical questions which I ask in my story. At the same time, I do not wish to lose sight of the narrator as an agent, so I intersperse my own accounts about each narration and narrator alongside.

5.2.1 Contextual Factors

The first category deals with historical, social, political and moral factors at the time that provided the context for the creation of the curriculum. The first democratic election and the development of the new Constitution were seen as the starting points for curriculum change, even though the story started earlier with the anticipation of democracy and an ANC government. The respondent narrators emphasise this in many of their stories.

Narrator A:

There was a need, following the first democratic election, to signal to the constituency that change had occurred. Although in 1997, the Department of Education itself was not too clear on the nature of the changes:

...in fact what happened was the department itself wasn't clear on...on the way forward, okay, so in fact we did a lot of teamwork. Initially lots of documents were given to us to kind of 'edit' and hold discussions around in terms of OBE. So it, it wasn't certainly it wasn't clearly defined, the type of OBE we wanted. And so that took a while. In fact if I say that that took up to two months to debate – eventually of course we came up with this whole business of transformational OBE.

WHO SPEAKS?

Narrator A in 1997 was Deputy Director for Education Policy (Arts and Culture) in the National Department of Education. He subsequently resigned from the DOE because of personality clashes and ideological conflicts with senior officials. At the time of the interview he had already set up his own educational consultancy.

However unsure the bureaucracy was about the nature of the change, there was no doubt about the need to implement change as quickly as possible, given the political situation. As Narrator B states:

Well, my understanding at that time was that we were dealing with an old curriculum, which was an apartheid curriculum that was aimed to achieve and fulfil certain objectives of apartheid. So it was therefore urgent to put in place a new curriculum that carries and enshrines that spirit of the new Constitution, of the new

WHO SPEAKS?

Narrator B was a Chief Director in the DOE in 1997. At the time of the interview (2003) he was Deputy Director General for FET and therefore the most senior official that I interviewed. Of all the senior bureaucrats involved in the curriculum development process of 1997, he was the only one still serving the DOE. He left in 2004 for the private sector.

democracy, that espouses the new values of equity, of human dignity and an appreciation of our cultural and religious and linguistic diversity. So in a sense you needed a new curriculum that would assist us in building a new nation, because we came from a society divided on the basis of race and colour.

Whether C2005 and OBE was what was required to build this “new nation” or “enshrine” the values of the new Constitution is a point for another debate. It was what was seen as right at the time for a number of reasons. As another narrator (C) said:

*Curriculum is a response to a nation’s decision of **why** learners have to learn, which is the nation’s vision, and **what** learners have to learn, the content and the priority area is then nationally determined and the **how** they have to learn has to actually imbue the what and the why.*

WHO SPEAKS?

Narrator C was arguably the most influential person in the curriculum development process in 1997. Appointed as director for ECD and Schools, she was requested by the Minister, in her own words, “to drive the C2005 process at an operational level and to influence the policy decisions”. In 2003 at the time of the interview, she had departed from the DOE and was employed by a large NGO as an educational consultant.

This respondent goes on to discuss the contextual factors at this time (1997).

The curriculum process in terms of C2005 – one needs to contextualise it authentically – that we had just entered a new democracy. There was a high level of enthusiasm but at the same time there was an absolutely high level of aggression and parochialism and territorialism. So clearly, one needs to find the balance in terms of vision, in terms of foci and in terms of delivery, when people engage with the curriculum, they engage and

interrogate it only from a technical perspective as opposed to putting it in its right climate, its context, within systems challenges, the social, the political and even the conceptualisation and intellectual challenges.

So the changes to the curriculum in 1997 could be viewed as narrator B does as:

an intervention on a large scale that captured the interest of the whole nation. The process brought together people of different backgrounds to develop something new for a new society. It was a major operation in terms of complexity and size. We could not draw from our previous (apartheid) history. But the process was not a-historical, we could draw from subject expertise and curriculum expertise.

This respondent goes on to outline other contextual factors in education which did adversely affect the attention given to the curriculum changes.

The urgency came from the government which was under tremendous pressure not to continue with apartheid education. But a whole range of issues had to be dealt with simultaneously. Inequalities around funding, governance, resources etc. the whole system was being dealt with simultaneously. What was happening on the ground e.g. re-deployment of teachers, also shaped responses to the new curriculum.

He further maintains that contextual factors had to be seen in the light of upheavals at Provincial department level as well.

The on-going provincialisation process was also difficult because of the legacy of Bantustans. A new institutional ethos needed to be created. Some people in the provinces were not convinced of the need for change in the curriculum, they were not passionate about implementing a new curriculum and did not defend it.

This view resonates with the ideas expressed by Taylor et al in regard to the politics of policy-making where they emphasise “structural location of key players” and “processes of resistance, marginalisation and cooption” (Taylor et al, 1997:169), the irony being that new policies are often implemented by the very people that the policies seek to change. If such people have not yet ‘come on board’, as was the case in many Provincial Departments at the time, then it is not to be wondered at that their support and rollout of the new curriculum was less than enthusiastic.

A more severe indictment of the results of the lack of capacity at local and Provincial levels can be seen in the comments of narrator D who represents an Arts NGO, concerned more with arts policies in the community than with education policies.

You know you’ve got incompetence at Government level, at every level, from national government through to Provincial to local government. You’ve got utter incompetence in the funding agencies like the NAC (National Arts Council), except I suppose the national Film and Video Foundation, they’re a bit more professional there but Provincial bodies well, just utterly incompetent.

WHO SPEAKS?

Narrator D represents the arts community in this study and is not directly involved with education. In 1997, he was an Adviser to the Arts Ministry and Director of an arts centre. He left the government post to run his own arts organisation and currently heads a large art network. He is also a playwright.

He ascribes this failure to deliver to the appointment of people in key positions for reasons other than ability to perform.

I think that on the one hand there was this kind of policy document which was great, then you had people who were appointed in very senior positions in government, who simply couldn’t bring all the expertise and competence and the experience to be able to implement.

He also makes reference to the point made above about the upheavals caused in setting up new departments and infrastructure, especially in the

provinces, suggesting that bodies like the Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology, for example, did not give as much of their attention to the emergence of a new education and curriculum as they could have.

And secondly you had lots of government departments kind of coming to terms with their particular challenges as government departments, let alone dealing with things that went outside of their direct mandate.

The feeling of a push and pull of competing factors was experienced by those involved in the writing of the curriculum as well. Narrator E describes it as follows:

The process was conducted in a very contested terrain. We were pressurized by political imperatives that emanated from the politicians, the National Department of Education project managers (Directors, Chief Directors, Supervisors, Co-ordinators) social reconstruction imperatives which were often in conflict with economic imperatives, cultural imperatives and lastly and leastly educational imperatives.

WHO SPEAKS?

Narrator E was a Senior Subject Adviser (Dance) in a provincial department in 1997. She was involved in both writing processes: 1997 and the revised curriculum. She is currently a senior curriculum planner for Arts and Culture.

An added feature of the contextual climate of the 1997 period was the process of change exemplified in the NQF. Narrator F states:

ANC education policy in the immediate post-apartheid period, when the new state was fragile and under pressure, was accordingly also developed in terms of an overarching approach pioneered by business and labour.

WHO SPEAKS?

Narrator F declined to be directly interviewed. Instead she provided three papers which spoke to my research questions. She was not directly involved in the 1997 curriculum process but led the revision process and mentored the development of the RNCS for Arts and Culture

The National Qualifications Framework, which gave birth to outcomes-based education and Curriculum 2005, was the educational expression of this social alliance.

The context of the time demanded a curriculum that would provide access to the world of work and vocational training. It was to be an alternative to the horrors of an apartheid-based curriculum. As narrator F said:

For many, curriculum carries the burden of transformation and change in education.

5.2.2 Curriculum 2005 and Arts and Culture

The second category deals with the place of Arts and Culture in the new curriculum. The summary of opinions was that it was included in the curriculum to help build a democratic South African nation in line with constitutional values and to rehabilitate marginalised cultural expression. Most respondents gave similar responses when addressing the issue of culture as part of the learning area, but when asked why they thought the learning area itself was included in the new curriculum, they gave a variety of answers.

From a Department of Education point of view, the response was very direct:

Narrator A says:

*It had to be included, because it was a directive from the Government – that's why we have a Department called **Arts, Culture, Science and Technology**. But it was definitely included because of a directive.*

Perhaps the reason for his insistence on its being “a directive from Government’ can be found in his comments about attitudes towards the arts prevalent in the national Department of Education at the time.

Ja, actually the Chief Director at the time, _____, he just treated Arts and Culture as an also ran. And in fact when I tried to - the records will indicate that in fact we had asked for international funding as well, in the whole business of researching assessment standards in Arts and Culture. And in fact it was treated like a bit of a step-child, but many other subjects like Technology and so on, were privileged over and above Arts and Culture.

When asked why Arts and Culture was maintained as a learning area after the review process when there was an attempt to rationalise other disciplines Narrator F said:

The role and interests of Kader Asmal (the Minister of Education at that time) were critical here. He made it clear that it was to have a place...

Kader Asmal as Minister of Education appeared to champion the arts as can be seen in this excerpt from a speech he gave at a Symposium on Music in Schools:

Given the declining budgets and promise afforded to learning areas like mathematics, science and technology, there is a danger that music education will be relegated to the margins of the teaching and learning process. However, the value of music in the general learning experience of learners cannot, and dare not, be underestimated (Asmal, 2000).

But in 1997 there were a number of reasons why the arts had to be included in the curriculum. Narrator B refers to the need of people to express themselves:

I mean the issue of the arts, I'm not sure in the primary section how widely that's defined ranging from the performing arts, music and so on. For us, we thought it an important area of growth and development in which people can express themselves, can express own history, can express the future and where we want to go.

He goes on to speak of the economic value of the arts:

And I think, in the same way, I'm not sure, I don't know if the discussion was as intense as in the FET about employment opportunities that are related to those fields of study you know, music and so on...?

-the Arts Industries? Yes?

-the Arts Industries, in particular, access to the world. I mean you can perform in all areas, not just here, throughout the continent and so on.

He was not the only departmental official to see the connection between the arts and economic opportunities. Narrator G says quite unequivocally in response to why the arts were included in the curriculum:

There was recognition of the contribution that arts can make to the economy of the country.

WHO SPEAKS?

Narrator G was involved with Arts and Culture curriculum development in the DOE at tertiary level prior to 1997. She acted as coordinator for the process in 1997.

She does go on to express her satisfaction about the inclusion of the arts in the curriculum because they had been marginalised in the past. This view is endorsed by narrator D in reference to the move away from apartheid education:

Arts and culture would have been seen as a kind of low priority in the previous education system. My understanding of OBE is very much

about helping people to develop the problem solving skills and being able to deal with things in a different way and maybe I'd like to think, I'm not sure this was a motivation, that Arts and Culture is not just one of the learning areas in its own right but is also there as a kind of comparative education system where people acquire different skills that they can apply to other areas of the curriculum as well as problem solving skills, lateral thinking and being innovative in their approaches and thinking creatively etc, etc.

The attitude to the education of the past is summed up by Narrator C, also at that time a senior official in the National Department of Education:

So we took a leap of faith, to be responsive to the demands and needs of our nation, because many people died for a democracy, which was taken to its height by a curriculum issue in 1976, and not only because of language, but the association of Afrikaans with Afrikaner culture and art and heritage.

From the point of view of officials in the Provincial Department, the reasons for the inclusion of the arts in the curriculum were not so clear.

Narrator E:

I can only guess (why Arts and Culture was included as a learning area in Curriculum 2005.)Politically, the inclusion of Arts and Culture was possibly (my opinion) more to do with nation-building than any other reason. In the past apartheid era, culture was used to divide people-stereotyping, prejudice, separation, discrimination, etc. The approach in this new curriculum is to use cultural studies to unite, build awareness and understanding, celebrate diversity, learn to affirm difference, acknowledge marginalised cultures, etc. Since culture was addressed in C2005 by every learning area, in our learning area culture is accessed through studying the arts.

Their view appears to be that the arts were included in C2005 as a means of bringing about transformation. The point perhaps is not so much the wish to bring about transformation, but the kind of transformation to bring about. Narrator H, who had led the first national Learning Area Committee in 1996, said:

Arts and Culture is not a privileged knowledge/skills area. It should relate holistically to the guiding Critical Outcomes of a society in transformation. In addition, one faced a frankly political imperative. The ravages of the apartheid state was, to some extent, exacerbated by the cooption of the arts and the unsustainability of arts practices.

WHO SPEAKS?

Narrator H in 1997 had been appointed as Director of a provincial Education Institute. His background was in literature and language with an interest in arts and culture. He was appointed chairperson of the first national Learning Area Committee for Arts and Culture in 1996. After 1998 his promotion to a senior position in his provincial department reduced his involvement in the Arts and Culture processes

The need for greater understanding of the diversity of South African society can be seen in the responses to the questions about the inclusion of 'culture' in the title of the learning area. Respondents expanded fully on the need for a means of dealing with the lack of cultural knowledge and the affirmation of different cultural practices. Narrator G was quite emphatic about why it had to be Arts AND Culture:

We cannot speak of the arts and not refer to our indigenous knowledge of cultures. The arts enable us to understand issues of diversity, hence the combination is essential.

Narrator B gives a fuller explanation of the official view on including culture in the curriculum:

... I think we are equally confronted simultaneously with the realities of building a new nation. And, therefore, it was imperative for us, that if we are going to be successful in doing that, bringing people together, people must as individuals begin first and foremost to begin to appreciate their own cultures, that historically have been

suppressed or ridiculed, so that they have confidence in their own selves, and in their own being and in their own cultures. And in addition to that to be able to appreciate their fellow South African citizens' cultures, you know, not from a superficial point... but the totality of those cultures, their values, their systems and so on. So that's one part which for me became important and critical for us to have culture.

The comments of the non-departmental respondent (D) support the view of narrator B, although he expresses it in more everyday examples:

Well, I think it probably has relevance in our situation given our historical context because of the way apartheid kind of played itself out, people just not knowing about each other in terms of very basic things about values and traditions and histories and rituals, you know, culture in the broadest sense, language and so on. There's a real need in our education system for people from different communities to begin to understand each other and learning about their particular culture in the broadest sense of the word. Because I think before democracy there was 'ghetto-isation' of communities and people just don't know about how the Jewish people celebrate ...er birth, how do they do that, why do people who celebrate traditional kind of Africanist religion, ritual, why do they do it in that particular way? And how does this influence their lifestyle and their values and the way they relate to the world? And I think these are kind of quite crucial things that need to be learnt. And it falls under the broad category of culture.

This view of the role of culture is echoed by Narrator A who links it with how we study the arts:

I think it was like a concern, in terms of nation-building, you know, we had to be sure we work towards building solidarity and then understanding. That the approach must finally lead to an anti-

discriminatory approach. That we must be culture-fair. That we can't afford to Balkanise people. That when we study dance its not just dance in terms of skills, but dance in its context, its cultural context.

Narrator A was one of those respondents who made reference to the debate in 1996 which centred on whether the learning area should, in fact, be called 'Culture and Arts' in order to foreground the importance of culture:

...But I was initially partial to Culture and Arts.

Ah, why is that?

*Because the focus in **Arts** and Culture is privileging an eminently Western notion of just focusing on the skills and the product that these skills would help you create in its context. But if you have **Culture** and Arts, then you're focusing on a non-Western approach of looking at understanding culture first, and then one expression of culture is arts.*

This notion of the arts being a Western concept suggesting a de-contextualised skills based approach did occupy much of the early curriculum debates as Narrator H confirms:

The debates were endless and unrelenting and aroused some consternation and much incomprehension. The major part of the discussion related to:

- *the introduction of Culture into the arts fold; and*
- *the ideological affirmation of Culture within a dynamic process reflected in the title 'Culture/Arts'.*

This debate was exacerbated by what narrator A refers to as:

the tensions between those who were of the 'glory of the garden', in other words, you know, 'high culture', and those who were highly technician in their approach, and those who were into using the arts for social transformation.

To the Western mind, this insistence on culture before art seems unnecessary to say the least. But in an African context, where the principle of redress of past imbalances is paramount, it has huge implications not only for inclusion and affirmation of marginalised cultural forms, but also for how the curriculum itself is shaped.

Greenstein (1997) argues

If the values and contributions of the majority have been marginalized or altogether excluded, does this not imply that a thorough transformation of the system would be achieved by inverting it and shaping it in the majority's image? Or put another way, could the cultures, traditions and concerns of the African majority not be used as starting points for a new system, valid not only for Africans but for other South Africans as well? (Greenstein, 1997:134.)

He suggests that it would be done in a "context in which indigenising and Africanising the curriculum become the primary goals" (Greenstein, 1997:134). Some of the implications of such an approach are explained in a paper given to the daCi Brazil Conference on dance:

...tension developed between the integrated African approach and the western discipline-specific approach to the arts. Western arts generally celebrate the individual artist – the ballerina, the concert pianist, the exhibiting artist; African arts are generally communal and participatory, an essential part of everyday life, the rituals and histories of particular groups; and one does not have to be an expert to take part. African art forms and cultural practices are generally integrated with song, dance, drama, poetry and design all vital parts. (van Papendorp, 2003:3)

Muller and Taylor (1993) pose a similar problem in their examination of what constitutes the academic domain:

A central problem of the curriculum concerns the relations between popular and erudite knowledge. It is brought into focus with the following question: how can or should the common-sense knowledge of experience and folklore, indeed of the everyday world, relate to the

codified knowledge deemed worthy of inclusion, reproduction and certification in the formal curriculum? (Muller & Taylor, 1993:317)

The way in which the learning area was conceptualised in 1997 was based on the coming together, through clashes and compromises, of the pro-Africanist/culture group and the pro-Western, arts-as-specific-disciplines grouping. Since curriculum design was essentially about compromise, negotiation and consensus, as was everything else at that time, the curriculum itself actually reflects some of those tensions and compromises. Narrator A points to this fact as well:

You see evidence in fact even in the curriculum because we adopted a kind of like inclusive approach, you see evidence of the residual cultural practices and also emerging cultural practices.

5.2.3 Voice and Stakeholder Influence

The point made above about compromise and consensus leads us to the category of voice and stakeholder influence. One of the many changes instituted by the new democratic government of South Africa in relation to education policy was the process of 'stakeholder' involvement as a form of representative democracy. As noted by de Clercq:

Public participation in the policy process (from policy formulation to implementation) has become a common demand and strategy for people committed to the deepening of democracy in the new South Africa. However, public participation in policy-making requires careful conceptualization, especially in a context of transition, because of the unequal and uneven power relations existing between stakeholders (de Clercq, 1997:161).

Since transparency and consensus were the new watchwords, it was no surprise that democratic participation in the development of the country's new curriculum was the order of the day. Teacher Unions, Government departments such as Labour, Higher Education and Education Non-Governmental Organisations were all included in the process of constructing

the new curricula. The feeling was that if stakeholders' views were included in policy development there would be immediate 'buy-in' and easier implementation. But, as Lewin, Sayed and Samuel point out:

There are many potential pitfalls. Individuals and group interests can conflict... so can those of different interest groups. An accumulation of felt needs may lack coherence and integrity if it has not been mediated in ways that create feasible education and training aims and outcomes (Lewin et al, 2003:369).

In 1997, there was a plethora of felt needs, interests and imperatives that impacted on the shaping of the new curriculum. It seemed that discussion on theories of learning were swept by the board once OBE was mooted as **the** approach to the new curriculum. The process was dominated by the NQF, business and labour – all crying out for a quick solution to the lack of a skilled workforce. Narrator C describes the two main forces in the curriculum debate in this way:

I'm talking about the two key ministries that had to take the lead, and I emphasise, only take the lead, in terms of Education and Training and that was the Department of Education and the Department of Labour.... So whereas Labour drove a skills-based curriculum, which was competency-based, which looked at vocational education, one must also see all the work done on the National Qualifications Framework and all of those visits in shaping the curriculum.

At the same time a curriculum that enshrined the democratic principles was needed. The new curriculum had to be non-discriminatory and relevant, while it promoted critical and creative thinking. Even before the curriculum development teams were established, there was extensive lobbying by various interest groups – political, cultural and educational - to ensure that their beliefs and concerns would be included. As narrator A confirms:

So you still get your queries coming from the field so we had to reply to

those kinds of letters on the one hand, assuaging people's fears and telling them not to worry, that in fact it (their interests) will be included because it should be in terms of the Constitution, you know, equity and freedom and all of that.

Narrator C describes the function of the National Curriculum Development Committee (NCDC) which played a reference and advisory role in curriculum development to ensure that there was representivity in addressing curriculum issues. She also describes how the concerns of the various stakeholders were dealt with at the time by the DOE.

So the curriculum wasn't shaped by political weighting, it wasn't shaped by intimidation, it wasn't shaped around preferential treatment, it wasn't shaped about er...around a 'kitchen cabinet' attached to either the Minister or the leadership...I would safely say that every step of the way there was sane engagement and everyone's input carried the same weighting, deserved the same amount on interaction, and every query and parliamentary question and comment was documented, recorded and responded to.

This opinion notwithstanding, the inclusion of a range of stakeholders into the process meant there was a constant struggle in the balance of power over whose voice was heard. As narrator A, who was in the DOE and on the Arts and Culture committee, again confirms:

I would say we had major ideological battles with people. Because even with certain specific representative groups, we would have the groups that were into the kind of political apparatchik groupings, who wanted to make sure that the whole curriculum is politically correct. ... And that was an extremely difficult balancing act, because you had to on the one hand accommodate ideological imperatives and you also had to worry about the technical writing side of things.

