

CAPTURING THE VALUE OF CULTURE THROUGH A NARRATIVE CASE STUDY OF FUNDA CENTRE

By

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Abstract

The concepts of 'culture' and 'value' are often fluid and complex, creating space for multiple perspectives. This research report presents a narrative that explores the dynamic ways that the value of culture can be captured, drawing on the history of Funda Centre, a community cultural and art centre in Soweto, South Africa. Established in 1984, Funda Centre has provided a wide range of educational, cultural, and artistic services throughout its lifetime, but it is one of many whose historical significance remains underrepresented in existing literature. This report applies the Cultural Value Triangle¹ (CVT) conceptual framework as a lens through which the values of culture and related themes can be discerned for a multi-faceted understanding of the role of Community Art Centres (CACs) in South Africa's cultural policy landscape. The narrative is drawn from empirical data gathered using a qualitative narrative case-study approach combining; interviews, a focus group, documentation, and observation as tools to capture the memories and experiences encapsulated in the cultural value/s of Funda Centre. This research underscores the necessity of recognising and qualifying cultural value as an integral component of community development and policymaking, advocating for the continued support and expansion of similar cultural initiatives.

¹ The Cultural Value Triangle as devised by Holden (2006) consists of Institutional Cultural Value; Instrumental Cultural Value; and Intrinsic Cultural Value

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List of Abbreviations:

ABET	Adult Basic Education and Training
AET	Adult Education and Training
AIA	African Institute of Art
ATASA	African Teachers' Association of South Africa
BCM	Black Consciousness Movement
CAC	Community Art Centre
CIPC	Companies and Intellectual Property Commission
CET	Community Education Training College
CVT	Cultural Value Triangle
CYA	Creative Youth Association
DAC	Department of Arts and Culture
DACST	Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology
ECD	Early Childhood Development
ETDP SETA	The Education, Training and Development Practices (ETDP) Sectoral Education and Training Authority
GEAR	Growth, Employment, and Redistribution
GOMACC	Gauteng Organization of Community Arts Centers
ITC	Independent Teachers Centre
FAC	Funda Art Centre
FCC	Funda Community College
FCTC	Funda Community Training Centre
FET	Further Education and Training
FUBA	Federated Union of Black Artists
PAC	Pan African Congress
MKMVA	uMkhonto we Sizwe Military Veterans' Association
NAC	National Arts Council
NSFAS	National Student Financial Aid Scheme
TVET	Technical and Vocational Education and Training
SACO	South African Cultural Observatory
SADTU	The South African Democratic Teachers Union
SCFC	Senior Citizens Focus Cooperative
SETA	Sector Education and Training Authority
STAND	Sustaining Theatre and Dance Foundation
UF	Urban Foundation
UNISA	University of South Africa
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WITS	University of the Witwatersrand

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Declaration on Plagiarism:

I, LEBOGANG NGWATLE - Student number: (9801880P) - am a student registered MA in Cultural Policy and Management (Coursework and Research Report). I hereby declare the following:

- I am aware that plagiarism (the use of someone else's work without their permission and/or without acknowledging the original source) is wrong.
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Date: 13/01/2025

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This research report presents a narrative that explores the dynamic ways that the value of culture can be captured, drawing on the history of Funda Centre, a community cultural and art centre in Soweto, South Africa. Established in 1984, Funda Centre has provided a wide range of educational, cultural, and artistic services throughout its lifetime. The report uses the Cultural Value Triangle² (CVT) conceptual framework as a lens through which the values of culture and related themes can be discerned for a multi-faceted understanding of the role of Community Art Centres (CACs) in South Africa's cultural policy landscape. The narrative is drawn from empirical data gathered using a qualitative narrative case-study approach combining; interviews, a focus group, documentation, and observation as tools to capture the memories and experiences encapsulated in the cultural value/s of Funda Centre.

The journey of institutions identified as Community Art and Cultural Centres in South Africa can be traced back to the 1950s (ASSITEJ, 2023). Having gained momentum during the apartheid³ years, the centres were recognised for their powerful role in catalysing community collectives that use arts and cultural practices to educate and tackle injustices (Hagg, 1991, 2009, 2010; Sachs, 1991; van Robbroeck, 1992; Hagg and Selepe, 2002; Lochner, 2011, 2013; Rankin, 2013; Peterson, 2014; Schlemmer, 2017). However, Hagg (2010) notes that “from 1992 the conditions of culture and community arts dramatically changed with the end of the apartheid state” (Hagg, 2010, p. 166), with many struggling for survival. While there is judicious research assessing the general conditions of some community centres by notable scholars (van Robbroeck, 1992; Ntuli, 1993; Hagg and Selepe, 2002; Gaylard, 2004; Sidogi, 2011; Lochner, 2013; Peterson, 2014; Hlongwane, 2021; Nawa, 2021; Xaba, 2022) as well as commissioned audit reports by the Department of Arts and Culture (DAC)⁴ (Hagg and Selepe, 2002; Barry and Lück, 2013; Create Africa Trading, 2013; ASSITEJ, 2023), there are two areas that have not gained sufficient traction to allow for reflection on the spectrum of value embodied by CACs.

² The Cultural Value Triangle as devised by Holden (2006) consists of Institutional Cultural Value; Instrumental Cultural Value; and Intrinsic Cultural Value.

³ Apartheid – an oppressive system of governance that denied human rights to the majority of South Africans based on racial profiling was instituted officially in 1948.

⁴ Now Department of Sports, Arts and Culture (DSAC).

The first is that despite South Africa's 250 recorded CACs of various levels (ASSITEJ, 2023), there are only several whose stories are documented for the unique organisations that they are/were respectively. Recently, the Sustaining Theatre and Dance (STAND) team started to profile some CACs as evidenced by their 2023 ASSITEJ report⁵, building on the work started by researchers such as Hagg (1991, 2001, 2010), and Nawa (2021). Some CACs are afforded a page or two on online platforms such as Africa South Art Initiative (ASAI), South Africa History Online (www.sahistory.org.za) or newspaper articles where a journalist might focus on a specific issue rather than a comprehensive historical account. Yet literature in community arts stresses the idea that no two CACs can really be compared outside the community variables in which they exist (van Robbroeck, 1992; Rankin, 2013). It would therefore be worthwhile to tell the story of each one within its context. Perhaps this is what compelled van Robbroeck (2006) to punctuate the value of capturing the history of Polly Street Art Centre – one of the pioneering centres of the 1950s which was not only damaged but whose archives got destroyed. In her review she applauds the writer, Elsa Miles for “correct[ing] the factual inaccuracies, sweeping assumptions and radical decontextualisation that characterised earlier writings on these centres” (van Robbroeck, 2006, p. 56). She further states a relevant point of interest for the objectives of this report around the exercise of documenting in that “context emerges as itself a text (or a multitude of intertextualities) which has to be interpreted, and in which marginal or supplementary aspects may [again] point towards excluded or suppressed alterities” (van Robbroeck, 2006, p. 57). This therefore provides an opportunity for a variety of narratives to emerge.

Other significant CACs like The Federated Union of Black Artists (FUBA)⁶ - first established in 1978, and where some of the teachers at Funda Art Centre came from - found alternative forms of storytelling through an innovative digital exhibition of its art archives (Wits Curating Exhibitions class of 2020, 2020) in the custodianship of Johannesburg Art Gallery⁷. Therefore, following the trail of the different stories

⁵ Featuring 12 CACs as case studies - three based in Europe and nine in South Africa.

⁶ It is not clear what the current status of this centre is. “The Centre evolved into a full-time arts school, known as the FUBA Academy of Arts and later the FUBA School of Drama and Visual Arts and the FUBA School of Music.” www.sahistory.org.za

⁷ Although at the time of writing this report, JAG itself is in a state of dilapidation.

pertaining to the FUBA collection provides a window into the institution itself (Wits Curating Exhibitions class of 2020, 2020).

The second area that is not sufficiently explored in the assessment of CACs is a consideration for a framework or process of communicating the cultural value of such institutions, especially in a context where implementation of cultural policy pertaining to CACs is a struggle. While the aforementioned scholars and reports usually offer recommendations for the government to make resources available for CACs in general, there has not been an in-depth study of how to arrive at “measuring” that cultural value for the CACs. The potential consequence of not communicating the value of CACs could lead to a situation where they would simply be re-used into something else that carries a perceived higher value financially. For example, the fate of the once revered Dorkay House and AMDA⁸, now serve as a residential place accommodating shops on the ground floor. A similar fate can be seen in other parts of Africa where such centres as the Nairobi National Cultural Centre (NNCC) were almost turned into shopping malls until artists and activists rebelled, noting the Centre’s status as a Heritage site (Balme, 2024). In the case of Nairobi there’s an acknowledgment that “the city has nested a century long struggle for the establishment, access and control of urban art venues ever since the foundation of its first theatre hall in 1912: the Theatre Royal, now a casino on Kenyatta Avenue” (Marcel, 2013, p. 1). Or the case of the once renowned multi-disciplinary Chemchemi Creative Centre⁹, which in its heyday was opened by the Minister of Education in Kenya - Hon J.D Otiende, with Funda’s Es’kia Mphahlele as the founding director back in 1963. Chemchemi was modelled on West African counterparts; “Mbari writers’ and artists’ clubs in Nigeria” (Mphahlele, 1965). In time, the crucial role of such centres could not sustain their survival against other socio-economic priorities.

If CACs in South Africa thrived during apartheid, then the implication for cultural policy implementation could mean that their value is hard to justify outside the context of the struggle against apartheid (Lochner, 2011). Many CACs had to close down (Hagg and Selepe, 2002; Create Africa Trading, 2013; ASSITEJ, 2023), and the ones that didn’t completely collapse are in a state of inertia, with a disconnected relationship to policy-

⁸ See timeline on page 73

⁹ Now reported as having vanished (Marcel, 2013)

implementers regarding their value in society (Gaylard, 2004; Peterson, 2014). Funda Centre is but one of such institutions.

In proceeding with this research, I argue that there is value in documenting the historical idiosyncrasies of each of the institutions and further communicating their worth and legitimacy.

Because of the nature of this study, a comprehensive history of Funda is not offered in this introduction chapter, but rather in Chapter 5 where its very story delineates the institutional narrative and associated cultural values. Thus, the next sections in this chapter provide background context that feeds to the problem statement, leading into the rationale pertaining to public policy, research questions and the aim and objectives of this study.

BACKGROUND: Searching for the Face of Survival

“Funda is like a spirit, it has no form”. **Tumelo Mokopakgosi**, Fine Arts Department alumni and course coordinator at Funda Centre

The last official audit report on Community Art Centres in South Africa (Create Africa Trading, 2013) declared Funda Centre to be one of only two centres that operated during the Apartheid era, to have “survived”¹⁰. Interestingly, this choice of word describing the state of Funda in 2013 is not overtly presented to lead into an understanding of what this “survived” state means. Despite this ambiguity, what surfaces is that “survived” in the context of the audit report alludes to something positive, or in the least, an element of “presence” in Community Art Centre (CAC) discourse post-Apartheid. This research is sparked by an interest to investigate what this survival looks like which might lead to an interrogation into the state of CACs, their identity, the cultural value they offer, and their place in the current cultural governance ecosystem.

Anyone, who, like me had never experienced Funda Centre intimately (that is either as a user¹¹, a student, a teacher, a resident of Diepkloof/Soweto etc), would be

¹⁰ Create Africa Trading Report, commissioned by the Department of Arts and Culture under Minister Pallo Jordan to provide the status of Community Art Centres from the 80s (during apartheid) to the post-apartheid, states that “The only organizations that survived from this period are the Funda Centre in Soweto and the recently revived FUBA (Federated Union of Black Artists) Centre in the inner City of Johannesburg” (CAT, 2013, p.14).

¹¹ The “users” of the space are defined as the independent community organisations, associations and individuals whose activities were housed at Funda.

forgiven for pondering whether this institution was a myth or a real phenomenon. While the narrative in the report is mainly gathered from interviewing people associated with Funda, together with other textual sources (I detail these in the methodology section), I myself have a peripheral fascination with Funda that triggered this study. My initial intrigue stemmed from realising that although Funda is celebrated as an organisation that advanced the goals of arts production and education, I struggled to uncover much of its historical background, a challenge I faced while writing an essay on Community Art Centres during my Master's coursework year. Our class had attended a conference¹² on Community Art Centres at Sibikwa Art Centre¹³ where I observed with fascination as participants¹⁴ from as far afield as the Northwest and Eastern Cape provinces as well as Gauteng spoke passionately about the yesteryears of Funda Centre as an exemplary tower of what a CAC should be. "Why can't we have a centre that worked the way Funda did?" they asked. In essence, these speakers were reflecting on a memory that seems to be slipping the grasp of contemporary South Africa. When I interviewed Pfunzo Sidogi, who wrote a thesis about incorporating Funda into the Further Education & Training (FET) college system, he concurred with me about the gaps in history, sharing that; "I encountered the very same problem that you encountered that one does not find a lot of references that will give you as you said the history and a comprehensive history of the institution and what it was all about."