Narrator E who was a member of the Arts and Culture committee also comments on the pressures brought to bear on the committee:

One pressure group was the anti-colonial, anti-imperialist pro-African Renaissance group, who pressurized through both the political and professional machinery.

She adds:

Working democratically meant that it was a negotiated curriculum which tried to accommodate all the conflicting imperatives and the agendas of the participating writers. Each was protecting their domain and some were promoting themselves on the career ladder.

Narrator B seemed to take a more philosophical view of contestation in curriculum development:

I have said that curriculum development is a social construct, hmm, right? Once it becomes a social construct, then it becomes a terrain of contestation. Right, so it means that different social groups, interest groups, will place emphasis in certain things and those things will have to be contested in the process of development. Now, what we, I mean what is important is to make sure that that process takes place within a framework that is able to mediate those existing contesting views. What I'm not quite sure is whether we had at that time, in place the necessary mechanism to mediate those... er...I wouldn't say conflicts, but those interests, you know, varying interests and perspectives.

So the view of senior officials is to accept the notion of conflict or contestation as a normal part of curriculum development. In fact, narrator G, the DOE Arts and Culture project manager of the time, says that while all relevant stakeholders were consulted, she felt in control of making decisions. She says the policy process was influenced by the advice and debates of the Teacher Unions, SAQA, and HEIs, but the Department had the final say. It is interesting to note that she claims that the factor that most

influenced the shape and design of the Arts and Culture curriculum in 1997 was the “inter-departmental working together of the Department of Education with the Department of Arts and Culture”. None of the respondents on the committee mention this as an influence. So one can assume that such consultation was done at a departmental level only, without consultation with curriculum developers. The White Paper on Arts and Culture speaks at length about education for and in the arts. In fact, narrator D (arts NGO) takes the opposite view to that of Narrator G:

...so, in so far as Arts Education didn't fall directly under the Arts and Culture Department, it had very little influence in implementing their ideals in the White Paper in reality.

Perhaps the influence of the Department of Arts and Culture was felt more strongly during the earlier phase of the national Learning Area Committee where it had representation, and where the name of the learning area and the first outcomes were decided on.

There were, however, other people who were associated with the fashioning of the Arts and Culture curriculum. During the 1997 writing process, international donor countries sent delegations to assist in the drawing up of the new curriculum. Prior to this, visits were made by senior departmental officials to countries engaged in OBE. Did the Arts and Culture curriculum become shaped by these ‘overseas’ influences? Narrator C describes the overseas visits made by DOE officials:

I led a delegation of a study group to Australia and New Zealand, and this was a hands-on study visit of more than 15 days looking at approaches and curriculum models that would be most responsive to the needs of the South African people.

In relation to the Arts and Culture curriculum she says:

I visited the Kuala Rios and the Teffarikes, which was a response of the Maori people to their own needs of resuscitating and reviving

their own identity, given the history that Maori wasn't taught in the schools, and as an Arts and Culture champion, you should know that language cannot be divorced from your art, your culture and more importantly for me, your heritage which actually reflects your own perspectives and values attached to humanity.

Narrator G, who was a member of that same delegation, also speaks of the impact the Maori experience had on her understanding of diverse cultures and the importance of language on identity. This respondent did have a direct input into the writing committee and so had opportunity to include her newfound understanding into the curriculum.

Narrator B discusses the effect that overseas delegations to South Africa had on the curriculum process:

Firstly the external people were invited on the basis of – that they had some experience in curriculum construction and secondly expertise in those specific areas. The intention was that the content and everything must ultimately come from us, you know, not them. ...But however much we valued their opinions, we valued their inputs, finally it is our decision.

Narrator E, who was on the writing committee, confirms the status of the overseas influences:

We looked at the curriculum from all over the world and got ideas from them. The Canadian, Australian and USA information was the most accessible on the Internet. But the South African context had a large influence.

The idea of using overseas examples was not always welcomed by the Arts and Culture fraternity. In 1996, the national Learning Area Committee resisted the idea of a discussion with Tony Knight, an arts education specialist (Schools Curriculum and Assessment Authority) who was visiting from England. Narrator A describes the antipathy displayed:

*But there were people who questioning his bona-fides, and you might have been at that meeting where for three hours, we had to wait outside, until _____ and _____ clarified it with the whole group. Questions like 'Who is he? Why was he brought here? What is his role?', you know, how will he influence the national curriculum?' My argument to that was his role is to share with us how they go about with design and **we have to decide and debate the issue** on what makes for good practice.*

So, in summary, the experience of other countries in terms of curriculum design, and Arts and Culture in particular, was studied and was used if applicable, but the South African context was the final arbiter. There was no slavish imitation of overseas experiences. In fact, narrator B affirms the confidence felt in the local experience and ability:

We had the critical mass in those learning area committees that developed the curriculum of South Africa. And I think we had selected people that had both the knowledge of their subject areas sufficiently, and an understanding of the history of the country and where we were intending to go.

Where we were intending to go was:

a new philosophy of education which would sweep away all remnants of apartheid policy and practice, be comprehensive and neutral enough to be acceptable to wide social layers and provide the basis around which the system could be legitimately reconstructed (Chisholm, 2004:269).

One of the most striking features in the design and structure of the new curriculum was the principle of integration – across the learning areas and also within learning areas where there was a combination of subject disciplines. In Arts and Culture, this concept of integration was especially important as it was linked to the view of how the arts were conceptualised.

As explained above, the African approach to the arts is integrated, and the Western approach focuses on discrete art forms. Therefore much of the early debate in the curriculum committees concerned how to capture the concept of integration (which included integration of culture) while ensuring the integrity of each art form. The concept of the 'arts' as a single entity was a new one for many people at this time. Most delegates at the LACs represented a discrete art form and wanted to ensure that this form was included on the curriculum. The only way to ensure this was to agree to the collective concept of the 'arts'. It was a pragmatic decision also in the sense that the school timetable could never contain all the arts, so choices would have to be made about which art form was more important – a debate that no one wanted to initiate. So, in a sense, the decision to have all the art forms represented in 'the arts' could be said to be a democratic and political one. In any event, the influence from the consulting (donor) countries, Canada and Australia, for example, indicated that this was the route to take.

Some of the arguments for and against this integrated approach of the Arts curriculum were captured by Narrator E:

Arguments for:

Formulating a unique South African culture, arts have much in common and support one another, bring richness, new thinking, inclusion, non-elitist, access and exposure for everyone, acknowledge and build on African integrated culture, emphasis on cultural knowledge and exposure.

Arguments against:

Each arts discipline has different needs and wants, need to develop body as an instrument for music and dance from a young age to enable development of marketable skills, global standards to ensure employability and entry into FET. Tertiary and workplace, integrated approach too vague, disadvantaging the disadvantaged and thereby marginalizing them further – denial of excellence, denial of cultural capital, undermines human rights of a quality education.

The dangers of integration in the arts curriculum were also raised by Narrator A:

...the Senior Phase is undermined because you haven't given people sufficient scaffolding leading to specialisation, and now suddenly the assessment criteria gets (sic) more demanding and they haven't been provided with the necessary support.

...the advantage of having discrete subjects of course is that you can integrate visual arts with other things, music with other things and so on. But it doesn't mean that the learner is being denied the skills. What we hadn't prioritised into our curriculum was this whole business of consolidating skills

Integration was only one of the many design principles of C2005. But it is the one that is singled out by respondents because of its implications for the Arts and Culture learning area. The multiplicity of factors which shaped the Arts and Culture curriculum in 1997 can be summed up as narrator E does:

African Renaissance emphasis, UBUNTU, emphasis on attitudes and values, OBE approach, transformation of the country, experiential learning methodologies, principles of human rights, social justice, inclusion, agendas of writers, uneven capacity of writers, time frames, democratic process, public response, and political agendas.

5.2.4 Agency and Power

Given all influences noted above, it is likely that some voices carried more weight than others in terms of actual impact. It became apparent as the curriculum processes unfolded that some voices were more powerful than others.

Narrator C, quoted above, claims that **every voice** (this is her point of view, after all) was given equal weighting, while narrator A maintains that:

one tried very hard to be as inclusive as possible, one tried to hear the range of voices, across the political continuum because we

wanted people to buy into it as it were. ...So yes, so in fact all political groupings and the stakeholders did influence this curriculum. But it was filtered and guided through the idea of inclusivity.

This notion of inclusivity as a filter would suggest that not all voices were of equal weight. Sheer numbers alone would militate against it, and the resulting curriculum would be lacking in any conceptual coherence. So a process of selection, whether direct or indirect, was undertaken. Narrator F has much to say about this issue, especially in respect of the RNCS:

Not all voices were ultimately represented equally in the curriculum. There was both representation and selection. Selection did occur on the basis of principles rooted in conceptions of South Africa as a diverse society in which the rights of all needed to be recognised.

She goes on to discuss issues of power and authority in respect of whose voice was selected:

In national policy processes such as curriculum-making, voice is refracted through both the positioning of the voice and authority of who speaks. The authority of voice is derived from the positionality of the speaking voice. ...The social power of the voice is critical ...voices with social power linked to the new state, amongst the babel of voices spoken and making an impact on the curriculum, gave the RNCS its main discursive features.

Narrator A echoes the idea that voices with political links were the most powerful:

Ja, they were very strong because they would go...directly to say Eddie Botha, who represented a particular political constituency. Or they'd go to Ketsi Leroko who represented yet another political constituency. Or SADTU would go directly to Dr Ihron Rensburg and they would put their demands also.

This feature of pressure from outside affecting the policy process is not unusual or peculiar to the South African experience. It is described by Ozga as “a view of policy as a process rather than a product, involving negotiation, contestation or struggle between different groups who may lie outside the formal machinery of official policy making” (Ozga, 2000:2). So it would seem that although the DOE officials claimed to listen to and respond to every voice, these voices did not necessarily get included onto the curriculum. As narrator F states:

...voice, pressure and positioning did not necessarily lead to the outcomes desired by the speaker. Thus the loudness of the voice of the Christian right did not lead to the reassertion of Christian National Education. ... Not all voices were thus ultimately represented equally in the curriculum.

In a context of unequal power relation, de Clercq maintains that

...public participation will quickly lead to the entrenchment of the position and interests of the powerful voices (often white and conservative) which dominate both the state and civil society. Public participation must therefore be redefined in terms of objectives, powers and the mechanisms of participation, in order to address and circumvent these uneven power relations. (de Clercq, 1997:162)

The Department's mandate obviously was to filter the many voices and ensure that there was no entrenchment of the *status quo*. It did so by ensuring that the political vision of the new curriculum was adhered to. That it took its task seriously cannot be denied. There was no doubt in the minds of the curriculum writers regarding to whom they were answerable.

The DOE totally influenced C2005 but the Ministerial Task Team had a strong influence over the RNCS in terms of 'high skills and knowledge' and the inclusion of content. In the end the DOE called the shots with the RNCS and had the final say. (Narrator E)

5.2.5 Policy Shifts

This view of a slight difference in the approach to the RNCS as compared to C2005 brings me to the last category which deals with how the review process shifted the curriculum goalposts. The shifts in policy commitments and in the approach to curriculum also impacted on the nature of the Arts and Culture curriculum. These shifts can be broadly summarised in the descriptive phrase used by the Ministerial Project Committee in the re-writing process, i.e., 'strengthening and streamlining' the curriculum. The review process was not a re-creation of the curriculum from scratch. The report of the review committee proposed:

a smaller number of learning areas, including the re-introduction of history, the development of a Revised National Curriculum Statement which would promote conceptual coherence, have a clear structure and be written in clear language and design, and promote the values of a society striving towards social justice, equity and development through the development of creative, and critical and problem solving individuals (Chisholm, 2003:4).

So, in effect, the design and the language of the curriculum would be simplified, there would be conceptual coherence, and this would be achieved within a rights-based context. But, as Chisholm notes, not everyone supported the revision process. She writes:

But the teacher unions and many departmental bureaucrats – foot soldiers of C2005, the people who had themselves created, identified with and implemented it – were hostile to the changes and presented them as an overturning of the legacy of the first post-apartheid Minister of Education, and a return to the past (Chisholm, 2004:4).

Narrator B, who was a senior official in the DOE, does in fact say of the review process:

I don't think that there was any need for the revision of the curriculum. So all we were saying to the Chisholm review team was that there is nothing wrong with the curriculum, what is important,

what is critical is the conditions in which this curriculum is implemented. ...Even your revised curriculum, implemented in similar conditions, will fail.

Some, on the other hand, saw the shifts in policy as a reflection of the attitude and personality of the new Minister himself. Narrator D maintains:

I think a lot of this stuff has to do with just who the two ministers are in terms of how they intervened or related to those particular concepts. ...So in a way the whole reviewing phase was probably about him, his kind of hands-on control freak kind of way having to almost own it.

I think also there are lots of kind of mixed signals that are given, on the one hand you might have this system that emerges out of an approach – all live happily ever after kind of education, and then you have the more technicist approach you know, that education must really train for the economic machine.

The last comment from narrator D is significant for the curriculum writing committee. To them, the move away from an instrumentalist approach (i.e., using the arts to teach other concepts) to a more 'economic' approach (discipline specific approach to prepare for specialisation) was the most significant policy shift. Narrator E summarises the difference between the two versions as follows:

More emphasis on high skills and knowledge. Less emphasis on integration.

More guidance with content. Strengthening of the human rights approach. More detail less vague. More clarity and definition.

Narrator A classified the shift in policy as:

They have committed themselves to building capacity.

In terms of more specific design changes, he notes the following:

First of all I think it was the whole question of language, okay? Secondly many people felt that the Performance Indicators and the Range Statements were actually confusing them. And they just wanted learning outcomes and Assessment Standards.

Having a more discipline specific approach to all four art forms and culture in one learning area was not without its problems. In her paper on the dance curriculum, Curriculum Adviser Jenny van Papendorp notes some of the implications of the revised curriculum:

The new eclectic Arts and Culture curriculum thus includes the arts separately and together and is at present overloaded. In grades 8 and 9 additional (elective) assessment standards in particular art forms have been written for interested or talented learners in schools that have specialist teachers and that offer arts subjects from grades 10-12. How this will be timetabled remains a mystery yet to be solved (van Papendorp, 2003:7).

Narrator A also refers to misgivings about the revised arts curriculum:

I get a sense it was actually written by experts which has its advantage, but then you cannot call it Culture and Arts because then you need to give (culture) more time and I think that is probably where we are going to find a problem. Because there's technically nothing that one can fault with the drama, dance and even visual arts, but it would require more time (to achieve the assessment standards).

It seems then that as much as the revision process helped clear away some of the problems associated with the first version, e.g., over emphasis on integration at the expense of skills development, it also gave rise to new problems in turn, e.g., time constraints and development of teacher skills.

5.3 CONCLUSION

The stories of the respondent narrators shed light on many aspects of the genesis of the Arts and Culture learning area. The respondents describe the many factors, educational and political, which became the elements from which the curriculum was fashioned. They also reveal the agendas and attitudes of the major players in the curriculum process at the time. The answer to my research question on what factors gave rise to and shaped the Arts and Culture curriculum can be deduced from their stories. When I examine the comments of the narrators against my critical questions, the following propositions emerge:

1. that historical, socio-political factors created a need for rapid curriculum change in South Africa;
2. that Arts and Culture was seen as an important contributor to this change;
3. that pressure groups, public opinion, political ideologies and a multiplicity of factors, influenced the design and shape of the new curriculum in general and the Arts and Culture curriculum in particular;
4. that some voices were more powerful than others in the curriculum process; and
5. that the review process demonstrated a shift in policy commitments and therefore in the nature of the Arts and Culture curriculum.

Finally, what all of these show is that in the process of developing a new curriculum there is always that tension between the political needs of the country and the pedagogic needs of the curriculum itself.

CHAPTER 6

Talking to Texts

Analysis of Interviews

What is new in Barthes is the idea that readers are free to open and close the text's signifying process without respect for the signified. They are free to take their pleasure of the text, to follow at will the defiles of the signifier as it slips and slides evading the grasp of the signified. (Selden et al 1997)

Before we ask what a policy means, perhaps we should ask what is meant by policy. Much has been said about what constitutes policy. Distinctions usually separate the generation and the implementation phases. Bowe, Ball and Gold (1992) offer a continuous policy cycle to allow for the recontextualisation of policy throughout the policy process and distinguished three primary policy contexts: the context of influence (where interest groups struggle over construction of policy discourses); the context of policy text production (where texts represent policy, although they may contain inconsistencies and contradictions); and the context of practice (where policy is subject to interpretation and recreation) (Vidovich, 2001:8). In this chapter, I wish to examine the second context of policy text production, where texts represent policy. "What texts mean, in their words, has everything to do with the contexts in which they're produced and read" (Nealon & Giroux, 2003:23).

6.1 APPROACHING THE TEXTS

Mieke Bal (1997) suggests that it is possible to use the theory of narratology to describe segments of non-narrative text. What the analyst has to do is make a choice of the elements of the theory that are relevant for the text. What I propose to do is to use the three layers that Bal distinguishes in a narrative - the text, the story and the 'fabula', to describe the 'non-narrative policy' documents that I have selected. Narratological tools and arguments have been used in domains outside of 'literary studies', particularly in the

field of cultural studies and popular culture including film (Prince, 1997). It is a moot point whether policy falls within or without the field of narrative. There are many who would say that policy texts are narratives since they carry a story of sorts. Jenny Ozga (2000) claims that policies tell a story about what is possible or desirable to achieve and that they can be scrutinised for portrayal of character and plot, and use of language that produces an impression and that may have an authorial voice or multiple viewpoints (Ozga, 2000:95). These are clearly the elements of narratology. Accordingly, following Bal, I hope to focus on the three agents that function in the three layers of narrative: the narrator, the focalizer and the actor. My intention is to use these constructs as a means of analysis in so far as they serve my purposes. I wish to uncover the different conceptions of art education informing the policy narratives. My data is not literature; therefore it would serve no purpose to apply **all** the tools intended for a fictional (or non-fictional) narrative to, for example, an official government document written for a different purpose. This is why I developed a narratological tool for policy analysis. Some narratologists might of course say that the theory of narratology should be applied only to the narrative aspects of a text, but I would like to extend the theory as far as possible into what is termed 'policy narratology'. The narratological lens I use has been described in Chapter 4. In using this lens, I do not represent the policies in separate sections as fabula, story and text. I merely use these tools to analyse the text and then attempt to find the relationships and meanings that the texts present. Elements of narratology can easily be identified in my representation of the policies.

6.1.1 Policy Related to the Arts in SA

Three policy texts were selected for the study. I chose to limit myself to policies directly related to the arts and arts education rather than general education policies which are not within the scope of this study. Naturally both versions of the Arts and Culture curriculum were the first policies to be selected. Next I chose the White Paper for Arts, Culture and Heritage as the most influential official policy on the arts in the 'new' South Africa. It was published by the Ministry of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology which

was established by the Government of National Unity in 1994. It is the policy on which other succeeding policies like the National Arts Council Act are based. It is the policy which set the groundwork and parameters for the development of the Arts curriculum. So in this respect it is the policy which drives the development of the arts in this country.

Although all these policies are arts-related, nevertheless each was written for a specific purpose and at a specific time. This gives them their focalization. Although all are for the South African public at large, each addresses a certain niche audience. The readers are assumed to be different. I will try, therefore, to allow the distinct nature of each to emerge as I analyse them in chronological order of their appearance.

6.1.2 Arts Policies Elsewhere

In countries like Canada and Australia where an outcomes-based approach is used, the arts are treated quite differently from South Africa. In Canada, for example, the Ontario Curriculum (1998) Grades 1-8, refers to “The Arts” which are divided into ‘strands’. These strands are “the three major areas of knowledge and skills into which the curriculum for the arts is organised. The strands for the arts are: Music, Visual Arts, and Drama and Dance.” (Min. of Ed and Training, 1998: 63) It is interesting to note that drama and dance are combined until the end of grade 8. From grade 9 onwards, they are taught separately. In the secondary school, there is greater emphasis on the connections between dance and music.

The ‘strands’ approach is also used in the Australian context. In the National Statement on the Arts for Australian schools, there are five art forms which provide the contexts for art learning in schools: Dance, Drama, Media, Music and Visual Arts which includes Art, Craft and Design. The policy states that each art form represents distinctively unique ways of learning in the arts so that the integrity and importance of all five forms are acknowledged. But the statement also recognises the value of integrated learning activities, both within the arts and across other learning areas. The

recommendation made is that students in primary schools develop broadly-based achievement in the arts over a period of time, while students in secondary schools develop balanced achievement through increased specialisations in particular art forms.

So it would appear that the thinking in other countries at this time (late 1990s) recognised the need for an integrated approach to the teaching of arts in the primary school, yet kept the art disciplines in distinct strands. In chapter 3, I made reference to the origin of the concept of the arts as a single entity during the 1980s/1990s.

Both Australia and Canada in their arts curricula make reference to art works that shape cultural identity especially in regard to indigenous peoples and ethnic groups. There is no distinct focus on 'culture' *per se*; the students are generally expected to produce art works that reflect their cultural heritage.

By way of contrast to the use of 'strands' to represent art forms, the Scottish arts curriculum used the term 'strands' to reflect skills used in the arts such as communicating, creating and designing, etc. So art elements or themes form the strands which link the different art forms and allow for transference of skills and integration at a more conceptual level. Their Arts curriculum includes Art and Design, Drama, Music and Physical Education. The latter includes expressive movement among the usual physical activities.