In my search for Funda, I found myself transported back to my days as an undergraduate student of Dramatic Arts at Wits University in the late 90s/early2000 when I first encountered the legend that is Funda. I remember that the creative and artistic works from Funda were always held in high regard even as they were produced at community level (versus the perceived high echelons of university). Outside the academic space, I am also an avid consumer of artistic cultural goods and services, and in such circles, I often network with a variety of artists and cultural activists who reference "the glorious days of Funda". I passed by this campus everyday when I used to commute between Soweto and Johannesburg. Funda's location next to Chris Hani

¹² Shukuma Mzansi! SA-EU Dialogue 2018 Community Arts Centres Conference held on 6th – 8th April 2018.

¹³ "Established in 1988, Sibikwa is a multi-disciplinary Centre of Excellence, which has received multiple awards for its contribution to the creative and cultural industries, education and social transformation, through the arts." www.sibikwa.co.za

¹⁴ Community Art Centre leaders and cultural managers.

Baragwanath Hospital¹⁵ and the adjacent busy rank referred to by locals as the airport¹⁶ of Soweto makes it a landmark and a symbol of entry into Soweto.

One of the main challenges for present-day Community Art Centres, which is what the Shukuma Mzansi conference sought to address, was around the identity and role of such spaces since the dawn of a democratic South Africa. The question planted in my mind since then was whether it could be that the lack of recorded history, as a source of data, was a key factor prohibiting a formulation of a framework within which the value of culture could be captured to understand the very role of Community Art Centres. The history of Funda in this research report provides a glimpse into its state of “survival” and how we can interpret what this survival looks like.

Towards the end of January 2021, the meaning that Funda Centre holds was revived with the passing of national cultural icon and world-renowned singer, Sibongile Khumalo, whose contribution to culture is closely connected to her role both as administrator and teacher of music at Funda Art Centre during the 1980s. In commemorating her life, social media was bursting with nostalgic memories of Funda ignited by her impactful journey. Already in 1986, two years after the official establishment of Funda Centre, Sibongile Khumalo in her capacity as Art Centre co-ordinator, expressed in a newsletter how meaningful Funda Centre is to society:

The social fabric of our communities, weakened by apartheid, and the failure of socio-educational institutions in responding to, coping with and directing demographic and socio-cultural changes, magnifies the urgency of addressing the impact such institutions can have in redressing the anomalies currently seen by the disintegration of our society. Sibongile Khumalo, 1986

Khumalo was articulating the purpose and vision of Funda Art Centre as a necessary institutional intervention addressing the marginalisation and oppression of Black people and their way of life (i.e. culture). It is interesting to note her highlighting education and culture at that time as this thinking presents itself strongly as a theme and value in the history of Funda Centre explored in this research report.

¹⁵ Third largest hospital in the world accommodating 3200 beds.

¹⁶ This is due to the inter-provincial destinations and neighbouring countries one can connect to at the rank.

At a glance, Funda Centre as a case study might seem obvious to classify. However, my engagement with the people I interviewed and my observation of activities while visiting the space - which I detail in the methodology section - immediately sent me on a deeper search. The big sign at the entrance of the campus reads “Funda Centre” and this is how most people refer to this landmark. The Create Africa Trading (CAT) audit report (2013), and by extension the Department of Arts and Culture (DAC) which commissioned it, recognises Funda as a “Community Art Centre”. It is from this identity that the basis of my research began. Then there are those that refer only to the Funda Art Centre and the art-inclined institutions under it. This is not surprising given that the art centre created an energy that vibrated throughout the campus and became a representation of the pulse of the space. But as Hagg reminds us, a community art centres in South Africa does not only focus on art:

It could also include calligraphy, sewing classes, gymnastics, martial arts and domestic arts like flower arranging. As community participation is a major aim the selection of activities will be determined by the users, normally under the guidance of professional facilitators. (Hagg, 1991, p. 33)

Some that I interviewed insist that Funda Centre is in fact a community college – “Funda Community College” (FCC) which first registered as a Section 21 Company in 1987 and later in 1997 with the Companies and Intellectual Property Commission (CIPC) as a Non-Profit Company (NPC).

Yet still there is another organisation based at the Funda campus called Funda Community Training Centre (FCTC) registered with the CIPC as a Primary Co-operative in 2012. The FCTC specialises in matric re-writing services and SETA-accredited short courses as advertised on their Facebook page. However, the FCC does not recognise the FCTC¹⁷ (see diagram comparing the two) because of differences in historical legacy¹⁸ as the community college attributes its history to the 1984 Funda Centre, while the FCTC emanates from the Senior Citizens Focus Cooperative that was given a 10-year lease agreement by the local government in

¹⁷ See diagram comparing the two.

¹⁸ Refer to annexure comparing the two organisations in detail, as well as the Institutional Cultural Value section in Chapter 5 for detailed historical journey.

2008. Indeed, at the time of writing this paper, the entity called Funda Art Centre (FAC) or even Funda Centre, does not exist in an official sense given these emerging names. There is a complex organisational structure and governance in the name as identity that this report will explore in the sections to follow.

To limit confusion pertaining to the name as used in this report, I refer to “Funda” where these organisational lines are blurred/merged/overlap; however, where a direct point is made about the FAC or FCC, I make an overt reference by observing the name used at the time and given the common elements of CACs that surface in the documentation. It is from this premise that defining the kind of entity Funda is becomes vital as an opportunity to interrogate the dynamics of identity faced by many CACs. Moreover, and central to this research is the need to look at elements of governance, leadership, and cultural value that make or break such spaces as the literature review section will show.

The survival that the CAT reported for Funda is more than just the presence of the physical building. Judin (2024) writes about the architecture of CACs that were built during Apartheid and although Funda is not one of those featured, he observes the general mentality that:

In the waning of the apartheid state as a consequence of township insurrection between 1984 and 1989, collective action and empowerment in developing organisational skills and shared aims became as important as actual construction and accommodation in these community centres. (Judin, 2024, p. 156)

As this report will show, Funda is not a figment of the imagination after all, yet whatever it is that it survived and is still surviving is in how it is imagined and re-imagined whatever the value of that survival may be for the meaning it creates.

PROBLEM STATEMENT

“Funda is not just an institution to me, it is a way of life.” **Maakomele Manaka**,
poet and alumni of Funda Centre’s Creative Youth Association

The problem that this research attempts to address is the lack of cultural policy implementation for community cultural centres in South Africa.