In terms of overseas influence on Arts curriculum locally, it would appear that policy proposals borrowed ideas from international comparative experience which were combined with local concerns of redress and equity. This 'borrowing' came from more industrially advanced countries like Australia, Canada and Scotland, instead of countries with socio-political agendas and aspirations that were similar to those of South Africa. Furthermore there was no apparent critique of these foreign policy models and the problems they were seeking to address in their own countries (De Clercq, 1997). One must concede that although the design features were

from industrialised countries, the conceptual issues were contextually rooted.

6.2 SELECTED POLICY TEXTS

1. THE WHITE PAPER ON ARTS, CULTURE AND HERITAGE, June 1996.

This policy document describes the official policy of the Government on the arts (including education in the arts), the vision and principles for the development of the arts, and the funding arrangements and institutional frameworks for the promotion and protection of South African arts, culture and heritage.

2. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION SENIOR PHASE (Grades 7-9) POLICY DOCUMENT, Oct. 1997. (Arts and Culture)

This section of the policy document contains a description of the Arts and Culture learning area as well as the principles of Arts and Culture education and training. It offers a rationale for education in the arts and for the approach taken towards the arts in this framework. It also describes how 'culture' is envisioned in the learning area. It contains the specific outcomes for Arts and Culture, assessment criteria, and other curriculum design features.

(This policy is being phased out and replaced by the RNCS described below).

3 THE REVISED NATIONAL CURRICULUM STATEMENT Grades R-9 (Schools) POLICY. ARTS AND CULTURE 2002

This document is a revision of the curriculum described above, arrived at through a process of streamlining and strengthening. It contains a definition of the learning area, its purpose, unique features and scope. It links the learning area to the Critical Outcomes and provides organising principles around which the outcomes are built. It lists learning outcomes and assessment standards for all grades.

6.2.1 The White Paper on Arts, Culture and Heritage

6.2.1.1 Preamble

In September 1994, after the first democratic election in South Africa, the National Arts Coalition hosted a conference to raise Arts and Culture on the new government's agenda. As a result of this lobbying, the Minister of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology appointed the Arts and Culture Task Group, known as ACTAG, in November 1994.

The White Paper is clearly an outcome of the State's policy-making role and is the ANC government's official policy. It is part of the transformation from the apartheid era to the new democratic state which required a new vision for arts, culture and heritage in South Africa. It is based on the recommendations of the ACTAG report, which distilled the views of the arts community. So although written by a State-nominated team, it incorporates the proposals of ACTAG which was a widely consultative process. Embedded within this text are the 'stories' of the ACTAG group, a reference group, and the Ministry's own views. The White Paper does not mention the Ministry of Education as a source. The ACTAG process itself was a multi-layered one as it drew on the advice of international experts from UNESCO, Germany, the Netherlands, the USA and Sweden.

After extensive consultations, regional conferences, public hearings and a broadly representative national conference, ACTAG submitted its report to the Minister in July 1995. In November of 1995, Andries Oliphant and Jeanette Deacon were appointed by the Department to draft the White Paper on Arts and Culture which was published in June 1996 and adopted as official policy on the arts in September 1996.

Members of the arts community were the most influential actors since they had, through ACTAG, a strong say on how the arts were shaped post-1994. The influence of arts educators who were not organised in any representative body was minimal, as they were represented through the higher education representatives on ACTAG. It is clear that the source of

this document was the arts community, of which the arts educators were a minor force. This policy document was intended for the arts community at large, both nationally and internationally. The section on education does not make any pretence of addressing teachers as an audience.

6.2.1.2 Arts Education in the White Paper:

There are seven chapters in all in this document, with Chapter 4: Arts and Culture consisting of 76 items or paragraphs. The section on arts education consists of seven paragraphs (30 – 36) in chapter 4. I will quote these seven items about arts education in full, as this is a seminal policy document:

30. The Ministry will actively promote the Constitutional right of every learner in the General Education and Training Phase to access equitable, appropriate life-long education and training in arts, culture and heritage to develop individual talents and skills through the transformation of arts education within the formal school system and the development and extension of community based arts education structures. The rich and diverse expression of South African arts, culture and heritage shall thereby be promoted and developed.

31. Education in arts, culture and heritage should embrace opportunities for making, performing and presenting as well as appreciating the many expressions of South African cultural heritage to realise the right of all South Africans to participate fully in and contribute to, and benefit from an all-inclusive South African culture.

32. Arts, culture and heritage education must entail an integrated developmental approach leading to innovative, creative and critical thinking. The whole learning experience creates, within a safe learning environment, the means for shaping, challenging, affirming and exploring personal and social relationships and community identity. Experiencing the creative expression of different communities of South Africa provides a foundation for national

reconciliation, as well as building a sense of pride in our diverse cultural heritage.

33. The Ministry is committed to making an impact on economic growth, development and tourism through targeting the development of cultural industries which are organised around the production and consumption of culture and related services, and investing in an infrastructure for arts, culture and heritage education.

34. Arts, culture and heritage education which redresses past cultural biases and stereotypes, as well as the imbalance in the provision of resources shall be addressed by encouraging its location in educational structures at all levels of learning. To this end the Ministry will be represented in all appropriate national arts, culture and heritage education policy, curriculum and accreditation structures. Where relevant, the Ministry will also establish inter-ministerial arts education advisory bodies to ensure communication in line with this policy.

35. Consistent with the recommendations of the National Qualifications Framework, the Ministry will seek to ensure that the expertise and skills of arts and culture practitioners, developed in and through informal processes, are appropriately acknowledged and accredited.

36. The Ministry acknowledges the importance of arts, culture and heritage education in both formal and community based structures. Both sectors contribute to arts education in different and mutually complementary ways. Arts educators and planners should be encouraged to build on the different opportunities offered by the two sectors, as well as to develop strategies which offer learners mobility between them (RSA, 1996: 4).

A study of the above excerpt tells us that almost all the educational directives given are in terms of the results or effects they will have on assisting with transformation. Nowhere are the arts for the sake of developing skills in the arts encouraged. The story of arts education takes shape through the arrangement of arts in relation to transformation.

In the opening paragraph of this section, the Constitution is immediately invoked and the political imperatives of access, equity, transformation and diversity are listed as the goals to be promoted. Life-long education and training and the development of individual talents and skills are to be achieved through the transformation of arts education in the formal school sector. Paragraph 32 offers the only clear pedagogic choice of the arts education section. It encourages an “integrated and developmental approach leading to innovative, creative and critical thinking”. The learning experience should be in a “safe learning environment”. (RSA,1996:4:32) But again this learning is not an end in itself; it is to develop the means for exploring personal and social relationships and community identity. The arts are seen as a way of achieving cognitive skills to be used for another purpose. Even the experiencing of the creative expressions of different South African communities is for the purpose of insight into the aspirations and values of the nation, not the art forms of different peoples. The foundations for reconciliation and pride in our diverse cultural heritage are seen as bigger goals than mere art skills and knowledge.

Economic growth and tourism through the development of cultural industries will lead to investment in infrastructure for arts, culture and heritage education. It is interesting that the reason for this investment is given first. One would expect investment in the development of the arts, which would then have as its offshoot the growth of cultural industries and tourism, but here it is made clear that arts infrastructure will be developed only if economically profitable.

In paragraph 34, the location of arts education in all levels of education is encouraged since arts education will, it is presumed, redress past cultural biases and stereotypes as well as the imbalance of resources. This appears to be a less than subtle way of saying what kind of curriculum in the arts should be developed. The provision of inter-Ministerial advisory bodies that will “ensure communication in line with this policy” leaves little room for

doubt (RSA,1996: 4:34). It is abundantly clear that art education for the sake of developing the arts is not being promoted through this policy.

The last educational provision of this section of the policy deals with the recognition of skilled arts practitioners who lack formal qualifications. They will be credited in keeping with the NQF provisions for learner mobility. This is done to draw in the non-formal sector and establish links between the formal and community-based art sectors. Again, this indicates a social and political bias in that the divisions between the two were largely race-based in the past. The policy states in paragraph 58:

Until now, the formal education system - when it has included arts education - has largely served the needs of the cultural institutions developed during, and which came to reflect, the apartheid era. In seeking to address these shortcomings, the Ministry maintains ongoing dialogue within the Minister's Council on Culture, and with the Ministry of Education (RSA, 1996: 4:58).

Paragraph 56 in the Human Resource development section of this chapter states that education and training of educators which aims to educate and train children, youth and adults in the arts and culture, is crucial to the growth and sustainability of the arts (RSA, 1996, 4:56). Another educational imperative listed is the need to educate and train potential audiences and markets for the arts. The Ministry will seek further development of capacity in tertiary levels arts education in commitment to this principle of lifelong learning. Finally, in developing new markets and potential audiences, the Ministry will enter into discussion with the Minister of Education with the aim of introducing arts education at school level for all children, to cultivate a long-term interest in the arts (RSA,1996: 4). Again the discussions with the Minister of Education appear to be for the purpose of achieving another aim: that of providing an audience.

Elsewhere in the policy, 19 operational principles are listed. These operational principles refer to education only as part of the mechanism of

redress. Education is not seen as an operating principle in its own right. (RSA,1996: 3:9) Since this policy had a direct bearing on the Arts curriculum policy which followed it, it is no surprise that the origins of some of the curriculum trends can be traced to this policy.

6.2.1.3 Implications of the Arts Education Policy

Selections were made to ensure the success of democracy and make up for the mal-administration of the arts in the past. As part of reconstruction and development work, this policy is seen as a means to empower and enable creative voices and promote the country's diverse cultural heritage. Chapter 1 of the White paper states:

This White paper deals with one of the most emotive matters to face the new government. Cultural expression and identity stand alongside language rights and access to land as some of the most pressing issues of our time (RSA, 1996:1:7).

The consequences of this policy being on the agenda at this particular time are the wide-reaching changes it is hoped it will effect around sensitive areas of our national consciousness. The White Paper states that policy will be guided by redress, which

shall ensure the correction of historical and existing imbalances through development, education, training and affirmative action with regard to race, gender, rural and urban considerations (RSA, 1996:3: 9).

In summary then, the White Paper sees the role of arts education as serving the social and political needs of South African society and the democratic project. Educators and educational institutions are identified as part of the mechanism of re-conceptualising the arts. Since education was used to deny the values of 'other cultures' during the apartheid era, it is now to be used to redress that injustice. Education is expected to create a new means for shaping, challenging, affirming and exploring personal and social

relationships and community identity. It is expected to build a sense of pride in our diverse cultural heritage (RSA, 1996: 4: 32).

6.2.2 DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION SENIOR PHASE (Grades 7-9) Policy Document Oct. 1997. (Arts and Culture)

6.2.2.1 Preamble

This policy was adopted in 1997 as part of the Curriculum 2005 suite of education policies intended to restructure the curriculum to reflect the values and principles of the new democratic society. As such, it embodies the ANC vision for the future and is seen as a means of doing away with the effects of apartheid education. A detailed study of the source of C2005 and the OBE approach it adopted is not within the scope of this study, but the work done early in the 1990s in education and training, the influence of Labour in respect of competencies, and the work of the National Training Board led by Adrienne Bird all played a role in the policy deliberations which led to the new integrated system of education and training. Processes and forums such as the National Education and Training Forum and the National Education Policy investigation developed policy options for the broad democratic movement. The political landscape immediately after the first democratic elections and the role of the then Department of National Education militated against the application of these policy initiatives as envisaged (Sayed & Jansen, 2001).

The source of the learning area policy lay in the national Learning Area Committees (LAC) set up in 1996 by the DOE which might be regarded as the original actants for arts and culture education. These LACs were widely representative, drawing on delegates nominated by Provincial education departments, DACST, Teacher Unions, universities and NGO/community arts organisations. The policy was written for the education sector, including teachers and publishers. The policy was structured as a framework from which learning programmes would be developed by teachers in the Provinces. It was not a syllabus or teaching manual. The directive to the LACs was that the State's resources be used according to the principle of

equity in view of the legacy of inequality. So the curriculum was motivated as much by a political need as by an educational one. All selections including those for Arts and Culture have been justified on the broad principles of democracy including non-racism, non-sexism, freedom of expression and the affirmation of the integrity of all art and cultural expression. This policy seeks to provide equal access to arts education and foster redress for past inequalities through the provision of arts and culture experiences. It also promotes a re-discovery of our cultural heritage (DOE, 1997). These provisions are in keeping with the mandate of the White Paper for Arts, Culture and Heritage.

6.2.2.2. Principles of the Arts and Culture Learning Area

The Learning Area curriculum begins with a listing of the principles of Arts and Culture Education and Training. These are:

- *Non-racism, non-sexism*
- *Democratic practice*
- *Nurturing and protection of freedom of expression*
- *The affirmation of all cultural expressions*
- *Equal access to resources and redress of imbalances*
- *Quality provision relevant to the lives of learners and*
- *The promotion of inter-cultural exchange*

(DOE, 1997: AC2)

These principles suggest how the Arts education curriculum was conceptualised and therefore what choices would be made. It is interesting to note that nothing is said about the arts themselves in this list. The mentioning of culture is perhaps an early indication of the bias of this curriculum. What is said about culture, however, could equally apply to a language curriculum or a social sciences one. All the principles are clearly related to democratic expectations which had already been espoused by the whole Curriculum 2005 process. So it was expected that the political imperatives of the time would guide and direct the formation of the Arts

learning area as well as those of other disciplines, but it is not unreasonable to expect that the pedagogy of the discipline would be asserted at this point.

6.2.2.3 Rationale of the Arts and Culture Learning Area

The rationale for the learning area does, in fact, list Arts and Culture education and training developmental aims. Again, these 10 developmental aims are so broad as to be applicable to most other learning areas as well.

They are:

- *the ability to make, recreate and invent meaning;*
- *use of innovation, creativity and resourcefulness;*
- *effective expression, communication and interaction between individuals and groups;*
- *a healthy sense of self, exploring individual and collective identities;*
- *understanding and acknowledgement of our rich and diverse culture;*
- *a deepened understanding of our social and physical environment, and our place within that environment;*
- *practical skills and different modes of thinking, within the various forms of art and diverse cultures;*
- *career skills and income-generating opportunities that lead to enhanced social, economic and cultural life;*
- *respect for human value and dignity;*
- *insight into the aspirations and values of our nation, and effective participation in the construction of a democratic society (DOE, 1997: AC4).*

The arts are referred to only in the seventh aim, again using the arts as a context for other skills. If that aim is removed from the list, then this curriculum could be one for any of the social sciences. The focus is on developing a certain kind of citizen and society. Except for the first aim, which could equally apply to language, the rest of the aims are about personal growth, nation-building and cultural diversity.

The curriculum also states “Arts and Culture offer a unique way of learning **across the curriculum**. Concepts can be learned vibrantly and experientially through the Arts” (DOE, 1997:AC5). This is learning **through** the arts, where the arts form the medium through which general cognitive skills can be taught and other subject matter can be addressed. This is often referred to as the ‘instrumentalist’ use of the arts - a contextualist justification (see Eisner, 1972). Given that integration is one of the key principles guiding curriculum development for C2005 (DOE, 1997:3), it is not surprising that the facility that the arts offer as a learning medium should be fore-grounded in the Arts and Culture Learning Area.

Learning **about** the arts is not omitted entirely, however. The curriculum states “a balanced education and training programme in this learning area presents opportunities for learners to be engaged in an integrated approach as well as to become increasingly skilled in the various art forms and cultural processes”(DOE, 1997:AC5). The ‘as well as’ smacks of an afterthought: the achievement of an ‘integrated approach’ – which refers back to the injunction of the White paper on Arts and Culture – is the most important goal.

Integration as a pedagogic underpinning is emphasised throughout this learning area. One form of integration is the inter-disciplinary linking of the different art forms within one holistic form – Arts and Culture – which contains all the elements of visual arts, music, drama and dance, among others. Another form of integration is the across-the-curriculum approach described above. The document actually states: “In the GETC band it is expected that an Arts-across-the curriculum approach will be implemented i.e. learning *in* the Arts and learning *through* the Arts.” (DOE, 1997:6).

An interesting form of integration in this curriculum is the integration of education with training, “in other words consciously linking knowledge and understanding with skills” (DOE, 1997: AC5). Learners are expected to link conceptual knowledge with skills and apply knowledge in new ways. The

integrated approach assumes that learners will become skilled in the art techniques required as they work through a problem-solving, projects-based methodology to create art and make meaning. It uses what is commonly referred to as Mode 2 type learning (Muller, 1997), where the specific discipline skills are not taught first in isolation of the application. This non-technical approach can be seen in the notion of a broad experience of the arts:

“Throughout this Learning Area, work takes place within a broad context, ranging from individual explorations to group experiences, and covering a range of Arts and Culture experiences from the local, regional and national to the global.” (DOE1997: AC6)

The implication of this ‘broad context’ and integrated approach is that the specific art skills are not fore-grounded in this curriculum. A range of art experiences is sufficient.

The document points out that South African society up to this point has been noted for the historical domination of Western art and culture forms. The majority of people were deprived of opportunities in Arts and Culture education and training. Although indigenous arts proved irrepressible, this was often represented through a Western view of the ‘other’. The learning area seeks to explore how “institutional bias” acknowledged and promoted some Arts and Culture forms and relegated others to a “lesser status” (DOE,1997). It hopes, then, to nurture a common cultural identity and at the same time to undo the effects of the “entrenched social divisions” caused by “unequal resourcing and provision of Arts and Culture Education and Training” (DOE, 1997:AC3). A study of the specific outcomes might illuminate how it will achieve this.

6.2.2.4 Arts and Culture Specific Outcomes

This learning area comprises of a number of design features the most significant of which are the specific outcomes because they embody what the learner is expected actually to achieve at the end of the grade or phase. The outcomes for Arts and Culture in this curriculum are:

1. *Apply knowledge, techniques and skills to create and be critically involved in arts and culture processes and products.*
2. *Use the creative processes of arts and culture to develop and apply social and interactive skills.*
3. *Reflect on and engage critically with arts experience and work.*
4. *Demonstrate an understanding of the origins, functions and dynamic nature of culture.*
5. *Experience and analyse the use of multiple forms of communication and expression.*
6. *Use art skills and cultural expressions to make an economic contribution to self and society.*
7. *Demonstrate an ability to access creative arts and cultural processes to develop self-esteem and promote healing*
8. *Acknowledge, understand and promote historically marginalised arts and cultural forms and practices.* (DOE, 1997: AC8)

A study of the outcomes for the learning area reveals that only outcomes 1, 3 and 5 deal directly and specifically with the arts. The rest of the outcomes deal with cultural awareness, entrepreneurial skills and social interaction skills, which are developed **through the arts**. Very clearly, the knowledge of art processes and techniques, the skills of production and performance, are not the focus of this Arts curriculum. At this point it may be useful to quote in more detail what the curriculum itself has to say about its underpinnings. It says *“Ultimately the deeper assumptions underpinning Arts and Culture education practices include:*

- *Skills acquisition for the purpose of creating artistic products and adding value to cultural processes;*
- *Its recreational focus;*
- *Value exploration and extending our knowledge boundaries in terms of ways of seeing and thinking afresh e.g. power and power relations;*
- *The creative and critical strategies to challenge and resist cultural practices not in alignment with the Constitution;*

- *Factoring into ways of broadening economic democracy and political democracy through the use of culture and arts processes and products;*
- *Understanding ‘Heritage’ as ‘texts-in-context’; and*
- *Using culture and arts processes to advance principles of equity, redress, nation-building, transformation and development at various levels including culturally, structurally, gender-wise, race-wise and class-wise.” (DOE, 1997: AC7).*

The last of these deeper assumptions captures the whole epistemology of this Arts and Culture curriculum. The arts were included in Curriculum 2005 as a formal learning area because they could be **used** so effectively to achieve the political ends which needed to be met at that time. This curriculum is committed to the support of a newly developing democracy concerned with creating an imagined nation and culture.

It continuously frames education in the arts as a means of achieving socio-political aspirations, and therefore the arts become valuable because of this factor. It seeks to justify its inclusion in the curriculum in this way.

6.2.3 REVISED NATIONAL CURRICULUM STATEMENT Grades R-9 (Schools) POLICY. ARTS AND CULTURE. 2002.

6.2.3.1 Preamble

The Revised National Curriculum Statement (RNCS) does not replace or do away with C2005 or OBE. It is rather a strengthening and streamlining of the original version. The policy was adopted as part of the revision process of the ‘new’ Minister of Education, Kader Asmal, after the second democratic election. On assuming his position, he embarked on a ‘listening campaign’ about problems associated with C2005 and consequently set up a Review Committee which submitted a report “A South African Curriculum for the Twenty First Century” in May 2000.

In July 2000, Cabinet established the broad terms of reference for the development of a National Curriculum Statement. The source for the RNCS for Arts and Culture as well as for all other learning areas was the recommendations contained in the report of the Review Committee. The report is based on the view that

curriculum should be clearly steered by principles that promote personal and social development and transformation for the twenty first century. The social goals of social justice, equity and development are pursued by confronting a dual challenge:

- *The challenges of the past and moving beyond the legacy of apartheid*
- *The challenge of the future and developing a curriculum that will provide a platform for the knowledge, skills and values for innovation and growth, and cultural creativity and tolerance for an African Renaissance (RSA, 2000:vi).*

The double-pronged view of moving beyond apartheid, while developing for the future, suggests that this revised version of the curriculum tries to incorporate the political vision of C2005 while moving it forward in terms of the pedagogic needs for the future. A study of the brief given to the curriculum developers might illuminate this further.

6.2.3.2 The Brief

At the launch and briefing workshop held for the writing groups and others, the following comments were made by the DDG of that time, Dr Rensburg:

... we are now moving towards greater specificity, to what goes on in the classroom, away from policy statements towards learner attainment, from theory to classroom practice (DOE, 2001: 2).

This comment clearly places the focus on implementation at grassroots level, linking policy pronouncement to action as its vision. The Minister also addressed the group and gave these directions:

- *The NCS must be a clear and simple statement of what it requires to be taught and at what levels.*
- *This team is part of a much larger process of re-building this country and its educational system, of breaking decisively with the apartheid past, enabling us to move forward with confidence and dignity....*
- *The task is to write a clearly written statement, which is accessible, activity based and which can be implemented.*

(DOE, 2001:3- 4)

These comments point more to the 'streamlining' function of the revision which sought to simplify the curriculum and reduce the overload of the first version.

The directions from the Minister gave the writing groups a base from which to work while the Ministerial Project Committee (MPC) also provided an operational plan which again emphasised the simplification of language and terminology in the development of the NCS:

"... a premium must be placed in it on simplicity and clarity of expression and formulation. The writing in the Learning Area Statements must be exemplary, understood especially by a teacher, a teacher trainer and a publisher" (MPC, 2001a:8).

The comments of the Minister and the DDG both show a strong emphasis on classroom accessibility and implementation. Their own language displays a lack of rhetoric and political grandstanding. Cabinet's instruction were that the NCS must deal in clear and simple language with curriculum requirements at various levels and phases. The NCS must address concerns of curriculum overload and give a description of the kind of learner envisaged at the end of the GET band. Apart from these instructional bases, the RNCS was premised also upon a clear set of principles.

6.2.3.3 Principles of the RNCS

The briefing document of the MPC, Road Map for the Development of the NCS: Principles and Design, states that the principles of the NCS are to:

- *Be a high knowledge high skills curriculum*
- *Promote social justice, equity and development*
- *Ensure a balance of conceptual progression and integration*
- *Provide clear guidelines as to what is taught and the level at which it is learnt and assessed*
- *Foreground the following as foundations for further learning and the development of high level skills and knowledge: comprehensive reading and writing skills, mathematical skills and core concepts in the social and natural sciences (MPC, 2001b:3).*

These principles dwell on a number of pedagogical issues to drive and shape the curriculum. The placing of high skills and knowledge as the first principle is deliberate. This curriculum is about 'learner attainment', as the DDG said. Unlike the first version of C2005, the RNCS does not push integration as the key pedagogic trend. The operational plan to streamline the curriculum says that "Greater specification in the development of conceptual knowledge is required in the curriculum, but without losing sight of the strengths and value of integrated knowledge, particularly at the GET level"(MPC, 2001a:11). It calls for a balance between conceptual development and integration, which suggests that conceptual development and understanding in the disciplines has to occur. Integration is not abandoned but is 'balanced' with discipline growth. The RNCS attempted to provide deliverers of the new curriculum with the tools and knowledge to set the expected minimum standards for everyone. The Arts and Culture RNCS naturally also subscribed to these principles. In the Arts and Culture RNCS, the approach towards the Arts "moves from a broad experience involving several art forms within diverse cultural contexts, towards increasing depth of knowledge and skills by grades 8 and 9. There is recognition of both the integrity of discrete art forms and the value of integrated learning experiences" (DOE, 2002:4). This approach resonates quite strongly with

the approach recommended by the Australian Arts curriculum calling for increased specialisation in secondary school.

6.2.3.4 The Revised Arts and Culture Curriculum

The new vision for the curriculum naturally led to new choices being made. One of the noticeable differences from the 1997 version of the Arts and Culture curriculum is the inclusion of the '**what**' that is to be learnt rather than only the 'how' and 'why'. There is room in this arts curriculum for content and contexts, which were not given in the first version. The Principles and Design document of the MPC states:

*"The National Curriculum Statement will therefore specify the knowledge (content) **and** skills (ways of thinking) learners require to develop high level thinking and communication skills and to become lifelong learners"* (MPC, 2001b:11).

The content is embedded within the assessment standards, but what should be taught and at what level are evident to the teacher. The document was written primarily for the teacher, as well as for education officials and support staff, and therefore attempts to be user-friendly towards its targeted audience. The policy document was written by 'experts' in arts education. They included DOE officials, Provincial education officials and Teacher Unions. The latter were not always strongly represented on the writing groups. There was, however, a widely representative Reference Group which was fully involved throughout the writing process by way of feedback and critique.

This curriculum is underpinned by the theory of progressivism and social reconstructionism. It promotes Mode 1 learning (Muller, 1997), which is more disciplined-based and therefore allows for the teaching of specific art skills and techniques. There is less integration and blurring between art forms. The fact that African art is usually integrated in form while Western art forms are discrete posed some problems to the writing group in terms of their commitment to the local and specifically African nature of the curriculum. The documents states:

The Learning Area Statement seeks to respect the integrity of each art form and to integrate them whenever possible, combining individual disciplines to create new forms of expression (DOE, 2002:7).

The choice made in terms of the outcomes and assessment standards is that the teaching of techniques and skills has to be done discretely, but these skills have to be combined in performance. Integration occurs organically as the opportunity arises. Clustering of assessment standards allows for art forms to be integrated within teaching activities. This focus on specific skills in each discipline denotes a more 'economic' ³attitude towards the arts rather than the 'instrumentalist' approach (See Eisner, 1972: 'essentialist' justification for the arts). High skills and knowledge are favoured against the plea for a more accessible curriculum. This presupposes that teaching will be done by qualified and competent teachers of the arts (and culture).

This curriculum stresses the need to provide learners with exposure and access to all art forms and a variety of cultural practices. Learners are expected to learn to value their own cultural backgrounds while learning about others. The approach towards culture is to encourage learners to be active participants rather than passive inheritors of culture. They are encouraged to reflect critically and creatively on cultural practices and understand and affirm the diversity of South African cultures (DOE, 2002). It is a stated intention of the curriculum "to develop awareness of national culture and promote nation-building" (DOE, 2002:4). While the focus in this curriculum may be on high knowledge and skills, the political needs of the country have not been abandoned in this version. The real test is how they have been represented in the outcomes for the learning area.

³ Equipping learners with enough knowledge to pursue a career or further education in the field

6.2.3.5 Learning Outcomes for Arts and Culture in the RNCS

The first point to be noted in this ‘streamlined’ version is that the previous specific outcomes have been reduced by half. There are only four outcomes. They are:

- 1. The learner will be able to create, interpret and present work in each of the art forms.*
- 2. The learner will be able to reflect critically on artistic and cultural processes, products and styles in past and present contexts.*
- 3. The learner will be able to demonstrate personal and interpersonal skills through individual and group participation in Arts and Culture activities.*
- 4. The learner will be able to analyse and use multiple forms of communication and expression in Arts and Culture (DOE, 2002).*

In this ‘strengthening’ of the Arts and Culture curriculum, the outcomes are clearly and directly about **arts** processes and skills. The first outcome indicates the approach to be followed in keeping the art forms separate. The main function of the arts in terms of creation, performance and interpretation is highlighted upfront in the first outcome.

Outcome 3 closely resembles the developmental focus of the first version of the arts curriculum. The wording of the outcomes from both versions, however, shows a fundamental difference in thinking about the arts in the two versions. The 1997 version says:

*(The learner will) **use** the creative processes of arts and culture to develop and apply social and interactive skills (DOE, 1997: AC8).*

The RNCS version reads:

The learner will be able to demonstrate personal and interpersonal skills through individual and group participation in Arts and Culture activities (DOE, 2002:12).

I have highlighted the word ‘**use**’ in the first outcome above to draw attention to the fact that the first version makes use of the arts in order to

achieve social skills. The RNCS version says that these skills will emerge because of (or through) experiencing the arts. This difference epitomises the fundamental difference between the two versions of the Arts and Culture curriculum. The first one sees the arts as the 'handmaiden' of learning; learning about the arts is incidental. The arts are to be used as the instrument to achieve personal growth, social development and nation-building. In the RNCS version, learning **about** the arts will develop not only art skills, but social, personal and national aims as well.

In the first version there were two specific outcomes about culture. In this version, there are none. Issues about culture are nevertheless addressed within the actual assessment standards. Cultural processes and activities also provide a context for arts learning through the use of the organising principles. An example of this is found in the Grade 8 Organising Principle and Assessment Standard for Outcome 2:

Organising Principle: *The learner will be able to think critically and reflect on Arts and Culture processes and products in relation to human rights issues in Africa.*

Assessment Standards

We know this when the learner:

Music

- *Listens to and demonstrates how the use of polyphony in African music accords participants equitable space in the making of music (DOE, 2002:83).*

What is interesting about this is that the learner is able to achieve this standard only if a fair amount of teaching has occurred regarding the features of African music. (Learning about the arts.) Similarly, the drama assessment standard requires knowledge of role-playing techniques in order for it to be realised:

Drama

- *Researches human rights and environmental issues and interprets these in small group role-plays (DOE, 2002:81).*

So human rights, nation-building, power relations and cultural practices become the context for the arts rather than the other way round.

In the first version, the two outcomes about culture (outcomes 4 and 8) do not focus on art skills at all in their assessment criteria. Only two of the many performance indicators for these two outcomes mention the arts at all. Does this imply that the revised version ignores the political and social imperatives so dear to the first Arts curriculum? How have these competing interests been negotiated? A glance at the Purpose section of the learning area shows a list of intentions that indicates a desire to incorporate many of the political needs mentioned not only in the first version but also reminiscent of the White Paper for Arts, Culture and Heritage.

6.2.3.6 Intentions of the RNCS Arts and Culture Learning Area

The document states that the intention in this learning area is to:

- *provide exposure and experience for learners in Dance, Drama, Music, Visual Arts, Craft, Design, Media and Communication, Arts Management, Arts technology and Heritage;*
- *develop creative and innovative individuals as responsible citizens, in line with the values of democracy according to the Constitution of South Africa;*
- *provide access to Arts and Culture education for all learners as part of redressing historical imbalances;*
- *develop an awareness of national culture to promote nation-building;*
- *establish, develop and promote the creativity of South Africans as a rich and productive resource;*
- *provide opportunities to develop usable skills, knowledge, attitudes and values in Arts and Culture that can prepare learners for life, living and lifelong learning; and*
- *develop an understanding of the Arts as symbolic language.*

(DOE, 2002:4).

When one reads these intentions it seems as if the writers were careful, in this introductory section at any rate, to ensure that there are strong links with the previous Arts curriculum. Even though the links to the Constitution are invoked, the commitment to redress renewed, and the goal of nation-building maintained, these are not done at the expense of art education and experience. The advocacy necessary in the first version to justify the inclusion of the arts in the curriculum is not so urgent. The Review Committee's report did after all state "arts and culture will have a place in the curriculum"(RSA, 2000: vii). So proving what the arts could do was not so important. What was important was to provide knowledge, key concepts, values and technique in the arts and culture field itself.

6.3 CONCLUSION

The first text (The White Paper for Arts, Culture and Heritage), as the 'new' government arts policy, uses an 'enabling' voice to tell its story of promoting the arts and supporting artists. As a government policy it concerns itself funding arrangements and institutional frameworks to ensure the survival and development of all art forms and cultural heritage. Its main concerns are around equity and transformation. The White Paper presents an overarching point of view: a survey of the landscape of art policy in South Africa. It views education in the arts as one means of achieving its vision. Its focalization is learning in the arts.

The Senior Phase Policy Document locates its ethos in the vision of the White Paper. It carries the principle of integration of the arts from the White paper into the Arts curriculum as its main pedagogic approach. The voice is idealistic and rhetorical as it endorses democratic principles, equity, the promotion of indigenous arts and culture practices, and access to arts careers as well as the development of personal, social and interactive skills in a curriculum that uses the arts as a medium of learning. Its vision of arts education is that of the handmaiden to learning. Its focalization is learning through the arts.

The RNCS Arts and Culture Policy uses its 'revision' status as a means to re-visioning arts education. Its approach to transformation and democratic imperatives is to use these as a matrix for developing explicit art skills. Its voice is at once idealistic and pragmatic as it attempts to meet the tensions of educational demands against transformation. The focalization is learning about the arts themselves.

The three texts are clearly linked by genre as arts and culture policy statements. From a structuralist standpoint, the cultural construction of a South African identity is the focus of all three texts. If the self is seen, like other things, to be signified and culturally constructed (Lye, 1996), then these texts signal the kind of self the new democracy wishes to define. Jenny Ozga says that policies "tell a story about what is possible or desirable to achieve through education policy" (Ozga, 2000: 95). This, then, is the story of what is possible in our new democracy.

CHAPTER 7

Narrating the story of Arts and Culture

... given the history of our country, true reconciliation can only take place if we succeed in our objective of social transformation. Reconciliation and transformation should be viewed as an interdependent part of one unique process of building a new society.
(Thabo Mbeki, 1996)

7.1 INTRODUCTION

In my opening narrative, I began to tell the story of the birth of the Arts and Culture curriculum. Since then I have analysed and presented the policies, the curricula and the thoughts of the policy-makers and curriculum developers. From this analysis, certain ideas have come to light, and some answers have presented themselves in response to my questions in the beginning. This is the second part of my narrative, in which I bring together the policies and the interviews as (inanimate) characters in a narrative. I then re-position the characters into two narratives focalized in different ways. I examine the language used by certain characters to show how it reveals their focalization. I end with a third narrative that describes the effect of the unseen character, resistance arts, which links all the narratives.

The comments of Narrator I, which were not used in the data analysis (for reasons given in chapter 4), are used here to enrich the narrative and support and illuminate the findings. The complexities of my being both the external narrator and a character narrator are brought to the fore by this formal inclusion of my self-interview.

7.2 STRUCTURING MY NARRATIVES

As this is not a work of fiction, it is not necessary for me to save the revelations for the end. The analysis has shown that the story of Arts and Culture is not only a story about a curriculum; it is the story about the birth of a nation as well. The central theme of all the data reveals 'nation-building'

as the reason for the Arts and Culture curriculum coming into being and it is also the main factor which shaped its design. But, as with all stories, there are a number of other themes, sub-plots and conflicts that come into it. The setting is, of course, the development of an arts curriculum and all the changes, discontinuities and discourses that this entailed. My plot (fabula) concerns all the processes, actors and sequences of events that were associated with the development of this curriculum. The 'characters' in this story are the policy documents, the policy-makers and curriculum writers. It is their thoughts and actions that give my story substance. My focalization in this narrative is based on the discourse that emanates from these characters that move in and out of the story. Within this block characterisation (Jahn, 2000), there are distinct characteristics that emerge and help me group and separate the characters.

7.2.1 Characters in this Story

There are two main groups of characters in this narrative. My first group consists of those respondent narrators and policies that have focalized the role of curriculum and arts and culture in South Africa in what I see as a visionary and idealised viewpoint. Theirs is what I call a narrative of the heart. This group consists mainly of DOE officials as well as the WPACH and the Senior Phase Policy Framework for Arts and Culture. Their discourse came from the history of the resistance arts in the liberation struggle and therefore carried great weight and, more importantly, political credibility. They were influenced by the NGO sector that had had input into the ACTAG process and by the officials of the DACST.

The second group of characters is made up mainly of the provincial curriculum developers and the NGO arts representatives, and includes the RNCS for Arts and Culture as a character in this group. This group's focalization is pragmatic and rationalist; theirs is a narrative of the head. While they did support the notion of the arts as part of the democratic project, the group was less instrumentalist in orientation. Its focus is more on the pedagogy of arts education. It, too, accepted the power of the arts to move and transform people but it asked the question 'How?'

As with all categories and groupings, no sooner have they been set up than exceptions and overlaps occur. Although Narrator A belongs to the first group, he appears at times to be in conflict with the practices and ideologies of the DOE. Since he was directly involved in the writing process and was himself an arts practitioner, his more rationalist point of view is to be expected. Narrator F, a senior academic who was involved only with the RNCS process and was not part of the DOE, has a more reflexive stance and therefore moves between both. Sometimes the characters held one view publicly and another in private. The first group, while purporting to represent the liberation view, had a number of members who, while they claimed to endorse the arts in the curriculum, did little to support its design and development actively. Narrator A has already told us:

Ja, actually the Chief Director at the time, _____, he just treated Arts and Culture as an also ran. And in fact it was treated like a bit of a step-child, but many other subjects like Technology and so on, were privileged over and above Arts and Culture.

In the second group, there were also those who came from a background in the resistance arts movement and who then set up that tension within the working group. Individuals also changed views over time and moved from one point of view to another during the course of events. Whether the focalization was visionary, symbolic and idealistic or whether it was pragmatic and material, it is safe to say that all these characters did agree on two things: that curriculum change was necessary for the new South Africa, and that Arts and Culture should be part of that curriculum. The major difference came in whether the arts were seen as instrumentalist or essentialist.

Although it is not my intention to undertake a full discourse analysis of all the characters' words and utterances, I believe that some analysis of the kind of language used by these characters assists in understanding why I group them as I do. It will also help reveal the ideologies and worldviews of these characters. As I examine the discourse of each group, I highlight key

words and phrases that help me come to an understanding of the final story of Arts and Culture. All of these quotations have already been cited in chapter 5.

7.3 THE NARRATIVE OF THE HEART

The first group's responses are characterised by the use of rhetoric, highly emotive imagery and powerful language. There is a sense of authority and assurance in their utterances. Narrators A, B, C, G and H were high-ranking officials. They all held very powerful positions in the DOE or Ministry and in the curriculum development process. This supports Ball's (1990a) notion that meaning is affected by social and institutional position. It also echoes Foucault's notion of discourse as power/knowledge. So the discourse of the policy-makers legitimated the approach taken in the curriculum process through their power and position. Their point of view is clearly that the changes were necessary, timely and of the kind required to fulfil the mandate of the new democracy. The political imperatives of the time are the drivers of this focalization.

The DOE, then, narrates the view that the curriculum change was a response to the nation's needs, *"because many people died for a democracy, which was taken to its height by a curriculum issue in 1976"*. This invocation of the 1976 Soweto uprising, caused by the schools' protests against the use of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction, is a powerful one. It speaks of an emotive and painful period of the liberation struggle, when curriculum was indeed the catalyst for change. It locates the DOE of the new South Africa in the ranks of the struggle heroes, which gives its policies credibility and legitimacy. The DOE post 1994, is African nationalist led and seeks to align itself with the image of the liberating forces. Its hasty, some would argue too hasty, implementation of OBE and C2005 can be viewed as part of its larger political agenda.

The first group's story is also based on the idea that there was a need to *"signal to the constituency that change had occurred"* and that it was *"urgent to put in place a new curriculum that carries and enshrines the spirit of the*

new Constitution". The use of the words "enshrines" gives the new curriculum an almost mystical quality. The expectations that came with the 1994 elections and liberation into democracy invested the Constitution and other major policies with an idealised aura. It was not enough to say that a change was being made to discontinue apartheid education. The replacement had to demonstrate its direct relationship to the democratic project and the Constitution. This was the fundamental condition under which all the curriculum frameworks of C2005 came into being. This is why the Constitution of South Africa is so strongly invoked by the policy documents and the interviews. The White Paper for Arts, Culture and Heritage locates its underlying values in the Bill of Rights of the Constitution and was guided by it in drafting its principles (RSA, 1996:3:2). In this policy, the discourse on arts education centres on transformation through access to equitable training. Discontinuity with past practices which saw the arts as a privileged area now made the enjoyment of arts a right for all people.

Narrator B describes the new curriculum as one that "*espouses the new values of equity, of human dignity and an appreciation of our cultural and religious and linguistic diversity*". The words used by Narrator B put the **social reconstruction** agenda of the Government on the table. He confirms this by saying that the new curriculum would assist "*us in **building a new nation**, because we came from a society divided on the basis of race and colour*". Education at this time was seen as a means to an end. The very word '**transformational**' in the choice of the type of OBE to be implemented emphasised the discontinuity with the past. This was a new discourse for a new country's new education.

7.3.1 Including the Arts

Curriculum change assumed a huge responsibility in terms of actualising national priorities. While researchers such as Harley and Wedekind (2004) might draw our attention to this by saying in a terse fashion that there is generally a close relationship between national political visions and national curricula, Narrator C expounds on this relationship in an almost lyrical fashion:

Curriculum is a response to a nation's decision of why learners have to learn, which is the nation's vision, and what learners have to learn, the content and the priority area is then nationally determined and the how they have to learn has to actually imbue the what and the why.

Again the language used by this most influential person in the 1997 curriculum process is laden with rhetoric and an idealised vision of the curriculum. The nation's vision at that time was focalised in terms of healing the divisions of the past and making reparations for the inequities and injustices of apartheid, in order to build a new society. The education policies had to be responsive to the nation's many perceived needs. The new curriculum for the new society had to include not only the disciplines that would develop scientific and technological skills, but also those disciplines that would help bridge the great divides caused by apartheid. As Narrator E said: "*Politically the inclusion of Arts and Culture was more to do with **nation building** than any other reason*". The suitability of the arts (and culture) as an agent of transformation for bringing people together and for developing the values of equity, human dignity and diversity, was well understood at this time. Narrator B confirms the thinking of the DOE and the Ministry at this time:

For us, we thought it an important area of growth and development in which people can express themselves, can express own history, can express the future and where we want to go.

So the creation of an arts and culture learning area made good sense in terms of national priorities such as nation-building.

The comments above also highlight the cathartic effect of the arts in allowing people to tell of their history, as well as the visionary aspect of the arts in imagining an alternative reality for the future of the country. This view of the arts as pointing the way to the future was endorsed by all the respondents in some way or another. Narrator E calls attention to how in the past culture was used to divide people, whereas in this new curriculum the approach is to "*use cultural studies to unite, build awareness and understanding, celebrate diversity, learn to affirm difference and acknowledge marginalized cultures*".