One of the major projects in South Africa’s arts and culture sector at the end of Apartheid in 1994, was the establishment of a programme called Culture in Community (CiC), by the Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology (DACST) in 1996. The objective of the programme was to increase access to arts and culture for local communities (Create Africa Trading, 2013). Through the CiC, government invested R50 Million to build 42 new community centres referred to by Hagg (2010) as RDP¹⁹ centres. However, it has been widely and sufficiently expressed through research and public voices that the CiC project was a failure in achieving what it had set out to do (Hagg and Selepe, 2002; Parliamentary Monitoring Group, 2006; Hagg, 2010; Create Africa Trading, 2013; Peterson, 2014; Shukuma Mzansi, 2018). In framing this sentiment and observing history as relating to the value of community arts in South Africa generally, the 2018 *Shukuma Mzansi! SA-EU Community Arts Centre’s Dialogue* conference report states that “Community arts centres that were established by civil society since the 1970s contributed significantly to social and political empowerment against the apartheid state.” (Shukuma Mzansi, 2018). However, “New state-funded centres have underperformed since 1996 due to historical disjunctions, ideological shifts, fragmented policies, institutional weaknesses and inadequate capacity in both government and the arts sector” (Hagg, 2010).

Hagg (1991, 2002, 2010), who has been studying the transition of community art centres in South Africa consistently, decries the failure of the new government to evaluate the success of CACs that thrived under Apartheid as a way of influencing how their role is seen in a democratic state. He acknowledges that in paving a future for CACs, “a vast body of knowledge, years of experience and opportunities for real

¹⁹ RDP is the Reconstruction and Development Programme by the first democratic government of South Africa as a policy to address a broad range of socio-economic inequalities that were created by colonisation and Apartheid.

democratization of culture were ignored” (Hagg, 2010, p.169). A similar take is noted by Petersen (2014) that:

The singular import and achievements of community art centres are not always acknowledged, and, if recognized, it is seldom with a deep appreciation of the various levels and interventions of radical possibilities that community cultural centres made possible during the period of apartheid. (pp. 196-197)

Recommendations from the ASSITEJ report (2023) regarding the future of CAC discourse suggest that the government should commission research for ongoing awareness of culture and its links to democracy, to inform explicitly written local cultural policies, strategies and protocols that are rooted in evidence-based data and emphasise how to work with culture for democracy. And further encouraging “greater transparency, diversity, communication and consistent follow-through in participative processes, to enable and maintain trust-building” (ASSITEJ, 2023, p. 27).

These observations point to a gap in formulating how the value of CACs could be understood based on the past – invoking the Sankofa²⁰ phenomenon and aligned to the purpose of this study.

RATIONALE: Contextualising the Research Problem Within the Cultural Policy Landscape of South Africa

Spaces like Funda Centre represent cultural/community centres that form part of a sphere of governance in which their identities and particular idiosyncrasies align with a number of policy frameworks - predicated upon the Constitution of South Africa. However, such spaces are often confronting an existential crisis that does not see them fit neatly into a pre-determined box. Policies such as the 2017 Revised White Paper on Art, Culture and Heritage (The Department of Arts and Culture, 2017), as well as the 2013 Post-school Education and Training in South Africa (ETDP SETA, 2023) respectively and combined are set in place to strengthen the value of such institutions that exist at the nexus of culture and education. This is well framed by Hagg (2010) that “as education providers, the centres were stepping stones to cultural empowerment and professional careers” (Hagg, 2010, pp. 165-166). Ten years before

²⁰ Based on the philosophy of the Akhan people of Ghana: “Sankofa teaches us the importance of learning from the past to build the future.” Sankofa.org

the 2013 audit report on CACs by Create Africa Trading, Hagg and Selepe (2002) published a national audit report based on 13 of 27 CACs of that time. While Funda Centre itself is not mentioned as a research participant, there is a noteworthy observation made by the authors about the lack of connection between the education and cultural activities at the CACs they studied. In their report they found that:

Crucial issues, such as linkages to other sectors were indicated but no provision was made for the operationalisation of such relationships. For example, the obvious link between formal education departments and the centres is not developed. In several cases informal working relationships exist between arts centres and their neighbouring schools. (Hagg and Selepe, 2002, p. 10)

Peterson suggests that the reason has to do with satisfying contesting ideological interests (2014; p.196), in line with researchers globally that “cultural development strategies may take on multiple forms and serve numerous, often competing ends” (Grodach and Loukaitou-Sideris, 2007). Some studies suggest that cultural policies globally have had to ‘attach’ their role to other more structurally defined public policies

“in which the lack of political interest and power associated with the sector, particularly at the local level, leads to the development of policy “attachment” strategies whereby funding for the sector can be gained by demonstrating the role that it can play in the fulfilment of the goals of other policy sectors.” (Gray, 2007, p. 206)

Without a clear policy mandate, it is hard to establish how the value of CACs is being optimised within the system of governance in the cultural ecosystem (i.e. encompassing policy, legislation, funding bodies, state institutions, and tiers of government). Some studies have even argued that “Funda can only stay relevant in our present socio-economic climate if it aligns itself with current FET policy” (Sidogi 2011, pp. 6-7). However, there does not seem to be genuine political will for this interaction as observed in the CAT audit report that “the Department of Education is

reluctant to use the centres for their educational needs” (Create Africa Trading, 2013, p. 8). The same despondency is registered by Higher Education expert Wolhuter (2011) in relation to the Community College movement, into which Funda sought to transition from 1990. He notes that “Community Colleges have been mooted at the time of the restructuring of South Africa’s higher education in the 1990s to 2001 after which scholars of higher education in South Africa, for the past decade became silent on the topic of Community Colleges” (Wolhuter, 2011, p. 1214).

From a Cultural Policy perspective and within the boundaries of this report, it should be noted that South Africa’s Revised White Paper on Arts, Culture and Heritage (RWP) states that its success and impact as a policy framework will be informed by “the extent to which the sector contributes to the effective delivery of arts, culture and heritage services to all the people of South Africa within a coherent framework of national development” (DSAC, 2017, p. 4). If CACs are to be seen as part of national development, then the RWP presents an opportunity for community art centres to articulate the role of culture in development and communicating the kind/s of value they offer as an important step to contributing to strategic national values.

The relevance of communicating cultural value/s at a time when there is contestation of resources has become markedly important to capture and legitimise the dynamic ways in which culture can be valued in a country where the national budget towards culture is around 0.45%²¹ compared to other government priorities such as education, health, security, or social welfare. Most government funding instruments of culture (such as the National Arts Council; the National Film and Video Foundation; the Presidential Employment Stimulus Programme; Mzansi Golden Economy funding; Business Arts South Africa; National Heritage Council) often require organisations to communicate their value based on their contribution to the economy in areas such as job creation as an important priority. This is echoed from a message by the government as recorded in Hagg’s (2010) article that “[c]ulture is not only about song and dance. Culture is about economic growth, job creation, and nurturing [the] ‘soul of the Nation’” (DACST, 1996a, Message).