Narrator H offers another view of how the arts could redeem themselves in terms of past practices and inequalities: *“One faced a frankly political imperative. The ravages of the apartheid state were, to some extent, exacerbated by the cooption of the arts and the unsustainability of arts practices”*. This is a telling indictment of previous arts practice and its role in segregation. No one could refute the need to ensure that the arts were now to be available to all and were not to be *a privileged knowledge/skills area*. So the development of the new curricula had to show a distinct break with the apartheid past. As Narrator B noted, *“we were not able to build on an old curriculum”*.

This need to include the previously excluded and marginalized was at the root of the thinking around the inclusion of culture as part of the learning area. Narrator B again expresses the official point of view:

it was imperative for us, that if we are going to be successful in doing that, bringing people together, people must as individuals begin first and foremost to appreciate their own cultures, that historically have been suppressed or ridiculed, so that they have confidence in their own selves, and in their own being and in their own cultures.

The repetition of the word ‘own’ imbues the language with a rhythm that is most compelling while ensuring that the concept of inclusion is emphasised. This issue of including the previously excluded was one with which all the respondents agreed. Even Narrator D, whose other comments show disaffection with the official process, said:

There’s a real need in our education system for people from different communities to begin to understand each other and learning about their particular culture in the broadest sense of the word.

While all the characters were in agreement about the need for understanding, appreciating and even celebrating our cultural diversity, there is a presupposition about the existence of a common understanding of what constitutes culture and how it can be incorporated into a curriculum.

Given our history, it was extremely unlikely that a random grouping would think in the same way about culture. The WPACH says of culture:

... the collision of cultures does not necessarily lead to subjugation and hegemony. It may also lead to subtle cross- pollination.... This dynamic interaction has always played a role in cultural enrichment which has resulted in an extraordinary fertile and unique South African culture which binds out nation...(RSA, 1996:2:1).

And it envisages future development in culture as:

... the culture whose emergence and growth is consistent with the goals of our young democracy would be an inclusive, and even eclectic one (RSA, 1996:2:7).

In spite of the optimistic view of the future expressed by the WPACH, its phrase “collision of cultures” is more reflective of what actually occurred in the curriculum writing process. The innocuous and politically correct phrases found in the 1997 curriculum framework do not in any way indicate the level of debate which occurred around what constitutes culture and how this can effectively form part of an assessment-driven OBE curriculum. Statements like “*the affirmation of all cultural expression*”, and “*the promotion of inter-cultural exchange*” (DOE, 1997:AC2) seem quite unexceptional. But these statements and the two Specific Outcomes on culture came at the end of a long and difficult process marked by antagonism and acrimony. The curriculum developers represented the diversity of the South African population, brought together by one common purpose but very little else.

The task in post-apartheid South Africa, as noted by Chipkin (2006), is to encourage solidarity among its citizens without appealing to common language or race or religion or culture in any traditional sense. This is what the curriculum developers tried to achieve. Narrator E makes reference to “*the anti-colonial, anti-imperialist pro-African Renaissance group, who pressurized through both the political and professional machinery*”. This group’s agenda was to remove all Western/elite arts forms from the

curriculum since they represented white culture. The view expressed by most of the curriculum developers was a more inclusive one.

Narrator I:

In writing the curriculum in an inclusive way, a means had to be found to accommodate everyone's interests without compromising the basic principles of transformation and empowerment.

While no one opposed the inclusion of marginalised cultural forms and the foregrounding of specifically African cultural practices, no one wanted to achieve this at the expense of Western arts and other ethnic cultural practices. Finding a balance that would satisfy everyone was the difficulty. Eventually the debate about culture and whose culture was being represented in the curriculum became subsumed in the debate about integration. Since arts in the African cultural context are rarely separate or discrete, especially the performing art forms, it was quite possible to elide the two concerns in this way.

Narrator I:

Art was seen as a primarily Euro-centric concept. Art in education was seen as the preserve of the elitist white and privileged groups. Therefore, the new curriculum in the new SA had to show art that was different from the white interpretation of art and attractive to black society. It was a way of showing that people who were 'previously disadvantaged' or marginalized could also contribute.

Mark Fleishman, in an interview with Ashraf Jamal, comments on the narrowing of the space between theatre and dance in recent performances and notes that "this split is only something that occurs in Western culture: in most other cultures there is little if any distinction made" (Jamal, 2000:199). So the epistemological considerations of how dance differs from visual art or drama from music and just how these differences could be accommodated in the teaching and learning of 'the arts' did not excite as much controversy as it might have during the broad conceptualisation of the curriculum. It did lead to serious debate and many struggles in the writing of the specific outcomes, their assessment criteria and the range statements of the 1997

version. The committee was resolved to be inclusive and democratic, so the common threads that relate to all the arts were emphasised. Descriptions of 'products' and 'processes' had to be as broad as possible to take into account various interpretations in different art media.

A survey of the outcomes, assessment criteria and range statements of the Arts and Culture curriculum will show that the words denoting any specific art form are glaringly absent. There is almost no mention in the body of the curriculum of music, dance, drama or visual art. Only in the Performance Indicators are there occasional references to specific art skills. Since the curriculum framework did not include actual content, it became a challenge to write meaningfully and succinctly. The need to apply everything to art, drama, dance, music and culture led to elaborate and extremely complex statements which were difficult to 'unpack'. This was one of the criticisms about the curriculum that emerged during the review process and led to the injunction that the RNCS must be clear and simple.

Narrator I:

The Review committee pointed out very clearly the flaws in the first version of C2005. For example: inaccessibility of the language and terminology, too many design features, integration leading to a loss of specific skills and so on. The streamlining process was meant to get rid of these flaws and strengthen the curriculum in terms of high knowledge and high skills. It was this insistence on high skills and high knowledge given in the brief to the working groups that shaped the revised curriculum as well as the need to keep it simple and accessible.

In the end it was the principle of integration that brought the arts together as one.

The first group of characters' approach to the pedagogical principle of integration could be said to be idealistic. Since it privileged no particular art form, integration could be seen as a democratising and equalising process. What disturbed the curriculum developers about integration was the resultant lack of scaffolding skills to build on. They were not too concerned by the integration of the arts into one holistic area.

At this point, I need to explain the concerns of the second group of characters more fully. The emphasis on the everyday, cultural and social aspects of knowledge, as it was developed in the 1997 Arts and Culture curriculum through the integrated approach, constrained the development of skills and techniques in the art forms themselves. It was not the assumption of everyday cultural processes and practices as knowledge in the Arts and Culture curriculum that was problematic; it was that there was not enough provision in the curriculum for reflecting on and developing this kind of knowledge into a more codified and authorised knowledge. As curriculum developers, we struggled with this as best we could within the design features. But how would teachers interpret the curriculum? How could this kind of knowledge apply in a less local, context-specific setting? Baldly stated, what the curriculum developers wanted was knowledge and experience in the arts and culture, which, although based in an Africanist context, could also be applied in a Western one. This, in my opinion, is what constituted the essential difference between the first version of the Arts and Culture curriculum and the RNCS version.

7.3.2 Characteristics of the WPACH

In closing the narration of the first group of characters, I would like to focus on the role played by the policy documents as characters in this story. The WPACH in particular played an influential role in developing the discourse about culture and the arts. The WPACH presented an image of the future of arts and culture through the transformation of arts education within the formal school system. It makes sweeping assertions of what will come of such an education: the whole learning experience creates, within a safe learning environment, the means for shaping, challenging, affirming and exploring personal and social relationships and community identity. Experiencing the creative expression of different communities of South Africa provides insights into the aspirations and values of our nation. This experience develops tolerance and provides a foundation for **national reconciliation**, as well as building a sense of pride in our diverse cultural heritage.

It is this discourse of community identity, national reconciliation and diverse cultural heritage that guided the shaping of the Arts curriculum. It presupposes an already united and coherent 'nation' working together to undo the ravages of the past. It projects a world where all people have the right *to participate fully in, contribute to, and benefit from an all-inclusive South African culture*. This confirmation of the rights of all points to a discontinuity with past practices where, especially in government-funded arts institutions, a policy of exclusion on the basis of race was the practice. The WPACH quotes its own process of development as an example of **redress** and the **rights** enjoyed by all in respect of the arts:

The advent of democracy in South Africa has provided unique and exciting opportunities. For the first time in the history of our country, all arts and culture practitioners have the right to participate in creating public policy and structures which directly affect their lives and livelihood, and the quality of life of the community at large.

(RSA, 1996: 1: 7)

The discourse of this policy is clearly transformatory, as can be seen in this statement:

*A fundamental prerequisite for democracy is the principle of freedom of expression. Rooted in freedom of expression and creative thought, the arts, culture and heritage have a vital role to play in development, **nation building** and sustaining our emerging **democracy**. They must be empowered to do so (RSA, 1996:1:13).*

Its visionary discourse is clear in statements like:

*Arts and culture may play a **healing** role through promoting reconciliation (RSA, 1996:1:13).*

The WPACH was conceptualised by the new state, alternative arts practitioners and community arts groups. It was removed from the sphere of formal para-statal bodies which had their links with the inequalities of the

past. The discourse, the power and the knowledge, came from the informal arts activists. Things that were not openly addressed in the past, like social and community identity, were raised. In keeping with the spirit of the new dispensation, with ideas of consensus and reconciliation, the prevailing discourse of the WPACH is of national reconciliation, pride in diverse cultures, and highlighting indigenous arts. The discontinuity with the past regime's 'divide and rule' approach is clear. Where difference once meant inferiority and marginalisation, difference now is to be celebrated. Bias is to be redressed. Furthermore, the informal and community arts practitioners are to be acknowledged and credited in formal education structures. Both sectors are to work together to contribute to the development of the arts. Since the agenda of the arts is seen as developmental, the pedagogic approach given in the WPACH, is **integrated**. This is regarded as having a twofold effect, one of promoting creativity, innovation and critical thinking and then of bringing about the transformation goals.

Many of the issues raised, and indeed many of the words used by the WPACH, were echoed by the Senior Phase Arts and Culture Policy Framework of 1997. Consider this explanation of Specific Outcome 7 (Develop self-esteem and promote healing):

Arts and Culture seeks to provide all the learners with an open and supportive environment. It provides therapy for healing of traumatized learners and learners with special needs. The cathartic effect of participation in arts and cultural activities can have a restorative influence. On a wider scale participation and growth in Arts and Culture can unite and bring individuals and communities closer together. This outcome also seeks to promote nation building (DOE, 1997: AC18).

The Range Statement sets the parameters for learning in this outcome as:

At this level the learner will work towards spiritual, emotional and psychological self-definition and self-renewal (DOE, 1997: AC18).

Even though this is only one of eight outcomes, it nevertheless reveals a highly visionary and somewhat mystical view of the effects of the arts. The

vision promoted by the WPACH provided the conditions under which the 1997 Arts and Culture curriculum came into existence and was focalised as learning in the arts and through the arts. Its principles were rooted in the democratic project and its aims were patently transformatory. The last of its ten developmental aims is

insight into the aspirations and values of our nation, and effective participation in the construction of a democratic society (DOE, 1997: AC4).

This follows directly from the mandate of the WPACH. It reveals its instrumentalist underpinnings in this statement:

*Using culture and arts processes to advance principles of **equity, redress, nation-building, transformation** and **development** at various levels including culturally, structurally, gender-wise, race-wise and class-wise (DOE, 1997: AC 7).*

This curriculum was first and foremost devoted to the advancement of democracy; the development of art skills was secondary.

7.4 THE NARRATIVE OF THE HEAD

The second grouping of characters was more concerned with how the arts could be infused into the general school curriculum, how the arts could work with culture in one framework, and how the learning area could be developed and supported in terms of FET access and access to the world of work. They were also extremely concerned about the question of who would teach this curriculum since there were no 'arts and culture' teachers in existence. Since this last point is a matter of implementation and therefore outside the scope of this study, I raise it here merely as an issue that was very much part of the discourse of this group of characters.

Narrator I

The pragmatic considerations also had to be taken into account. How would this learning area be resourced? How much time was allocated to it in the timetable? Who would teach this curriculum? Could we design something that would meet all these constraints and yet live up to all the expectations of a new curriculum for a new country?

All the concerns mentioned above gave this group their pragmatic focalization. They took it for granted that the arts could and would make a unique contribution in personal development, social and civic responsibility and also in building a national identity. Their understanding was that these were the natural outcomes of an education in the arts. Their personal experiences as arts practitioners imbued them with passion and conviction about what the arts could achieve and, more especially, what could be achieved in a school setting. Each one came from a different cultural or arts background; each one had engaged with the formal and non-formal arts sector to a different degree. Some had been actively involved in the liberation movement, and some had not. But they were all united in their sense of relief and enthusiasm in the fact that the arts (and culture) were now included in the formal curriculum for all learners.

It was no surprise then that, as the actual writers and developers of the curriculum framework, their focalization was pragmatic and materialist as even their language indicates. It was not that they were oblivious to the democratic underpinnings of the curriculum that they were developing. Narrator A says:

And that was an extremely difficult balancing act, because you had to on the one hand accommodate ideological imperatives and you also had to worry about the technical writing side of things.

Narrator E follows this with:

... working democratically meant that it was a negotiated curriculum which tried to accommodate all the conflicting imperatives and the agendas of the participating writers.

It was in the achievement of this negotiation that the conflicts arose. The second group played a reactive and responsive role in elaborating on the directives supplied by the DOE in constructing the curriculum. The clashes

that arose from the different discourses of the two groups came to a head over the issue of integration.

7.4.1 Integration – a Motif

Narrator E's comments about the problems associated with integration indicate not only what this group was concerned with; but the style of language shows a directness and an ability to identify and grapple with issues in a way not shown by the first group:

Each arts discipline has different needs and wants; global standards (are needed) to ensure employability and entry into FET, Tertiary and workplace; integrated approach too vague, disadvantaging the disadvantaged and thereby marginalizing them further; denial of excellence; denial of cultural capital; undermines human rights of a quality education.

Narrator A, though less terse in style, again articulates the pedagogic concern with integration:

because you haven't given people sufficient scaffolding leading to specialisation, and now suddenly the assessment criteria gets more demanding and they haven't been provided with the necessary support.

Since integration was the given approach, there was no other way to go. A compromise of sorts was adopted, with the Performance Indicators making reference to particular art skills amongst the generalised ones.

Ironically, it was with the RNCS that the arguments in favour of integration were carefully considered and incorporated into the curriculum in different ways. Narrator E listed these advantages as:

formulating a unique South African culture; arts have much in common and support one another; bring richness, new thinking, inclusion, non-elitist, access and exposure for everyone; acknowledge and build on African integrated culture; emphasis on cultural knowledge and exposure.

Integration in the RNCS was conceived of differently from the first curriculum in that it occurred in the arts activities and assessments. The art forms themselves were explicitly developed through discrete assessment standards. Since the RNCS for Arts and Culture is an important character in this story, some details of its main characteristics should be given.

7.4.2 Characteristics of the RNCS

The main principle which shaped the RNCS curriculum was that of high knowledge and skills. Exactly what was meant by these terms was never formally articulated, but that it implied high standards of performance in the discipline and international competitiveness was never in question. The closest definition of 'high knowledge, high skills' can be found in the "Principles and design of the NCS" issued by the MPC:

The National Curriculum Statement will therefore specify the knowledge (content) **and** skills (ways of thinking) learners require to develop high level thinking and communication skills to become lifelong learners (MPC,2001b: 11).

It was felt that key concepts, information and values of a learning area had to be indicated as core content and not just left to chance as had happened in the previous curriculum process. In the 'Terms of Reference' to the writing groups, the MPC stated that greater specification in the development of conceptual knowledge was required in the curriculum, but without losing sight of the strengths and values of integrated knowledge, particularly at GET level (MPC, 2001a: 11). In his address to the writing groups, the DDG of the time, Dr Rensburg, mentioned that we were joined in a "common purpose of setting high standards for learner achievement" and that we needed to "confront the challenge of cognitive development (DOE, 2001:2).

The idea of using the Critical Outcomes as the basis for the high knowledge and skills required was raised, but it was left to individual learning areas to decide whether to design down from them or use them as a context for development of learning outcomes. The Arts and Culture working group tended to use the Critical Outcomes as a touchstone against which to hone their Learning Outcomes and Assessment Standards. Everything that was

written was related very specifically to the Critical Outcomes so that experience in the arts and culture learning area was in effect an operationalisation of the Critical Outcomes.

The social goals of social justice, equity and development, however, remained as the cornerstones of the National Curriculum Statement. The Review Committee saw fit to deal with the challenges of the apartheid legacy

through a high knowledge and skills curriculum, in the belief that this would be the most effective route to social justice (MPC, 2001c: 2).

Hence, the RNCS for Arts and Culture offers a curriculum based on discipline expertise requiring technical and academic competence from both teachers and learners. This is what gives it a different focalization. This is the tension that the curriculum developers had to deal with: to balance the demands of rigorous academic development with the claims of social justice and equity. The writers did try to maintain a strong link with the first version of the Arts curriculum. There is a clear commitment to the goal of nation-building, but it is balanced with the need to provide the content, skills and knowledge needed in the learning and practice of the arts. The RNCS Arts and Culture curriculum is far more essentialist in its orientation. It requires that the arts and their associated features be fore-grounded. Immersion in the art forms, learning of technical skills and understanding the language of the arts is what this curriculum is about. The context for the development of these arts and culture forms is the emerging democracy and national imperatives. The instrumentalist or contextualist approach becomes secondary – the arts are not seen only as a means to achieving other goals.

To return to Foucault's rules of existence, it is clear that the difference in focalization of the RNCS was directly related to the discontinuity in power relations at DOE level. Minister Asmal saw a need to drive policy centrally and this shift towards centralising the policy process and diminishing the role of stakeholders caused some tensions (Jansen, 2001a). The shift in power from the DOE to the MPC and the use of experts selected for

disciplinary knowledge gave a clear mandate to the curriculum developers about the focus of the revised curriculum. The need at this point in the development of the South African democracy was for a highly competitive education system in line with Government's macro economic policies. The fundamental shifts of direction between the RDP policy (a development agenda) and GEAR (a market-oriented approach) point to serious changes in government thinking which in turn had serious implications for education. The kind of knowledge needed by citizens of the new South Africa had to be compatible with the democratic project, but also with this country's positioning of itself in the global sphere.

Another contributing factor to the shifts in the curriculum from 1997 to the RNCS was what could not be spoken of so soon after the introduction of C2005 - that the policy changes were not working as expected. As Harley and Wedekind (2004: 211) noted, "...notwithstanding support for C2005 as a political project, there is strong evidence that C2005 as a pedagogical project is working counter to its transformatory social aims". In the schools, the fact that there were no qualified teachers of 'arts and culture' and few trained arts teachers exacerbated the implementation problems. The result was that often the teachers who taught this learning area only reinforced cultural stereotypes of the past and ended up maintaining the *status quo* (Singh, 2005). This applied to other learning areas as well. It was clear that some kind of change had to be made, hence the 'listening campaign' of the Minister and the Review of C2005. The low achievement of South African learners on the TIMSS⁴ results brought home the fact that our learners were not producing the kind of results we needed as a competitive nation. A high performance system of education was needed to deliver the kinds of skills, technical expertise and specialised capability required by a stable and industrialised nation. The discourse of education had changed from a developmental position to a delivery one.

⁴ The Third International Mathematics and Science Survey, conducted in 1995.

There was a strong ideological intent in many of the early policy documents, which were written with an eye to policy advocacy rather than to implementation (Kraak & Young, 2001).

The time lapse brought in a new focalization for curriculum away from the ideological intent to a more material delivery. The results of change now needed to be seen. Kraak (2001) argues that the “high skills thesis sees educational reform as constituting one component of a necessarily larger set of socio-economic reforms” ...in other words part of an economic rationalist discourse (Kraak, 2001: 89). Hence came the displacement of the growth through redistribution strategy of the RDP policy, to attain the monetary policy objectives in the Growth, Employment and Redistribution strategy (Kraak & Young, 2001).

With the RNCS, however, it becomes evident in the way the curriculum is shaped that there is a strong focus on educational imperatives rather than on political or contextual needs. There is a clear indication of what needs to be taught and learnt in terms of art techniques and knowledge.

Narrator I:

...Also content was no longer a dirty word. In fact some learning areas included suggested content/contexts for the achievement of the Assessment Standards. There was a definite return to discipline based knowledge, a return to Mode 1 learning while the first version was like an experiment in Mode 2 learning which most of us, teachers, developers, and learners were not ready for.

The framing of the arts is first and foremost essentialist. The societal needs are used as contexts to achieve art skills. The arts are no longer the means to an end. Although an attempt is made initially to strike a balance between the political imperatives and pedagogical drives, the actual content (as revealed in the outcomes and assessment standards) indicates that the pedagogic aims are being favoured over the political. The discourse of this curriculum is clearly different from the 1997 version. Many DOE officials and Union people felt that the Revision was unnecessary (See Narrator B in chapter 5). The discontinuity caused by the Revision process coming after

the changes in 1997 led to the RNCS being seen as a return to the past. The emphasis on knowledge appears to endorse this.

To say that the second group of characters were less visionary or symbolic than the first does not imply that the political and social goals advocated by the democratic project were not important to them. They were as committed to the achievement of the goals of the new democracy as the visionaries, but they saw a different means of achieving it.

7.5 AN ALTERNATIVE NARRATIVE

Both the groups of characters mentioned in the narratives above were influenced by a group that does not itself feature in this story, and yet was responsible for it. I refer to the influence of the resistance arts that occurred in the liberation struggle. This can be likened to the off-stage character who influences the action of the drama, but who is never seen by the audience.