²¹ What we know from the Parliamentary Monitoring Group about the allocation of funds towards operational needs of Community Art Centres is that “The National budget for CAC Programme was R1 million in 2002-03, R 3 million in 2003-4, R5 million in 2004-5, R 2 million in 2006.” <http://pmg-assets.s3-website-eu-west-1.amazonaws.com/docs/2006/060815dac.pdf>

Nonetheless, an assessment of the contribution of the creative and cultural industries²² (CCI) to economic growth found that the cultural/creative sector broadly contributes significantly where “quantitative information from 2013 indicates that South Africa’s creative economy contributed 2.9% to the national GDP and 3.6% to the total employment” (Snowball, 2016, p. 2). While it is true that the high unemployment rate in South Africa signals a call for concern, the scope of the value that culture creates is much wider and should be acknowledged as such as purported in the RWP that the policy “straddles the fundamental right to artistic creativity and access on the one hand, and the economic capacity of arts, culture and heritage on the other” (The Department of Arts and Culture, 2017, p. 5). Although CACs - which in their dynamic nature cannot be totally equated to a CCI firm - are not presented as a distinct element in CCI categorisation, some of the cultural expressions considered as industries like visual arts, music, or performance are taught, produced and executed at CACs.

The economic value judgement implies that organisations within the Arts and Culture sector need to justify their value to stand a better chance at getting a piece of the funding pie that will enable them to continue to be of service. Indeed one sees such partnership efforts by Funda and the City of Johannesburg municipality around Local Economic Development which is geared towards boosting cultural tourism as outlined in the outcome report (Funda Arts Centre, 2022) of a two day workshop the two parties held in June of 2022. These amelioration plans on Funda’s part are an example of how Funda is catalysing its identity to contribute to facets of development. This research report seeks to distill precisely what this dynamic role can mean as a cultural value in and of itself in the context of public policy. The RWP strongly advocates for an understanding of culture *beyond* economic value and Funda Centre’s groundbreaking history offers a suitable case to explore the value of culture discourse as it pertains to the journey of community art centres in South Africa.

²² Defined by UNESCO and accepted to mean “Those sectors of organized activity that have as their main objective the production or reproduction, the promotion, distribution or commercialization of goods, services and activities of content derived from cultural, artistic or heritage origins.”
<https://en.unesco.org/creativity/sites/creativity/files/digitallibrary/What%20Do%20We%20Mean%20by%20CCI.PDF>

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This research explores how the history of Funda could inform present day community arts to function optimally in the current cultural policy environment. The report therefore fills the gap of documenting the history of Funda Centre on the one hand, while on the other, distilling the various ways in which culture is valued in order to justify the legitimacy of such institutions while acknowledging unique features. In honouring the narratives about the value of culture, the research may shed light on the following:

- What affects the changing value of a community art centre over time?
- In what way has Funda kept itself relevant in the context of contemporary societal needs (as pertains to challenges of an unequal society, skills development, economic freedom, and self-empowerment amongst other themes that emerge from the data)?

AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

The first aim of this research is to document the history of Funda Centre. The second aim is to capture elements of cultural value that emerge from the data triangulation and multi-perspectivity of the narratives about Funda's history. The third aim is to offer a different perspective into how culture can be seen, measured and analysed in policy implementation.

Objectives: The research will therefore take the following steps to reach this aim.

- Use narrative case study tools to gather data that inform the history and cultural value dynamics of Funda Centre.
- Apply the Cultural Value Triangle (CVT) conceptual framework to capture the institutional, instrumental and intrinsic values exhibited in the story of Funda.
- Analyse what the confluence of these values could mean for the legitimisation of community cultural centre settings.

Research Scope

The research uses a case-study method which naturally means reflecting on the dynamic totality of the case to present a particular perspective and narrative. Funda Centre is not an isolated institution as there are other organisations which have

experienced a decline in their cultural value. This report opts to not delve into details about each of these institutions because there are hundreds of CACs nationally, and therefore to interrogate the story of each would not be feasible in such a study. However, where there is a link between any of the CACs, the paper explicitly mentions these ties and comparisons. The paper offers a timeline in Chapter 5 for an overview of some of the most significant moments in the context of the history CACs in Johannesburg.

Chapter outline

Chapter 1 presents an introduction and background of the problem within the context of community arts centres and cultural policy. In chapter 2, I review relevant literature to the study focusing on three areas: community art centres; cultural governance; and cultural value tools of measurement explored in other studies. I review the cultural value triangle (CVT) as a conceptual framework devised by Holden (2006) encompassing the intrinsic, the instrumental and the institutional values of culture in Chapter 3. The scope of cultural value for this research also incorporates the thought-leadership of Matsemela Manaka and Es'kia Mphahlele who bring in a necessary African perspective about an institution to which both were intimately involved at leadership level. Chapter 4 discusses the methods used for this narrative case-study inquiry. I present the historical narrative of Funda Centre as findings in Chapter 5 to link its story to the themes of the cultural values coming out of the research. The history of Funda is not presented chronologically but rather framed thematically within institutional cultural value, the instrumental cultural value and the intrinsic cultural value. Chapter 6 provides an analysis of how I view what the history/findings tell us. In the Conclusion chapter, and in the way of the Sankofa philosophy, I present concluding remarks and invite the symbolism of the Sankofa bird not only for what is encapsulated in the report but also as reminder of the value of looking to history in order to understand the present and pave a path for a future.

CHAPTER 2 – Literature Review

The focus of this paper is to capture the cultural value of a Community Art Centre (CAC). The first set of literature I review looks at insights about CACs and identifies some gaps that the research report attempts to fill in, grasping the nature of such organisations as well as the various ways that their meaning and value is articulated and evaluated.

The next set of literature emanating from Community Art Centres discourse is around elements of cultural governance and the extent to which they affect the value of CACs. Cultural governance is a theme closely linked to how institutions such as cultural centres find their place in the policy landscape. The literature therefore interrogates not only how organisations that deal with culture are governed internally, but also how the entire cultural governance system affects the optimisations of these organisations. This theme aligns closely with discourse on institutional cultural value.

Finally in this chapter I also acknowledge the relevance of literature about measuring the value of culture. This set of literature introduces some tools that have been applied before in an attempt to demonstrate the value of culture in ways that speaks to metrics in the economic sense. This theme aligns to the aims of this research in seeking to capture the value of culture in a way that allows for broader understanding when approaching metrics for arts and culture.

COMMUNITY ART CENTRES

There is a Setswana idiom that says: *Leina lebe seromo* and a connected expression, *Leina le ile boreelong*. The interpretation of both axioms is that giving a name to something/someone is inter-connected to its purpose, nature, or value. The saying emphasises the important role of a name as a source of meaning. Whereas a popular English phrase, “A rose by any other name is still a rose”²³, implies that it does not really matter what we call a thing, the Setswana cosmology ascribes power to what we call something in honour of its identity and therefore purpose. I’m bringing this point up as I go into reviewing literature on the Community Art discourse in South Africa and in particular as it pertains to community cultural centres as physical spaces that house/facilitate cultural activities.

²³ From William Shakespeare’s play *Romeo and Juliet*.

Since each community is unique from the next, so will the institutions that influence its purpose beyond only programming or the general umbrella term. The essence of these institutions, as mentioned in the previous sections, cannot be generalised.

John English, considered an influential activist for CACs in the UK, states in (Hagg, 1991) that for a CAC to work:

There is a programme and a policy for more than one art form, more than one space is used for arts activities, there is some professional input (artistic or managerial), there is a substantial usage which is not part of formal education.
(Hagg, 1991, p. 33)

In an attempt to define what a community art centre is, Van Robbroeck (1992) first acknowledges that “a comprehensive definition of community arts centres is practically impossible, as no two centres are the same” (van Robbroeck, 1992, p. 54). The author does, however, provide elements that most community art centres share. She highlights the collaborative, shared use of space as a strength and value in and of itself. This kind of value was echoed by cultural scholar Zayd Minty at the Shukuma Mzansi conference of 2018 that community art centres represent “a fireplace” around which the community can gather and connect – what McCarthy et al. (2004) refer to as the creation of social bonds and communal meaning. As the words that make up CACs indicate, we see that there is a sense of community brought together by a particular phenomenon (arts and culture) into a physical space called a centre. Another important and useful point to be taken from Van Robbroeck (1992) is her differentiation of a community art centre from other institutions such as schools and universities in that community centres encourage access (van Robbroeck, 1992, p. 54) due to relaxed entry requirements pertaining to prior knowledge or age, for example. With Funda’s main mission anchored in education, this is a useful reading in support of the research’s quest to relate the value it creates in the education spectrum, especially in a country like South Africa where access to education has not been inclusive as was seen with the 1976 protests and more recently the #FeesMustFall movement in 2016 – both led by students to highlight disparities in the education system.

Indeed, even with these strong commonalities, not all community art centres have the same story. Hagg (2010) was able to group different types of community art centres in South Africa into two categories – the NGO-led group mostly made up of “old-era” centres and state-owned centres that he calls RDPs²⁴ to paint a picture that delineates the governance of their structuring and the history behind their purpose as centres of collective cultural expression. Without going into detail about each institution, there is a recognised change that my research found to be fundamentally important in understanding the nature of CACs in South Africa. Hagg (2010) notes that two main changes that affected their identity were firstly, the replacement of the ideology of culture as a weapon for resistance (2010, p.167) - whose value was evident during Apartheid (Sachs, 1991) - and secondly trying to create a new single ideology under the new democratic government. It is these shifts in how value is seen and interpreted which is so relevant to this research report.

The research is seeking to understand the value of Funda during Apartheid when it was established, to how it has transitioned with the new democratic government and assess how the periodical political shift has affected how high or low its value is in its quest of redressing social anomalies as alluded to in the founding documents of the FAC (Funda Art Centre, 1986). The second change that Hagg (2010) alludes to is that post-apartheid decision-making was centralised to government more than it was to participants. He argues that “the shift towards centralized practice was a result of a strong belief among political leaders that the state is the lead actor in redress” (Hagg, 2010, p. 167). This second point is important in helping the research understand the nature of CACs and their perceived roles within the wider cultural governance network. More importantly, this points to the gap in literature about whose voice legitimises the various cultural values that CACs offer. Indeed, the narrative section of this research will reveal that the voice of participants in this study attached an intrinsic and educational value to Funda, while on the contrary the national CAT report found that centre managers (in the employ of provincial or local government) regard the creation of jobs and generation of income as the most important strategic goals to achieve for

²⁴ Forty-two (42) of these were built as part of the new government’s Reconstruction and Development Program (RDP).

a CAC (Create Africa Trading, 2013, p. 21)²⁵. These two different voices reveal the disjuncture in the ideological framework of CACs which this paper is interested in addressing without discounting one over the other. The same trend is seen in the USA (Grodach & Loukaitou-Sideris, 2007, p. 360) where the entrepreneurial strategy proved to be most important for centre managers rather than just cultural development.

As already established in the previous chapter, CACs could not sustain their powerful impact which was seen during the Apartheid era (Campschreur & Divendal, 1989; Nawa, 2021; Ntuli, 1991; Peterson, 2014; Sachs, 1991). They share the same historical motivation with USA based CACs whose value was prominent during the civil rights movement of the 1960s (Grodach & Loukaitou-Sideris, 2007). Similarly in South Africa, CACs created space where communities could be mobilised and unite as a voice for liberation. CACs embodied the wishes of a just society even as there was no formal/official classification explicitly. Poet laureate Mongane Serote emphasises that “the challenge was how to translate that theoretical understanding to anchor, root and inform an organisation of arts and culture to be practical in expressing that revolutionary strategy and tactics” (Nawa, 2021, p. 343). This challenge is acknowledged by Hagg who reflects that “[a]lthough the NGO centres were successful in political mobilization and educational services, their organizational performance was often fragile” (Hagg, 2010, p. 166).

Ten years into the new democratic government, Graham Falken, then Director at Cape Town’s Community Art Project (CAP), edited a book to celebrate and assess the legacy of community art centres in South Africa (Falken, 2004). The reflections are compelling and valuable in forming part of the narrative of some CACs. The book consists of articles and interviews that look at the formation of particular community arts centres/projects (Funda NOT one of them) and offers an overview of how the formations came about during Apartheid. Funda is mentioned in passing as one of the more politicised community centres together with Alexander Art Centre, Nyanga Art Centre and CAP itself (Falken, 2004, p. 54). However, the majority of those interviewed for my research did not assign a political party relating to their involvement at Funda although political consciousness is consistently implied. Another slight

²⁵ “Governmentally managed Centres operate within general policy guidelines established by local or provincial Government: these are often in an awkward relationship with the realities of managing the operations of the Centres” (CAT, 2013, p. 31)

mention of Funda in Falken's *Inheriting the Flame – New Writing on Community Arts in South Africa* (Falken, 2004), is how Funda “provided much space for organisations after hours” (Falken, 2004, p. 47), and this immediately ascribes an important value about the institution's accessibility. Although Falken's publication did not focus on Funda as a case study, my research shares the same sentiments about capturing the historical significance of the community arts movement. Falken (2004) saw the importance of prioritising this project as he points out that: “[i]t is always difficult to devote scarce resources to writing about community arts – it's easiest to spend on 'doing'. But without documenting, commenting on and critiquing our history and current practice there will be no sustainable development” (Falken, 2004, p. 4). As stated, it is for this reason that this research aims to contribute to the gap of documenting narratives of CACs.