Discursive practice on the arts in the 'new' South Africa was not formed just at the time of the first democratic election. It had been in the making during the apartheid era as the alternative practice of the arts. Post-structuralist theory reminds us that knowledges are always formed from discourses which pre-exist the subjects' experiences (Selden et al, 1997: 153). The discourse in the field of arts education post-apartheid was the consequence of a discontinuity, a rejection of the past – a rejection of Afrikaner culture and heritage imposed through (Christian National) education.

Ntuli (1999) describes apartheid culture as a culture of separation and hierarchies in which whites arrogated to themselves a central and pivotal role (Ntuli, 1999:193). The coming of democracy heralded the breaking of the bonds of cultural hegemony. 'White and Western' was no longer the key to power and therefore no longer the only art forms to be aspired to.

Local and indigenous art and cultural practices moved away from being on the fringe, exotic and 'other' to be mainstream. The discontinuity was in

terms of how the arts and art education were viewed in the old dispensation. In the previous dispensation, art education was not a high priority, especially as alternative art forms were seen as subversive and prejudicial to the safety of the state. The mainstream and non-threatening arts were privileged, and art education was seen as an extra, a choice. Even though white children had access to art education from early on and even though the white tertiary institutions offered fine arts, arts were always seen as a privilege and not a right, especially for black educational institutions (Ntuli, 1999:193).

In the 'new' South Africa, the directive came from the government as part of the ANC education policy, to give art education a place in the new curriculum framework, thereby making it compulsory. So while we might want to see the advent of democracy as the starting point, Foucault reminds us that there are no smooth beginnings, no cause and effect. The idea of arts and culture education was already in place; it was a change to a *certain type* of arts and culture education that was more significant.

7.5.1 The Arts as Cultural Work

Those in power in the apartheid state developed those art forms they wished to support and those cultural practices, both black and white, that were not a threat to the prevailing political ideology. So the alternative practices of the arts were left to develop themselves alongside and in opposition to the mainstream. American theatre innovator and researcher, Richard Schechner, wrote that "theatre is the art of actualising alternatives, if only temporarily, for fun"(Schechner & Schuman, 1976: 4). This facility of being able to imagine another, ideal reality is what sustained the arts community during the dark days of apartheid. This is why the arts (known in the field as cultural work) assumed such importance in the political struggle for liberation. This too, is why arts practitioners were harassed by the police; they played such an important role in offering an actualised alternative.

From the late 1950s and the 1960s, especially after 1963 when the Actors' Equity cultural boycott came into force, South African artists were forced to

look at themselves and their own contexts for inspiration and development. As the apartheid state grew more oppressive so, too, grew the culture of resistance – in theatre, songs, poetry and paintings were said those things that could not be spoken of openly, were done those things that could not be done in real life.

Althusser (1971) speaks of how art make us see in a distanced way, the ideology from which it is born; art is able to retreat from the very ideology from which it is born. This idea has been exemplified by the theatre practitioner, Bertolt Brecht (1957), who used his 'alienation' techniques(*verfremdungseffekt*) to get his audience to think critically about the issues of the day.

Both Foucault and Althusser conceive ideology as actively constituted through social struggle: dominant ideologies sustain and keep social divisions in place (Selden et al, 1997:188). The resistance arts of the apartheid era served many purposes: they gave hope and pleasure in a life that often had neither; they became the means around which to mobilise people; they became the means of recording the histories of the struggle; and they became the driving force for arts in the new dispensation. The arts, considered by some to be mere entertainment, were seen to have a power to move people and challenge ideology. The following excerpt reminds us of some of the events and actors in the story of the arts in the struggle against apartheid. The title draws attention to how the dominant class of that time viewed resistance culture.

'PREJUDICIAL TO THE SAFETY OF THE STATE'

Black theatre groups have suffered most. The great proliferation of these groups at the beginning of the 1970s coincided with the new wave of cultural energy injected into the black community by the Black Consciousness Movement. The tougher censorship measures, linked to ever present police harassment restricted this consciousness-raising and politically committed drama. White run township authorities have also assumed the function of censors: black theatre groups have to submit a copy of their script or stage a special performance so that it can be vetted before public exposure....

The three black theatre groups which spearheaded the Black Consciousness Movement – Theatre Council of Natal, People's Experimental Theatre and the Music, Drama, Arts and Literature Institute – have all folded due to the constant banning and detention of their members. Since the events in Soweto in June 1976, black theatre workers have been subjected to especially severe treatment. Gibson Kente, a moderate playwright by any standards, has been detained by the security police. ... John Kani and Winston Ntshona were arrested while performing *Sizwe Bansi is Dead* in the Transkei Bantustan, and were deported the day before it received 'independence' from the Pretoria government.

This is the claustrophobic reality for writers and actors who want to work in committed theatre. A playwright who believes that South Africa's future lies in a non-racial, socialist society cannot say that in his plays, so compromises have to be accepted and half-truths are common fare. People work in a climate of fear and intimidation. In spite of the many protests against these various laws, people have learned to live with them. The results are usually self-censorship and censorship of the imagination.

(Anthony Akerman, 1977: 56-57)

Augusto Boal the Brazilian drama theorist wrote in his work *The Poetics of the Oppressed*, "Perhaps the theatre is not revolutionary in itself, but it is surely a rehearsal for the revolution", and "the theatre is a weapon, and it is the people who should wield it" (Boal, 1979:122). The story above illustrates how his philosophy was lived through in the South African situation. The discourse of resistance arts, the Black Consciousness theatre pieces, the liberation songs, and the toyi toyi dances became a weapon of the mass liberation movement. Ntuli confirms that "culture became the first instrument used to resist" and notes that this was a strategic and tactical move in the struggle since overt political engagement was proscribed (Ntuli, 1999: 194).

The effect of arts discourse during the apartheid era was such that artists were recognised as having tremendous power. "It is evident that real power is exercised through discourse, and that this power has real effects" (Selden

et al, 1997: 184). The counter-effect was that actors and other artists could be imprisoned, banned and even killed for their work. Of the dozens of 'terrorists' arrested in September 1974 after the holding of the rallies to celebrate the coming to power of the FRELIMO government in Mozambique, a number were theatre personalities. The "charge sheet alleged conspiracy to 'make, produce, publish, or distribute subversive and anti-white utterances, writings, plays, and dramas'"(IDAF, 1977:61). Theatre groups were equally regarded as subversive organisations. Although the banning and imprisonment of the leaders of Black Consciousness Theatre groups did curtail those activities somewhat, the resistance through the arts did not stop; it merely took other forms and chose other venues. In fact, the move away from urban centres to townships and private venues brought the message closer to the people who most needed to hear it.

Resistance art did not exist only in the arena of 'leisure' activity, but formed an integral part of the life of the working person as well. In fact, a whole new stream of cultural entertainment called workers' theatre came out of the actual struggles experienced by exploited workers in the early days of union development. Workers' theatre in South Africa came out of a tradition of oral performance forms present in trade union and political life. In trade union meetings, for example, the chairperson might lead the crowd in prayer, then move on to militant protest songs, and then develop this into call and response chants, before settling down to the business of the day (Sitas, 1990).

An early example of a South African workers' theatre play was *Ilanga Lizophumela Abasebenzi* (The Sun Shall Rise for the Workers), which was created in collaboration with the union MAWU. This play had its origin in a role-playing exercise devised by a labour lawyer, Halto Cheadle, for black workers of the Metal and Allied Workers Union when events were reconstructed in order to get proper statements from the witnesses. During this reconstruction the workers did not merely state what was said, but they started assuming roles. The idea of a play rose out of this, and under the guidance of the Junction Avenue Theatre Workshop Company a full-scale

play was created. This play was actually used in court in defence of the strikers, as well as being performed in numerous venues for other black workers. Here the audience would be drawn into the play as active participants, answering questions, giving advice and expressing opinions on the action. Thus *Ilanga* became a forum for educating workers about trade unionism (Orkin, 1991). This is an example of learning in the arts and through the arts at its most effective.

The insistence on the inclusion of culture in the learning area can be understood in the light of the role played by struggle artists in helping tell the world the stories of South Africans under oppression. The role played by artists like Miriam Makeba, amongst others, in drawing attention to the plight of the oppressed in South Africa is today public knowledge. The protest plays of the 1980s travelled outside our borders and not only put the South African political situation under the spotlight but also won international acclaim for their innovative artistic form as well. The story of the struggle for liberation through the arts is well documented (See Coplan 1985, Cross 1992, Orkin 1991, and Sitas 1990). Culture was used as ideology, which in turn demonstrated an enormous power for mobilisation, conscientisation and resistance (Ntuli, 1999:194). The following excerpt about the role of cultural activists in the trade unions makes this connection even more apparent.

The Story of Cultural Workers in the Union Movement

As the oppressed class begins to resist, as it begins to develop the organisation and institutions of struggle, it must find its own cultural position – remember its history, identify its heroes, write new songs and sing them, start newspapers, literary circles, theatre and discussion groups.

Cultural activists realised that culture is a struggle and a site of struggle in its own right...the struggle of the working class is not merely a struggle aimed at destroying institutions of exploitation and oppression, but it is at the same time aimed at creating new structures embodying working class principles.

Drawing from Gramsci, it is argued that these cultural organic intellectuals perform certain fundamental organisational functions in the labour movement. Through cultural work, debates and discussions they

- Arouse the masses of workers from passivity
- Educate the masses to overcome contradictory consciousness, alienation, disunity, cultural chauvinism etc.
- Capture spontaneous cultural energies of the masses and direct them to serve the interest of the working class, and
- Provide an alternative, new vision of society

The importance of working class culture is to make the vision of a new South Africa which will not know oppression and exploitation. Through culture this world can be lived and seen.

(Moses Mgoasheng, 1989)

It was through what was referred to as cultural work - the protest plays, songs and chants of liberation, emotive poetry and militant dances - that the aims mentioned in the excerpt above were obtained. Cultural workers came to replace the notion of the individual artist; in fact, there was no place for the individual artist in this time of struggle; everything was focused on the goal of liberation which was a community issue: "Culture-making, despite its variety and its complexity, became largely instrumentalist and based predominantly on a moral economy" (Nuttall & Michael, 2000: 10). This takes us back to the struggles faced by the curriculum developers as they tried to negotiate the group versus individual performer debate, or the Afrocentric approach versus the Eurocentric approach. It also accounts for the instrumentalist approach to the arts in the first version of the curriculum. The Western aesthetic was seen to encourage the talented 'star' performer.

The concept of diva or maestro is an emanation of this. In the cultural worker view, the group creates the work and participates in it. Art is a communal process. This difference was also what fuelled the integration debate. A graphic representation of the relationship between these different processes shows the links more clearly:

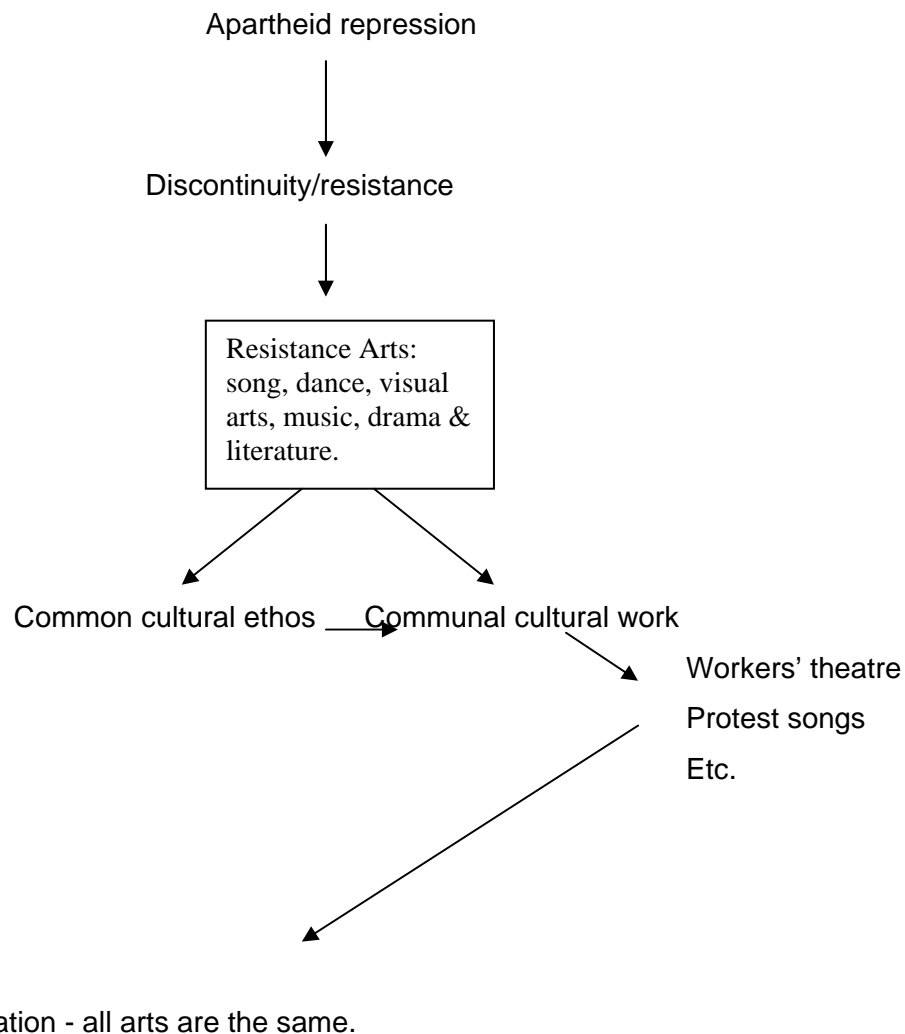


Figure 10

Liberation having been achieved, it was no wonder that those who came from the struggle ranks and the returned exiles who had been comforted in their dark days abroad by those same cultural products wanted to include culture and the arts in the curriculum to build this new nation. They had experienced the unifying effects of a common cultural ethos and hoped to

recreate these experiences for all. It was their voices that were heard in the corridors of power, their voices that carried the most weight.

During the ACTAG process, these were the people who conceptualised a policy for the arts in a democratic South Africa. Their ideas were incorporated into the WPACH. Michael Young refers to the “greater legitimacy of ‘stakeholders’ such as trade unions and community groups” that was a uniquely South African development compared to the influence of such groups in the UK, for example (Young, 2001:21). In terms of the new discourses of Africa, both the African Renaissance and the older pan-Africanism, this was the ideal moment to include the arts in education. Ntuli notes:

at the service of the African renaissance, art can therefore be a means of popularising the concept, giving it form, shape and expression. Through it we can create and express a culture of renewal (Ntuli, 1999: 194).

As has already been stated, it was the community arts organisations, not the educational ones, that were most vociferous in the new dispensation. The knowledge that these activists in the arts and other fields had of the liberation struggle gave them the power in the new structures to make their claims. Their claims were based on an experience of the arts as cultural work located within the community – a site of resistance. Their focalization was therefore of the arts as a means of education, dissemination and mobilisation, an instrumentalist view. Since social and political power work through discourse, the arts education discourse could not but be of the kind that emerged in the mid-1990s when the new curriculum was being fashioned – a discourse of **democracy and nation building**.

7.6 SOME CONCLUSIONS

It was the vision of building a new nation that lay at the heart of the inclusion of Arts and Culture in the new curriculum for a democratic South Africa. It was this vision that influenced how the learning area was conceptualised. The influence of the artists of the liberation movement and the role of

community arts organisations were critical to the development of the Arts and Culture curriculum. The discontinuity caused by the review process and the resulting RNCS led to a re-focalising of the arts into a more pedagogic mode without losing sight of their emancipatory goals.

If this is so, then it becomes necessary to understand what was meant by the term 'nation-building' as used by the various characters in this narrative. What was understood in the first place by the concept of 'nation' in the new South Africa? How did this impact on the Arts and Culture curricula, and how was the Arts and Culture curriculum expected to impact on it? Nation-building becomes both the subject and the object of the discourse on Arts and Culture education. To answer these questions one has to look back at the stories and characters to find the clues that indicate what was being visualised when they spoke of nation-building.

In the chapter that follows, I elaborate on some of the ideas about nation that came from these characters and build towards an understanding of the place of the curriculum in this vision.

CHAPTER 8

Narrating The New Nation

The arts cannot be prescribed to, but there is no doubt they will play a role not only in the already ageing concept of nation building but in the new clarion call of the African Renaissance. Their role will be twofold: first to disinter the lies and grey areas of the past ...second to reflect the realities and possibilities of the present and the future (Darryl Accone).

8.1 INTRODUCTION

The story of the genesis of the Arts and Culture curriculum so far has led me to make two major claims: one that it was the vision of building a new nation that motivated the inclusion of Arts and Culture into the new curriculum for the new South Africa, and secondly that the Arts and Culture curriculum itself was characterised by the constant tensions between the political (instrumentalist) conceptualisation of the arts and the more pedagogical (essentialist) one.

Both these conceptualisations speak to issues around the epistemology of the arts through an Africanist or Western approach. I support these claims by noting the critical influence of the resistance arts and the work of community arts organisations on how the Arts and Culture curriculum was first conceived. Furthermore, I note how the arts have the capacity to help us imagine and represent possible futures as much as they help us understand the past and comment on the present. The first two claims will be explored here, as they build to the concluding thesis of the study. The effectiveness of narratology as a methodology will be examined in the reflections in the epilogue.

8.2 NARRATING NATION-BUILDING

If nation-building is the main theme that is narrated by the characters in both narratives (the Heart and the Head), then I have to ask how these

characters saw nation-building within their own focalizations. It is significant that none of the narrator respondents or the policy documents actually specify directly what they mean by nation-building, yet they all allude to it and claim it as their goal. In fact, the curriculum developers displaced debates about race and multiculturalism with debates about integration and Western and African approaches to art. So we are left to assume a common understanding of nation-building. This is why I have to question the assumptions, arguments, insights and implications of nation-building in the development of Arts and Culture. In order to theorise about nation-building (albeit in relation to Arts and Culture only), it is necessary to unpack the conceptualisation of nation-building in the context of the curriculum development process. I ask what are the building blocks of nationhood according to the characters in my story. It is not my intention to explore nationhood or the nation state in its fullest extent here; my focus remains the Arts and Culture curriculum, so my theorising about nation must be related to my study.

8.2.1 Building Blocks for Nationhood

The data in this study provide what were seen as the building blocks of the new nation at the moment of the arrival of democracy. These have been articulated as a whole list of concepts, most of which can be grouped together under broader categories. The terms that emerge from the analysis are: access, redress, equity, reconciliation, transformation, inclusivity, democracy, social justice, human rights, social reconstruction, economic development and cultural diversity. Some of these are processes, others are outcomes, and all of them are imbricated over one another to some extent. Democracy must include access, equity, inclusivity, social justice and human rights. Transformation can be said to be about social reconstruction, redress, reconciliation, cultural diversity and democracy. Cultural diversity must be seen as inclusive, employing social justice and democratic principles. Together they provide a vision of how the new nation was conceived. In many ways the nation as envisaged by the new state is revolutionary, the result of anti-apartheid resistance, yet it chose reconciliation as its *modus operandi*, not revenge or the subjugation of

former oppressors. This is what made this new nation unique. Reconciliation, then, can be seen as an outcome or manifestation of nation-building in terms of social justice, transformation, inclusion and other building blocks mentioned in the data.

8.3 NATION BUILDING THROUGH THE HEART AND THE HEAD

How did the characters in the narrative of the Heart focalise nation-building? What are the claims they make about it, and are these claims different from those made by the characters in the narrative of the Head? In order to examine what each group of characters say about their perception of nation-building, I have to go back to the words used by the characters in both stories and extract the ideology around nation-building implicit in their words.

Characters in the narrative of the Heart use a range of descriptors to qualify their approach to building a new nation, many of which have been quoted in their story. Mention has already been made of the references to healing in the policy documents, the 1997 version of the curriculum and the WPACH - *Arts and culture may play a **healing** role through promoting reconciliation* (RSA, 1996, 1: 13). That there is a need for healing is evidenced by the state's attempt at healing through the Truth and Reconciliation (TRC) process. While there are those who decry the efficacy of the TRC, most would agree that its cathartic effect did contribute much to the healing process of the country at that time: "The TRC succeeded reasonably in establishing factual truth. In determining 'what happened'. ... It was less successful in convincing South Africans of the moral truth, of 'who was responsible'" (Krog, 2002:290). These words of Krog's capture some of the ambivalences of the TRC process. In fact, some go so far as to say that

the TRC did not reconcile us as South Africans or Africans. It had no option in this regard. We have nothing in common as either. In the end, what it tried to do, perhaps unwittingly, was much more ambitious and more noble. It tried to reconcile us, not as a nation, but as members of the human family (Chipkin, 2006).

Nevertheless, the arts are seen as having the power to heal and reconcile; hence their place in the new curriculum. Already there exists a genre of drama called Theatre for Reconciliation, in which issues of guilt, accountability and reconciliation are problematised. We also have dramas that look at negotiating a South African identity, that grapple with issues of what it means to be Black, 'coloured', Indian or Afrikaner in South Africa today and how we can create a shared identity. The work of dramatist Brett Bailey sets new parameters in not only pushing the boundaries of cultural exploration but also the art form. All of these works extend and challenge the safe boundaries of fixed identities. The healing and reconciliation so assiduously pursued by our policies must surely mean getting beyond the idea that the first defining characteristic of anyone is their race or ethnic group or colour. In fact one of the respondent narrators says that we have to build a new nation, ***because we came from a society divided on the basis of race and colour.*** The question we have to ask is whether we can remove race and racism from our thinking and our visualising of identity. Are we whole and secure enough to confront this challenge?

Writer and director Ashraf Jamal (2000) suggests that the notion of a 'new' South Africa is a misnomer: there is no 'wholeness' yet; we lack the dimensions of a new country and a new people, coming as we do from a painful past of fragmented identities. This past experience which has left permanent scars on our collective psyche must affect our emerging future. But Jamal says,

within this wreckage, the fallout of decades of repression and inequality there remains a hope that we will heal and will be unchained from a past that remains ever present (Jamal, 2000:198).

The hope that Jamal refers to can be aligned to the development of what the WPACH calls the *fertile and unique South African culture* which is *inclusive and eclectic* - perhaps it includes the hope that in the future the first defining characteristic of any South African will not be race.

The narrative of the Head also makes reference to this unique South African culture which the Arts and Culture curriculum can help in formulating. Their

approach was to use both an Africanist and a Western approach to arts and culture to accommodate the different kinds of arts that feed into this negotiated curriculum. From this, I extrapolate a negotiated approach to a South African identity formation and nation-building. This is an approach that is based on inclusion and *affirmation of difference*, but not in a way that fixes or solidifies these differences. Instead it interrogates difference as a means of finding common ground. In this respect, the narrative of the Head differs from the narrative of the Heart as the latter focuses more on *appreciation of cultural, linguistic and religious diversity*.

8.3.1 Culture, Diversity and Difference

Cultural diversity is best described as “the recognition of pre-given cultural contents and customs; held in a time frame of relativism it gives rise to liberal notions of multiculturalism” (Bhabha, 1994:34). If we go back to the WPACH and to the Arts and Culture curriculum documents, we find constant references to acknowledgement of our cultural diversity. The principle of celebrating cultural diversity and heritage is not in itself a problem. It becomes a problem if that is *all* we do. Cultural diversity, says Bhabha, is an epistemological object – an object of empirical knowledge which remains “unsullied”, whereas cultural difference is the process of the enunciation of culture as ‘knowledgeable’ authoritative, adequate to the construction of systems of cultural identification (Bhabha, 1994:34). What he is suggesting is that cultural difference could draw attention to common ground and focus on the problem of the ambivalence of cultural authority, the attempt to dominate in the name of cultural supremacy (Bhabha, 1994: 34). When we think of difference, we tend to think of separation and apartness. But there is also difference that is positional, conditional and conjectural, and which recognises that we all speak from a particular place, history and experience (Hall, 1989). What we need to explore are the intertextualities of our positions, the liminal spaces in which we can forge a yet unseen unknown identity. In this regard, the RNCS for Arts and Culture speaks of *showing adaptability to new ideas or situations, affirming and acknowledging diversity*.

8.3.1.2 Legacies of the Past

Perhaps the common ground we seek is what was intended when the narrative of the Heart spoke of *the need to understand each other, learn about particular cultures*, and ensure a *cross pollination of cultural enrichment or intercultural exchange*. So showing *pride in our diverse cultural heritage* may not then be intended as a move to revere and thereby reify those heritages; it may also imply *appreciation* as a means of bringing those diverse cultures together. In fact, the phrase *bringing people together* is used by one of the characters in the narrative of the Heart. This is echoed by the narrative of the Head which speaks of *uniting people and building awareness* as well as *celebrating diversity*. Both narratives speak of acknowledging *marginalised or suppressed cultures*. This idea is taken further by the narrative of the Heart which stresses the importance of people first being able to *understand and appreciate their own cultures, to build confidence* in themselves and their cultures so as to be able to understand others. This idea also resonates with the foregrounding of the value of *human dignity* as an aspect of nation-building espoused by the narrative of the Heart. This notion of human dignity points to another consideration of why we cling to the affirmation of our known and ethnic identities. This is that the damage of apartheid may be even more entrenched than we realise. Not only were different groups constructed as different from the dominant or hegemonic culture, but also the power of the ruling culture made each group see itself as 'other'. It is this hegemony that the resistance cultural work tried to undo, this power/knowledge that had to be subverted. But the work is not yet done; there is still a culture of victimhood in South Africa, and we still have race as the primary signifier of identity. As Ntuli points out, even now in the "post colony we do not encounter singular pristine identities determined by a single organising principle", but rather a number of contesting identities (Ntuli, 1999:186).

The last descriptor associated with nation-building by the narrative of the Heart is that of being *able to express one's own history and future*. The Arts and Culture policies and curriculum were designed to assist with transformation, to build those symbols and traditions that become part of a

nation, providing a sense of continuity between the past and the present (McLeod, 2000:69). The idea of expressing own history is part of the democratic project and is being achieved as formerly marginalised groups come into the forefront; even history books are being re-written to tell the 'other' story.

However, there are major obstacles when it comes to expressing the future, which I see as part of identity formation. The legacy of the past cannot be easily overcome when it comes to the effects of, for example, the Group Areas Act. Since people are still located in separate spaces physically, there are bound to be ramifications. Schools and neighbourhoods still retain their pre-democracy ethos for the most part. Class has largely replaced race as a means of access, so only those who have the means can make effective changes to their circumstances. This again reflects the focus on economics as a driving force in the new nation. The "market-friendly orientation of the state has been a major factor in shaping unfolding policy and the character of change" (Chisholm, 2004a:15). There is a danger of re-forging old categorisations on different terms. While market related policies might be seen as a more pragmatic and realistic approach than the idealistic and people-oriented vision at the dawn of democracy, they have impacted adversely on the cultural aspect of nationhood. Central to the idea of nation are notions of collectivity and belonging, a mutual sense of community that a group of individuals imagines it shares (McLeod, 2000: 69). In privileging "a deracialised middle class" (Chisholm, 2004a: 11), more tensions are being set up between the poor and the more affluent sectors of our society, thus destroying that sense of community we are supposed to be building. It could be argued that the creation of a Black middle class has been a deliberate aim of the new state, part of the imagined future. But it has effects other than economic empowerment; it has resulted in greater polarisation among people, now between the haves and the have-nots.

This problem is not peculiar to South Africa. Owing in part to the effects of rapid globalisation, the gaps between the rich and poor have widened the world over. In this story, the dialectic of the global and local in terms of

resistance arts and culture and cultural hegemony has already been tested in the example of the shift from the 1997 Arts and Culture curriculum to the RNCS version. This shift did not materially affect the conceptualisation of arts and culture *per se*, although it did affect the pedagogy as has been shown in the earlier story.

If these, then, were the assumptions and claims of the characters in both narratives regarding nation-building, if this is what emerged from their stories I have now to ask what formed the basis of these claims. What was the discourse of nation and identity formation that influenced the curriculum developers of Arts and Culture to conceptualise nation-building in this way? What was behind the common understanding of nation-building that all of them assumed? Before I examine these questions, I need to go back to the actual curriculum documents and look at how they relate to the discourse of arts and nation-building.

8.4 NARRATING CURRICULUM AS VISION

My second premise in this story rests on the notion that the Arts and Culture curriculum was shaped by the idea of curriculum as vision. It is now common cause that policies in the early 1990s were visionary and somewhat utopian (Kraak & Young, 2001). The characters in the narrative of the Heart were quite clear about this: *curriculum is a response to a nation's decision of why learners have to learn, which is the nation's vision* - and indeed their whole narrative is visionary in its outlook regarding the arts contribution to society. The vision for curriculum generally was for social reconstruction. The approach taken by the characters of the Heart was to develop a broad integrated curriculum accessible to all people. In order to be just to those who had not had the advantage of an arts education in the previous dispensation, the 1997 version of the Arts and Culture curriculum did not require great depth in terms of knowledge of all art forms. Being a curriculum framework, it did not have to specify by way of content or examples exactly what had to be taught or how. No particular art form is privileged in the policy; in fact, they are hardly even mentioned by name. Knowledge of some art skills is obviously required, but the assessment

criteria do not demand more than the *application of appropriate knowledge and skills in the process and product as well as exploration and development of art and cultural expression*. The range statements which were there to indicate depth and breadth (especially in relation to the phase) are also fairly open to interpretation: *use a wide range of skills and experiment with complex ideas showing innovation and creativity* (DOE, 1997).

The idea that the curriculum developers had in mind was that local culture, local practices and community arts experts would provide contexts and levels of engagement. The provincial Departments of Education were mandated to develop Learning Programmes to flesh out the framework. The curriculum framework would ensure national 'standards', portability and comparability. This is the way the curriculum developers gave expression to the ideas of equity and redress. The outcomes themselves focused largely on social development and personal growth – the vision. It was felt that this approach would then bring about transformation in terms of social justice and healing all of which were essential for building a new nation.

The approach taken by the characters of the Head was that deep immersion in discipline knowledge and expertise (the vision of high knowledge, high skills) would empower people to perform more effectively and that this competence would lead to transformation and social justice. The National Curriculum Statement has as a goal the development of the *full potential of each learner as a citizen of a democratic South Africa* and the Arts and Culture RNCS has as one of its purposes *access to Arts and Culture education for all learners as part of redressing historical imbalances*. It required then that the knowledge specific to the art disciplines be mastered and that this be made explicit within the curriculum statement.

The arts, though referred to as a single entity in the RNCS, are treated as separate forms within the assessment standards. It is interesting that the word 'standards' which was so carefully avoided in 1997 (whose standards, based on what ideology?), could be used in a national document by 2001. It

recalls the use of the word 'aesthetic', which can also be found in the Arts and Culture RNCS. In a matter of four years, the rules of formation had changed sufficiently to allow for a new discourse to emerge around both education and the arts. These are the discontinuities within the discourse of the arts in South Africa. The overall vision of this curriculum is that of a uniquely South African arts context presented in an internationally accessible manner.

8.5 NARRATING THE POSSIBILITIES FOR NATION-BUILDING

Much of the work of liberation and the move to democracy is characterised by a human rights ethos, as is our Constitution. At the time of change, two approaches to identity formation presented themselves. The first is the human rights ethos, which includes the right to nationality and is best symbolised by the African Renaissance movement, drawing on a trans-ethnic model of citizenship. The other is that of the Rainbow Nation, a kind of multicultural view of distinct and fixed identities united in a common nationalism an echo of the 'one nation, many cultures' of the liberation movement. The concept of the African Renaissance can be summed up by two key factors: the re-discovery of past achievements (including art, science and technology), as well as participation in world prosperity through economic development and globalisation. It brings together many of the concepts mentioned above: transformation, affirmation, preservation and the other facets of democracy.

But is the African Renaissance a "myth or mobilising tool" as political analyst Ian Libenberg (1998) asks, and can we really "move from the fundamental position that the peoples of Africa share a common destiny"? (Mbeki, 1999). Since renaissance is after all a process and not an event, these questions cannot be answered at this stage in our development, but they do point to the nature of the problems that lie ahead in our task of identity formation.

8.5.1 Identity Formation and the African Renaissance

We need to be mindful of the fact that the African Renaissance is not only about recalling a past that has been oppressive, but is also liberation from

those forms of authority and oppression. The African Renaissance is about asserting African culture and competencies with the expectation that the results will change not only the economic and technological landscape, but the cultural one as well. Ntuli's (1999) description of the role and effect of the African Renaissance is worth quoting in full:

The African Renaissance as a counter-hegemonic vehicle growing out of our awareness of the need for meaningful change, offers us an opportunity to reinvent ourselves in line with our new insights as we pass through a transition period, a period in which our perceptions and values, the way we look at our new society and our relationship with each other, must be restructured to meet new realities. For us the African renaissance is a vehicle and a product of these nascent struggles (Ntuli, 1999: 192).

This summation shows clearly the transformative agenda of the African Renaissance. There was awareness among the curriculum writers of the thinking around the African Renaissance, and it is given as one of the factors that shaped the 1997 curriculum. Narrator E lists *African Renaissance emphasis, UBUNTU, emphasis on attitudes and values, transformation of the country...* among the multiplicity of factors that impacted on the Arts and Culture curriculum.

Yet the concept of an African Renaissance has not had widespread acceptance. It appears to have captured the interest of the intellectuals and political elite, rather than the general public to whom it is presumed to be of most importance. It has not captured the hearts and minds of the public in South Africa, as have other symbols and icons of democracy, and certainly seems to lack the appeal of the 'rainbow nation'. The problem might lie in the identification of most South Africans with the rest of Africa, related also to the concept of who is 'African'. Geographically and politically, South Africa has been very much an isolated space for a long period. Now that the barriers have been lifted, we seem to be looking outwardly more to the rest of the world than the rest of the continent. Africa is still 'somewhere out there' for most South Africans. This applies to all race groups. Then, too,

many people are not sure whether they can call themselves African. Despite Thabo Mbeki's reassurance that our 'Africanness' shall not be defined by our race, colour or gender, there is still a perception that being African is only for Black Africans. Paradoxically, some Afrikaners see themselves as 'true' Africans, as do many people of mixed descent. All of this is part of the problem we face in defining our cultural identity, and it is difficult to make broad generalisations. It seems that the transition period is going to last some time and that the new generation will be able to deal more effectively with these issues.

8.5.1.1 Identity Formation and the Rainbow Nation

The discourse around identity formation and culture in the new South Africa included a number of possibilities for the curriculum developers. The term 'soup or salad' has already been referred to in respect of the Arts and Culture curriculum. The term refers to the loss of individual identity in the integration process (the soup of the 1997 version) or the maintaining of individual characteristics while being integrated (the salad of the RNCS). These terms reflect ideas like the 'melting pot' or fusion of forms and cultural practices and recall the WPACH's view of an eclectic South African culture. All of these ideas are not new; they have been part of the general discourse of South Africa (and elsewhere), especially since the idea of a democratic South Africa first arose in the national consciousness.

The coming of democracy opened up the possibilities for forming a uniquely South African identity. With the emphasis on reconciliation, on affirmation and inclusion, it seemed that preservation of what was familiar to people, what had been denigrated during apartheid and what offered safety in the face of the unknown, became part of the prevailing discourse. Equality, redress and access in cultural practices and the arts meant first assessing what was and what is, before stepping out into what could be. So the idea of the Rainbow Nation, first proclaimed by Archbishop Desmond Tutu, came into being and was enthusiastically adopted by the emerging nation.

Local sociologist Ashwin Desai refers to the “intoxication” of the rainbow nation. He maintains that we “over-indulge in the symbols of the new for we are tired now from incessant struggle, we long for a secure identity to house us and make us safe” (Desai, 1996: iii). The rainbow nation is supposed to encourage a single non-racial identity made up at the same time of many different strands. Despite this non-racial description, the non-racial aspects of rainbow nationalism are difficult to see. The rainbow nation version of nation-building cannot be said to be transformative because it leaves little room for regroupments (Fraser, 1998). Identities can never be fixed; so our focus should be on identity formation and how we shape this, not on fixing identities, for ultimately only colour is fixed. This is why the concept of the rainbow nation for all its convenience, is seen by many as so stultifying. A new identity that has more in keeping with a vision of a non-racialised society is not being re-imagined. Dolby’s (2001) work on identity construction in a South African school suggests that global flows of popular culture have become critical in the discursive formation of identity amongst the youth. She argues that these appropriations and reinterpretations of global commodities provide a site for the constructions of post apartheid identity (Dolby, 2001) and can be viewed as constructions of the new ethnicities described by Hall (1989) below. These reinterpretations and reconstructions allow students to create a ‘third space’ which opens up possibilities for challenging local issues of power and race. It is a space much larger than that of the rainbow nation.

There are many other terms being used in cultural theorising in South Africa in the search for identity formation and which need examining. Multiculturalism is the closest approximation to the term ‘rainbow nation’ that we already have. But this is not the multiculturalism of Britain, Canada or Australia. These countries have a different ethos in terms of their immigrant populations and political history. In post-apartheid South Africa, the different ethnic groups all have valid claims for ‘ownership’ of the national identity, so the rainbow nation concept has a slightly different connotation from the usual interpretation of multiculturalism associated with Western nations. Cultural theorist Stuart Hall describes ‘new ethnicities’ defined not in terms

of religion and race but hybrid and syncretic forms that emerged amongst younger people in Britain (of different family backgrounds) defined by class, gender, age and locality as much as by ethnic background (Hall, 1989). Different social identities are thus combined to produce new syncretic forms which reflect fragments of different languages, styles, dress codes and so on (Bhattacharyya et al, 2002). This echoes Dolby's assertions about the value of popular culture as a site for the discursive formation of identities. But Battacharayya et al also warn that the new ethnicities (which are described as dynamic, mixed cultural formations) could accommodate racism. This is not an alternative to a discourse on racism but acknowledges the varied identities. Hall draws attention to the place of history, language and culture in the construction of subjectivity and identity, as well as the fact that all discourse is placed, positioned and situated, and all knowledge is contextual (Hall, 1989). The task, maintains Hall, is to "decouple ethnicity as it functions in the dominant discourse, from its equivalence with nationalism, imperialism, racism and the state, which are the points of attachment around which a distinctive ...ethnicity has been constructed" (Hall, 1989). Perhaps this was the original thinking behind the rainbow nation concept but it has not served in this way.

8.5.1.2 Hybridisation and Creolisation

The term hybridity, generally associated with Homi Bhabha, is another that is used today when discussing identity formation. But Bhabha focuses more on 'hybridisation', which is an ongoing process. Hybridity is a contested term carrying some negative connotations in the South African experience. It is eschewed by theorists because of its ability to be manipulated in, for example, apartheid's construction of a 'coloured' community as hybrid. These offensive interpretations of the theory show how easily the transference or borrowing of a notion may lead to its losing its meaning and intention (Noyes, 2000:52). Hybridity also has other interpretations. Some see it as a coming together of distinct cultures or identities to form a third variant in which features of the original are still visible (echoes of fusion). But for others like Bhabha, there exists a 'third space' which actually destabilises all fixed notions of identity: he denies that cultures are fixed or

'pure' in any sense to begin with. For Bhabha (1991), the third space displaces the histories that constitute it and sets up new structures of authority. This notion of displacement resonates with Foucault's ideas of discontinuities which allow for new configurations of what was there. Bhabha is interested in hybridity at the moment of challenging a dominant culture; that moment constitutes a third space. Resistance arts could be said to have created a third space in its challenge to apartheid hegemony.

A term that is rapidly gaining ground in South Africa today, although by no means a new one, is creolisation. Again there have been a number of interpretations of this term. Generally it has been associated with the development of a new language and a new cultural identity: Creole, based on a number of different cultures, languages and religious practices. It may take the 'form of a dynamic and self-conscious process or it may refer to a more porous process occurring in societies and cultures' (Nuttall & Michael, 2000:6). These inflections suggest transformative fusions which more accurately reflect the South African identity-forming process than others. Creolisation offers opportunities for a wide range of culture-making and identity forming processes and is the term that is currently being theorised in cultural studies in South Africa. It is also preferred because it disturbs the notion of fixed identities: it is an ongoing process, fluid and porous.

8.5.2 A Common Cause

All these ideas were in the mix, as it were, for the Arts and Culture curriculum writers. Given the background of the writers, their own preferences, and the prevailing discourses in both periods, it was not an easy task to make a choice. In fact, I would say that the writers did not really have a choice, so did not take a definitive approach, but left it open:

even in the curriculum because we adopted a kind of like inclusive approach, you see evidence of the residual cultural practices and also emerging cultural practices.

What form these 'emerging' practices were taking is not defined. In post-apartheid South Africa we struggle to reconcile the past and the present in a way that makes bearable the pain of the past, the upheaval of the

transitional moment and the contemplation of the imagined future. Part of that struggle depends on how we re-tell the past to reveal hidden histories and forgotten connections. Stories like the role of the resistance arts and culture movement give us in our post-apartheid and post-colonial fragmentation of identity, a moment of coherence and unity. In his discussion on the TRC, Ivor Chipkin asks what the special bond was that South Africans, irrespective of race, share with one another and concludes that South Africans are those people that were caught up in the drama of apartheid. This is our common history (Chipkin, 2006).

In consideration of the present, however, what unity and coherence can we call on to provide for ourselves the conditions of existence to create a nation called South Africa? We have established within our borders a concept of rainbow nationalism, which we already see as a patched together, convenient compromise for work-a-day politics. Njabulo Ndebele articulates the prevailing feelings in South Africa today, twelve years into democracy:

We have never had social cohesion in South Africa...what we definitely have had over the decades is a mobilising vision. Could it be that the mobilising vision, mistaken for social cohesion, is cracking under the weight of the reality and extent of social reconstruction, and that the legitimate framework for debating these frameworks is collapsing? (Ndebele, 2006).

While Ndebele goes on to propose a political solution, the problem of social cohesion remains. Unless we feel truly comfortable in our South Africanness, every issue facing the country, whether party political, economic or moral, threatens to split the country along racist, ethnic and class lines. Neither the rhetoric of the African Renaissance nor the amelioration of the rainbow nation has really worked for us in the way we expected.

8.6 NARRATING THE ROLE OF THE ARTS AND CULTURE CURRICULUM

It is in the task of reinventing ourselves that both I and the characters see the true value of the Arts and Culture curriculum. One cannot lay the whole burden for transformation of a nation on curriculum alone, yet the policies and the respondent narrators took as read that curriculum is the articulation of a nation's vision. So, although in the case of the arts it was those outside the formal education sector and those in the resistance arts movement who had the stronger impact on the curriculum, it is now important that the school sector, which has such a strong influence on the next generation, take up the role envisioned for it by the curriculum developers. Their voices as heard in the stories of the Heart and the Head resonate with belief in the value of the arts to effect transformation. I believe that the formal arts sector owes something of a debt to those who ensured that the arts became part of everyday education. By being 'mainstreamed', the arts have been thrust into a more powerful position than ever before in our history.

If the policies for transformation are to be achieved, if the social, economic and political goals of democracy are to be realised, education must become key to the discourse of transformation. Only in this way can the large-scale transformation of people be achieved. The Arts and Culture policy can play a strategic role in shaping how culture and identity are fashioned in the coming decades.