In a case study of the Community Art Project (CAP), (Lochner, 2013) laments what he calls “the bygone era of a thriving CAC movement” during Apartheid. These sentiments are also carried by Peterson (2014) who writes about the Afrika Cultural Centre that used to operate successfully in the Johannesburg CBD, aptly expressing that “community art centres often developed and articulated alternate epistemologies, aesthetics, and pedagogies that, it was hoped, would serve a foundational role in the changes that were envisaged in a post-apartheid South Africa” (Peterson, 2014, p. 197). The same trend was observed in a number of other reports (Hagg and Selepe, 2002; Hagg, 2010; Create Africa Trading, 2013; Shukuma Mzansi, 2018). Despite the perceived decline, what is useful to take away from Lochner's (2013) study is the relevance of the timelessness of the intrinsic value that community arts hold which is part of what this research seeks to capture. He opines that “art centres encouraged a different kind of development under Apartheid, concerned with intangible issues of identity and being which are still relevant today” (Lochner, 2013, p. 315).

A worthwhile interpretation of community arts is offered by British community arts activist Owen Kelly who advocates for the community arts movement establishing its own political framework. Kelly (1984) argued that cultural practitioners and artists working within the community arts space have not been able to create a theoretical framework. The consequence that Kelly (1984) observes is that the movement,

[l]nstead relied on the kind of 'common sense' definitions which can be manipulated and twisted, with the result that community artists are increasingly told what to do, and how to do it, by people whose motivations often directly contradict the alleged aims of the community arts movement. (Kelly, 1984, p. 3)

Indeed, developing a voice (and not being told what to do) is a catalyst to articulating value - something this research is concerned about. Although Kelly's analysis is based in the context of the UK, it is an important source in understanding the role of community arts drawing on ideological commonalities that put the community at the centre and honours the voice from within the community arts themselves. Since then the UK has become one of the leading regions focusing on cultural value indicators (NESTA webpage, no date; Fleming, 2015; Holden, 2015). Similarly, the tension between what *is* and how *it* is framed is well summarised by what MacDowall (2014) in the USA proposes; that "many community-based arts activities aim to contest the idea of singular, narrowly-defined or pre-defined ideas of value: these aims are not usually reflected in evaluation frameworks or processes" (MacDowall, 2014). I would argue that Funda finds itself precisely with this predicament where reports suggest that its land might go on tender (Sowetan, 2019). Losing the land would mean that Funda would need to justify the value of its existence. The municipal government, as the mandated landlords of the campus post-1994, have no legislated responsibility for actual activities (cultural or educational), and might need the kind of research proposed in this paper in order to reflect on the different ways in which culture is valued for CAC settings. Grodach and Loukaitou-Sideris' (2007) research into CACs in the USA revealed a similar trend and further caution against "overall focus on promotional activities and centralized facilities and blockbuster events [that] often necessitate support for cultural activities that are more mainstream and of politically neutral content" rather than appreciating the full spectrum of value of "community- orientated arts facilities and education programs in underserved communities" (Grodach & Loukaitou-Sideris, 2007, p. 364)

Perspectives from this set of literature is valuable to this research as it deals with common characteristics of the community art centre phenomenon as well as

contextualised idiosyncrasies that differentiate their stories. Furthermore, the literature helps in putting a focus on the dynamics of who has power to determine and define the trajectory of such organisations.

CULTURAL GOVERNANCE

The next set of literature, emanating from the nature of community art centres, focuses on cultural governance as an element of institution-building as well as a mode of governance that is sensitive to the dynamics of culture. Joffe et al. in King and Schramme (2019) keenly observe that “the term ‘cultural governance’ is not commonly used in South Africa’s arts and culture lexicon, yet it exists in practice” (2019, p. 170). The authors provide an overview of how different kinds of organisations that offer cultural goods and services are organised into the formal or informal. For this research, Joffe et al. (2019) present the context-based dynamics of South Africa’s socio-political landscape that affect how these different institutions are governed or govern themselves. My research report considers various perspectives on the concept of cultural governance, specifically Moon (2001), and King and Schramme (2019). Both these sources approach cultural governance from a perspective of management and being accountable to funders and imply the involvement of government. The view of cultural governance as government’s involvement suggests that cultural governance itself is a recognisable value that can bear its own indicators. Therefore, governance-related factors (Joffe et al., 2019, p. 179) such as leadership, management, administration, capacity building, funding, accountability, and stakeholder engagement (Hagg, 2010) are important to the study on the history of Funda and will be reflected in the narrative so as to address the research questions.

Joffe et al. (2019) cover aspects of cultural governance with a dedicated section analysing the funding landscape and related implications such as gender equity, transparency, access, programming, and the Public Finance Management Act (PFMA). However, the question of cultural value is not sufficiently brought forth in exposing how value is determined by the funding instruments nor whether the articulation of such values plays a role in addressing the very value of cultural organisations. The authors instead note the “repeated concerns by our funding bodies such as the NAC that it is regarded as an ATM (a cash machine), as people require funds for survival” (Joffe et al., 2019, p. 169). This demonstrates the weak framing of engagement between the state and the cultural sector.

The gap that this report wishes to begin to fill is exploring and presenting the various ways that cultural values are recognised in a way that all stakeholders can start to acknowledge, appreciate, and advance research as a way of meaning-making, and legitimising cultural organisations.

There is, however, another nuanced perspective that I found useful for this research presented by Schmitt (2011) which overtly considers the intrinsic value of culture, i.e. its meaning, as a key element to successful cultural governance. Schmitt (2011) suggests that the governance field, which in the case of this research is the value of culture and the cultural object which is Funda, are analysed in their own right. Schmitt (2011) suggests that an analytical level of a governance field should reflect on the “connected, overlapping and even competing fields of governance” (2011, p. 26). I can see how this applies, for example, between cultural goods for intrinsic value and those for economic value as competing perspectives within the cultural governance space, yet still impact each other to a degree even as their distinct values are acknowledged separately. This brings about the oft repeated saying about “art for art’s sake versus art for economic advancement”. Schmitt (2011) suggests that such “tensions” should be observed and acknowledged. I find that this integration and awareness provides an opportunity to understand the ecosystem that the cultural object is a part of instead of a siloed approach to determining cultural value.

Sometimes, cultural governance itself can be considered an indicator of cultural value such as was the case with The Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC) in the United Kingdom. However, in their report the mode of governance was not necessarily explored which limits the understanding of what was measured. Nonetheless, the report finds that the biggest potential for citizens to fully engage with culture is through smaller-scale local activities (Coote et al., 2004 in AHRC, 2017), but acknowledge too that “complex, community-based initiatives are hard to evaluate because of the speed with which they are being rolled out, and because they are trying to address multiple problems within shifting political environments” (AHRC, 2017, p. 85). To me this indicates that how an organisation is structured, how it manages its finances, how it stays accountable to its constituencies, how it is capacitated and how the entirety of its institutional value is recognised become an indicator about the health of that organisation. The effects are significant when it comes to accessing funds as observed by Joffe et al. (2019) that “dependence on government funding leads to the constitution

of a certain kind of organisation designed to meet the necessary requirements of funding” (Joffe et al., 2019, p. 178). This could be the case of being told what to do, as alluded to by Kelly (1984). The limitations of such a model is that concentrating issues of governance into a single indicator does not always acknowledge the influence of the sociopolitical climate that enables (or weakens) strong governance structures as these centres do not operate in a silo. Even more detrimental is that an organisation might get completely derailed in the quest to satisfy their constitution and way of working to a funder’s expectations which might be out of touch with the CAC’s reality.