In this regard, the RNCS for Arts and Culture assumes a far more significant role than merely a framework for one of eight learning areas in the General Education and Training band. Nation-building is after all an educational enterprise. It develops through mass schooling and public school institutions.

In both the modernist and post-modernist society, schools are seen as producers and reproducers of culture. Micere Mugo notes that education "acts as a communicator as well as a reservoir of culture" (Mugo, 1999: 218). Farzana Shain reviewing the work of Dolby (2001) and Tsolidis (2001)

makes the following assertion about the mediation of schools with cultural identity:

Schools, through both formal and informal relationships, represent powerful interpretations of what it means to be 'British', 'Australian' or 'South African', that is, of belonging and non- belonging, inclusion and exclusion. The institutional practices and discourses of schooling frame understandings about who can legitimately make claims to such labels and who cannot (Shain, 2003:120).

The Arts and Culture curriculum raises questions and poses challenges about issues of race, power and traditional cultural practices. It examines notions of diversity and difference and in so doing it becomes a seminal cultural text, a vehicle offering a transformatory pedagogy for shaping the re-invention of our identities as South Africans and challenging fixed multicultural notions. The Arts and Culture Learning Area can play a vital role in fashioning the ethos of post-apartheid South Africa through its effects on school-going youth. Our development as a political and economic entity depends on and is affected by our sense of national identity and cultural coherence. This view again brings into focus the importance of the Arts and Culture curriculum as a cultural tool to raise and address issues of cultural difference.

At the commencement of this study, the critical question posed was why Arts and Culture was included as one of the learning areas in the new curriculum in post-apartheid South Africa. The data clearly show that it would have been inconceivable to omit the arts from the new country's curriculum. The responses to the questions on how it was shaped and what influenced it all indicate the need for Arts and Culture as a nation-building tool. Whether the Arts and Culture curriculum statement proves worthy of this huge responsibility only time will tell. Whether the policymakers now in charge of shaping and driving the new nation's education will have the foresight (of their predecessors) to encourage its development and support its implementation in schools and other institutions becomes the subject of another study.

8.7 ARRIVING AT THE CONCLUSION

My thesis rests on the notion that the Arts and Culture curriculum and indeed any arts education programme in an emerging democracy, in a country still endeavouring to create itself, takes on a powerfully symbolic value as well as a transformative one. This is not symbolism in the cynical sense of political symbolism as expounded by Jansen, but in the real sense of becoming a symbol for the future imagined nation, its culture and identity formation. The role of the arts in actualising imagined realities must not be underestimated. The impact of resistance arts bears testament to this.

The influence and impact of Arts and Culture comes as part of the transformation process in identity formation and nation-building. How we see ourselves as a nation depends on our sense of identity which, as has been suggested, is never a static thing. This identity formation depends on how successful the transformation process has been. The transformation process includes and subsumes issues of reconciliation, redress and human rights. The role of Arts and Culture as an educational vehicle for bringing about transformation, and therefore contributing to identity formation, is a crucial one and lies at the intersection of all these processes as the figure below shows.

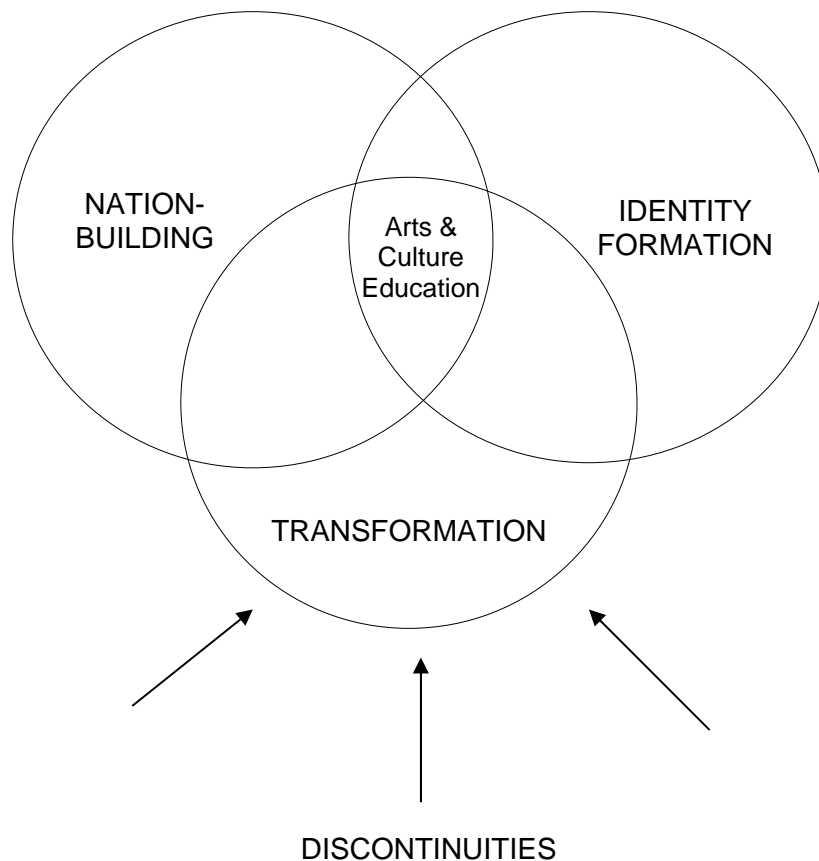


Figure 11

It is in the continuous discontinuities, the ruptures in the fabric of society, that an identity comes to be forged. As other transformations occur, so new notions of identity, culture and nation emerge.

8.8 THE END...?

The quotation by novelist Graham Greene that I chose to begin the historical moment of this study says that a story has no beginning and no end. Where one starts to tell it and where one chooses to stop, is an arbitrary choice (I think Foucault would have approved this notion). So a story never ends; we just stop narrating it. The Arts and Culture story, then, will continue in different ways, depending not only on who narrates it but also who is reading it. My story has brought me to this point now. The thesis I have arrived at in narrating the story of Arts and Culture is that the

emergence of the Arts and Culture curriculum was not a change from apartheid education but a discontinuity of discourse which allowed the ascendancy of resistance arts into a new hegemony. The shift in focalization of the RNCS Arts and Culture curriculum did not change this position substantially, although it allowed a more essentialist positioning of the art disciplines in the curriculum and therefore in education. Discourse does not allow for predictions of how arts and culture will actually be conceptualised in future curricula. Much depends on how the idea of nation is seen in our emerging culture and how long the rainbow nation concept remains fixed in the national consciousness. The youth as challengers of cultural hegemony, especially through manifestations of popular culture, continually disturb fixed notions of identity and nationhood. The Arts and Culture curriculum affects and impacts on all South African youth and so can become a powerful tool for transformation in the future. The current discourse of arts and culture education allows for the development of a re-imagined creolisation of culture and arts, and therefore the possibility exists for a re-imagined South African cultural identity. The vision of building a new nation lay at the heart of the genesis of Arts and Culture as a learning area. How this nation is constructed, whatever form the cultural identity of South Africa assumes, the role of the arts in education is crucial in shaping and moulding the national identity.

A story has no beginning and no end – but only because of what the reader or the teller can bring to it. This story of the birth and growth of the Arts and Culture learning area will change every time someone reads it or tells it. So the difference in different versions of the curriculum comes about not only because the curriculum or the text changes (and will change again) but also because of who we are when we tell it or read it. In narratology, the values of standardisation have been replaced by the values of pluralism and irreducible difference: not only the difference between texts (the 1997 version and the 2001 version), but also differences among readers (Currie, 1998:4). The implication of this notion for this study is that who we are as a nation in terms of our values and goals will affect how this same Arts and

Culture story is retold and how the new Arts and Culture curriculum will be focalized in the future.

If we look to the future, who we are should have been affected by the arts and culture of our own experiences, which we will then take into the development of Arts and Culture again. Even as I write this, I am affected in August 2006 by the debate initiated by President Thabo Mbeki at the Nelson Mandela Memorial Lecture on how far we as a nation have moved away from our early democracy goals of social development and Ubuntu. He advocates a return to the selfless spirit of the liberation struggle. Elsewhere in this study I have described how the state's change to a market-driven economy has affected the focalization of education and the arts. If there is now a rethinking of our social and economic policies, our strategies for development, then it seems obvious that there will be a change in education and other policies. But perhaps not. We cannot say with certainty what discontinuities might bring about a different discourse, but we do know that as human beings we are always (re)making ourselves, always making untrue any definite version of identity (Brockmeier & Carbaugh, 2001:8). In South Africa today, it is very evident that the poverty-stricken masses who have not yet found a place in the sun are tired of waiting on the boundaries of society. Their fight to come into the centre will have its own repercussions, and we will have to tell this story in that way.

If none of this happens, and the Arts and Culture curriculum remains the same for the next two decades, as it very well could, will my story have ended here with my last words? There is no last word. A text is never complete. Even as I look back on this story, I see that if I were to rewrite it, it would have to be different because of what the telling of it has done to me. I am no longer the person who wrote the 'confessions' of a Reluctant Curriculum Developer. The telling of this story has changed me forever.

EPILOGUE

and then...

...there is always, potentially a next and different story to tell, as there occur different situations in which to tell it.

(Brockmeier & Carbaugh 2001)

INTRODUCTION

In proffering narratology as a means of policy analysis I take as my starting point the view that Ball (1994) and Fulcher (1989) express of policy studies being methodologically unsophisticated and using unsatisfactory theoretical models. For this reason, Taylor (1997) examines the influence of theories of discourse on policy analysis and finds that those aspects usually lacking in policy analysis, viz. language and meaning, are found to occupy a central position in theories of discourse. She further maintains that discourse theories have enhanced the scope of critical policy analysis in a number of ways, particularly in the focus of policy documents as texts, and also the ability to explore the policy-making process within the discursive field from within which the policy is developed.

NARRATOLOGY IN THIS STUDY

For Taylor (1997), theories of discourse relate to the Foucauldian notion of power/knowledge. I have, as illustrated earlier in the story, used discourse in two ways; as the Foucauldian concept, as well as in the literary criticism sense. So when I speak of discourse I speak of a combination of both approaches. It is here that I locate my own study and my use of narratology. It is into this discursive space that I offer my narratology tool for policy analysis and my notion of the use of narratology as a theory for policy analysis. Taylor also notes that discourse theories are useful for work on equity, policy and the politics of change, especially because discourse theories emphasise culture (Taylor, 1997: 26). It is precisely this facility of narratology and narrative analysis that drew me to this theoretical framework: the need to account for and examine the cultural context of the

policy landscape in which the Arts and Culture curriculum came into being. Ironically, it has been argued that narratology ignores the context in which narrative occurs. There is difficulty in incorporating the contextual factors which actually do contribute to the shape of a narrative, into a systematic description. If, however, we consider - as contemporary narratologists do - narrative as a process not a product, then we can in fact consider the context as part of the text. In my analysis I ask questions about the fabula and the focalization. I interrogate the status and identity of the narrating agent. All these questions help me uncover the context in which the policy developed.

Narratology in my study is not seen as a kind of 'grand narrative' which silences the local and buries whatever contradicts the theory. Instead it opens up the way for contradictions and multiple points of view. Taylor describes the "old" conceptual tools as being "too blunt" (Taylor, 1997:24). On first reading, my use of the basic elements of narratology, viz., text, story and fabula, may appear too simple a tool for the kind of fine-grained analysis that needs to be undertaken in critical policy analysis. But having applied this narratology tool and in doing so having proved its worth, I can safely say that narratology does offer a theoretical basis for policy analysis. The narratology tool I devised is fine-grained enough to uncover those contextual and ideological leanings from which the policy arose.

Having made the above claim, I would not advocate the wholesale application of the narratology tool. I offer, rather, the notion of the use of narratology and its precepts as a theoretical basis for policy analysis, i.e., policy narratology. The tool I developed can and does work. I believe any researcher could use it as it stands, but I also believe that another researcher might well improve it. This is merely the first step. Having made this attempt, I think the stage is set now for further work in the area of policy narratology. If I go back to the text at the beginning of this epilogue, then the 'next and different story to tell' might well be the story of policy narratology.

SOME LIMITATIONS OF NARRATOLOGY

Having advocated narratology as an area for further exploration in policy studies, I need to offer a critique the field of narratology. The strengths of narrative theory and its wide reaching applications are obvious. But, as with all theories, there are numerous problems and limitations associated with it.

Prince (1997) has outlined some of the problems associated with narratology. One of the most telling criticisms by poststructuralists concerns the coherent narratological method of integrating the 'what' and the 'way' as propounded by Genette (1980) and adopted by most contemporary narratologists. This is a combination of story narratology and discourse narratology. The problem is referred to as the "double-logic" of narrative. Do we take events to be the origin of meaning or is the event the effect of a will to meaning? (Prince, 1997) Put another way, the question is one of priority of story over discourse: is story the product of discourse? Each principle functions to the exclusion of the other, yet both are necessary to the impact of the narrative. The two views cannot be synthesised, and each by itself cannot lead to a satisfactory account of narratology. Prince suggests that such an argument conflates problems which should not be conflated. I believe that the 'problem' of double-logic is what makes the reading and analysis of policy texts and interviews so challenging. Did the discourse produce the Arts and Culture story? To answer only in the affirmative means we negate the effects of the story on the discourse.

Another of the criticisms of narratology is that narratological models are reductive and fail to capture many other aspects of a text. This is undeniable and is true, too, of many other models. But narratology has never claimed to capture anything other than narrative aspects of a text. It works for non-narrative texts to the extent that these have a story to tell. But it cannot and should not be applied to all texts or all aspects of a text. Perhaps those who challenge are missing the point. As Bal points out, "it is not the existence of narrative texts but the relevance of narrative structure for their meaning that is the issue" (Bal, 1997:13).

My own opinion is that reductive models assist one in the deconstructive process to expose the basic structures allowing one to relate these to one another and so determine function and relationships. The instrumental use of reduction is precisely to uncover what might be otherwise obscured by the discourse.

In spite of the problems associated with the theory of narratology, I am of the view that its 'double logic', its 'reductive' models and its systematic approach are precisely the tools I require to answer the questions posed by this study. In my description of the theory and my choices and approach in the study, I have of necessity omitted many salient aspects of narratology. Some of these, though important to the development of the theory, are not germane to my study, so have been excluded in the interests of coherence. Other important aspects, like the question of time as an element of narrative, have been examined in the analysis.

REFLECTIONS ON THE STUDY

I have been able to develop an approach in my methodology, which is a combination of heuristic analysis, discourse analysis and narrative analysis using the tools of narratology. In working with the basic elements of narratology – story, text and fabula - I was able to analyse a range of stories (including my own) and also create from these individual stories a group story.

The tools of narratology in terms of the way the narrative is constructed allowed me freedom to express my views as both external and character narrator. I remained aware that I was both in the story and outside telling it. I was able to approach the data production and analysis while yet understanding the narrative-communicative structure (see figure 9) and my place as narratee. This structural model assisted me in developing and maintaining my critical distance. It also helped my understanding of the respondent narrators' focalizations towards me.

In looking at the study and how narrative structure has been employed, my opening story becomes more than a personal indulgence. It is a stylistic choice which sets up the rest of the text as a narrative and also prefigures the self-reflective tone of other sections of the study. The other significant use of elements of narratology has been in the analysis of the interviews. Here the voice of the respondent narrators was given prominence in the 'who speaks' boxes. This device made the focalizations clearer and gave me insights into why certain things were said in particular ways. It was the examination of these ways of expressing ideas that led me to the stories of the Head and the Heart and to a realisation of the role played by resistance arts in the curriculum story. Ultimately this led to the answers to the problems posed by the study.

The multiple stories of this text - my story, the respondent narrators' stories, the stories of the policy documents - are all folded into a single story which is yet not a single story. Just as my conceptual framework brought together the essential components of the study - arts education, culture, curriculum change and policy studies – so, too, my final story is about nation, cultural identity and Arts and Culture. The story of Arts and Culture cannot but be a composite one.

Just as there can be no one static version of identity, so there can be no one version of a story. This version examined the genesis of the learning area. The curriculum itself awaits critique and interrogation in another version. The Arts and Culture story as told by me now waits only for the 'next and different' telling.

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APPENDIX A

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

PURPOSE OF INTERVIEW

To obtain information on the development of Arts and Culture as a learning area in the formal schools' curriculum since 1997

CRITICAL QUESTIONS TO BE ANSWERED in the study

- Why was Arts and Culture deemed a necessary part of the new South African schools curriculum (C2005)?
- What factors influenced the design of the Arts and Culture Curriculum in 1997?
- Did the Review process of 2000/1 and the subsequent public commentary effect significant changes to the Arts and Culture curriculum?

BIOGRAPHICAL DETAILS

DATE : _____

NAME : _____

TITLE : _____

POSITION HELD IN 1997

: _____

CURRENT POSITION : _____

CONTACT DETAILS : _____ Telephone (W)

_____ Telephone (H)

_____ Fax

CONFIDENTIALITY

Please be assured that the insights and information you provide will be treated with absolute confidentiality and will be used for research purposes only.

I should mention, however, that true confidentiality will be difficult if I do mention positions held by my respondents, as the names of people in certain positions are public knowledge.

*Could I contact you again to give you the opportunity to veto or correct any comments of yours that I use?
You may refrain from answering certain questions or perhaps you might like to provide some answers that are “off the record”*

QUESTIONS

PART A: FOR OFFICIALS OF THE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

PART A- 1

1. What were your particular areas of responsibility in the Department of Education in 1997?
2. What was your role in the planning and implementation of
 - a) curriculum 2005 and
 - b) the Arts and Culture curriculum ?
3. To what extent did you feel that you were making decisions, that you were formulating policy, and to what extent were decisions and policies effectively made by *others*?
4. Who were they and how did they influence policy?
- 5 **How much did pressure groups or interest groups contribute to policy making either through political machinery or through the professional route?**

PART A-2

6. **Why was Arts and Culture included as a learning area in C2005 ?**
7. What are your feelings about its inclusion in the curriculum?

8. Why were the arts combined with culture to give us a single learning area- what was the purpose of this
 - a) educationally and
 - b) politically ?
9. What are your feelings about this combination?
10. What were the arguments for and against it during the development ? Who was making them?
- 11 **What factors do you think most influenced the shape and design of the Arts and Culture curriculum in 1997 ?**
- 12 To what extent did the Ministerial Task Team influence the design and content of the (arts) curriculum compared to, for example, the Department of Education?
- 13 What was the influence of overseas developments in arts education e.g. in Canada or Australia?
14. Would you say that compromises were made regarding the integrity of the curriculum in terms of competing interests or other factors?

PART A- 3

15. **Given the Review Committee report of 2000, what do you see as the major shifts in policy commitments?**
16. In 2001, what were the major factors that shaped the Arts curriculum during the revision process (Streamlining and Strengthening) of the NCS ?
17. Do you think that public opinion was adequately addressed during the review process after the first draft was submitted for public comment ?
18. Was the same attention given to public comment during 1997 ?

PART A- 4

19. Given that we are now five years into the implementation of C2005 and the Arts and Culture curriculum, what would you change about the process if you could go back in time?

20. How do you perceive the role of Provincial Departments in terms of implementing policy around C2005 and in particular the Arts and Culture curriculum ?

21. It is argued that policy is designed for political symbolism and legitimacy rather than actual change or implementation. What are your opinions about this statement ?

22. Is there any other information you would like to supply which you think is pertinent, especially in terms of the critical questions on page 1?

Thank you for your assistance.

Lorraine Singh

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Home phone: 031 2627467

Cell: 083 564 6039

PART B: FOR STAKEHOLDERS IN THE ARTS COMMUNITY OR ELSEWHERE

PART B- 1

1. Did you (or do you) represent a group or organization, if so which organization and what was your position?
2. What were your particular areas of responsibility in the curriculum development process in 1997 and subsequently ?
3. **To what extent did you or your group contribute to policy making either through political machinery or through the professional route?**
4. What did you or your group see as strengths and weaknesses of the C2005 and OBE approach?

PART B-2

5. **Why was Arts and Culture included as a learning area in C2005 ?**
6. What are your feelings about its inclusion in the curriculum?
7. Why were the arts combined with culture to give us a single learning area- what was the purpose of this educationally and politically ?
8. What are your feelings about this combination?
9. What were the arguments for and against it during the development ? Who was making them?

10. What factors do you think most influenced the shape and design of the Arts and Culture curriculum in 1997 ?

11. To what extent did the Ministerial Task Team influence the design and content of the (arts) curriculum compared to, for example, the Department of Education or your group?

12. Would you say that compromises were made regarding the integrity of the curriculum in terms of competing interests or other factors?

PART B- 3

13. Given the Review Committee report of 2000, what do you see as the major shifts in policy commitments?

14. In 2001, what were the major factors that shaped the Arts curriculum during the revision process (Streamlining and Strengthening) of the NCS?

15. Do you think that the public opinion was adequately addressed during the review process after the first draft was submitted for public comment?

16. Do you think that the same attention was given to public comment during 1997?

PART B- 4

17. Given that we are now five years into the implementation of C2005 and the Arts and Culture curriculum, what would you change about the process if you could go back in time?

18.How do you perceive the role of Provincial Departments in terms of implementing policy around C2005 and in particular the Arts and Culture curriculum ?

19.How do you perceive the role of teacher organizations and arts organizations in terms of the Arts and Culture curriculum?

20. It is argued that policy is designed for political symbolism and legitimacy rather than actual change or implementation. What are your opinions about this statement ?

21. Is there any other information you would like to supply which you think is pertinent?

Thank you for your contribution.

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