Jane Merkel in (Anheier and Isar, 2012), alludes to cultural strategy rather than cultural governance in a similar vein that Grodach and Loukaitou-Sideris (2007) refer to cultural development strategies in USA community art centre landscape. Merkel offers this alternative in the case of Berlin where she suggests that a strategy would “identify all the relevant actors in the city, define priorities and responsibilities, and would make active use of inter-dependencies, instead of just acknowledging them as in the case of creative industries which cut through economic, planning, education and cultural politics” (Merkel, 2012, p. 66). In South Africa, there is still tension between the three tiers of government about responsibilities and the necessary links and policy guidelines that should be assisting CACs to experience their place in the cultural governance arena. Like in the USA, “most often, municipal support for cultural facilities comes in the form of land contributions, funding for renovations and expansions, and developing parking and infrastructure” (Grodach & Loukaitou-Sideris, 2007, p. 357). Based on cultural policy personnel interviewed in the UK, Stevenson et al (2010) confirm that “cultural policy operates under a “fuzzy” definition within each framework of governance.” (Stevenson *et al.*, 2010, p. 250), making it difficult to construct an operational understanding of culture.

I have thus opted for the cultural governance perspectives as they present a range of factors within the cultural governance discourse that affects how a CAC might be valued. This perspective also considers the cultural and symbolic meaning of an organisation which assists in locating the cultural values created by Funda.

THE IMMEASURABLE PRESENCE OF CULTURE: EXPLORING SOME TOOLS

Always bear in mind that the people are not fighting for ideas, for the things in anyone's head. They are fighting to win material benefits, to live better and in peace, to see their lives go forward, to guarantee the future of their children. (Cabral, 1970, p. 86)

The discourse on cultural value does not stem from the fact that people do not recognise the value of culture at all even as some scholars argue that “for most of human history, cultural activity has not been seen as part of the economy at all” (Newbigin, 2010, p. 15). Rather, as the arts and culture sector is part of any social/political economy (Bakhshi, Freeman and Hitchen, 2009a) the real concern is in how it is legitimised and seen. With the world focusing on Sustainable Development Goals, specialists in the area of development point out that “it should be obvious that culture matters to sustainable development. Yet almost 30 years after the Brundtland report, ‘Our Common Future’²⁶, the incorporation of culture into sustainability debates seems to remain a great challenge, both scientifically and politically” (Dessein et al., 2015). Following the aftermath of the covid-19 pandemic, Justin O’Connor who is a leading professor of Cultural Economy implores; “We need to reset our shared understandings of art and culture, and the language in which we frame them” (O’Connor, 2022, p. 2). Although the value of culture (and by extension including artist expressions) has always been recognised, there have been great efforts since the 1990’s to progress research into how this value can be reflected (McCarthy et al., 2004). In line with this recognition, the UK NESTA²⁷ report firmly cautions that, “the way that we measure the value of cultural institutions matters. They are valued in distinct ways by those who use it and those that do not, as well as by different groups in society” (Bakhshi et al., 2015, p. 2). A similar view is held by (Stevenson *et al.*, 2010) that “culture is rewarded (financially) not because of a belief in its inherent virtue and

²⁶ The report is credited as the basis for formulating Sustainable Development Goals from the earlier Millennium Development Goals.

²⁷ The National Endowment for Science, Technology and the Arts (NESTA) is an independent organisation in the United Kingdom (UK), supported by a publicly funded endowment.

value, but for its measurable ability to affect these social and economic outcomes” (Stevenson *et al.*, 2010, p. 257).

So, in a world where economic and political agendas are at the forefront of determining/guiding not only what is of value but also how that value should be accounted for, arts and culture organisations and artists find themselves having to keep up with the demands for evidence of their value in order to get funded for the goods and services they provide.²⁸ As revealed in Grodach and Loukaitou-Sideris (2007, p. 358), “economic goals seem to dominate social ones in the development of municipal cultural strategies”. The demands for measurement are not necessarily unique to the cultural sector. However, because of its unique characteristics, intrinsic value and subjective meaning, the cultural sector is the most frustrated when it comes to metrics for measuring the value it creates.

Although this research focuses on the Cultural Value Triangle recommended by John Holden (2006), it is worth noting tools that other researchers have explored in progressing thought-leadership around the different ways that culture can be valued for its varied purpose.

Economic Impact Assessment

One of the most popular methods of assessment for culture is called the Economic Impact Assessment (EIA) where data from a study can offer the value of a product or service in a quantifiable manner attached to a monetary value (Throsby, 2003). The real strength of this method lies in its ability to quantify what would be acceptable in the economic value discourse. However, as the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) policy advisor David Throsby (2003) points out, economic value is not in itself as simplistic as counting numbers and should not be confused with commercial or financial value as it takes into consideration direct value derived from a particular cultural or artistic good or service. South African Economics Professor, Jen Snowball uses this method for the Grahamstown National Arts Festival and her reflections of the process point to the not-so-straightforward dynamics of EIA.

²⁸ For example, minutes from a meeting convened by the Arterial Network in April 2013 where organisations such as Business Arts South Africa, Inyathelo, and other civil society organisations representing the arts expressed that art organisations need to be able to acclimatise to the Funding agenda of arts agencies that are government-funded. It was noted that “while there were challenges with the current policy landscape, there was also excessive reliance on public funding from within the sector”
<http://www.arterialnetwork.org/projects/ansa-report-the-state-of-arts-funding-in-south-africa>

She cautions that “calculating the economic impact of an arts festival is not a simple process and the reliability of the final figure depends very much on the validity of the variables used in doing so” (Snowball and Antrobus, 2009, p. 55). This methodology is not always clear cut in that the investigator must consider variables such as deciding on the geographic area of study and choosing which multipliers or spillovers to include. Spillovers refer to the indirect benefits derived directly from the cultural activity or product (Fleming, 2015) or what Holden (2006) refers to as externalities. For example, when a movie is made, jobs are created in other sectors such as the transportation or catering for crew members. The issue of spillovers, however, is still being developed as a methodology, notably by governments in Europe who are seeking a way of framing an inter-disciplinary approach to spillovers²⁹.

It is not yet established whether methodologies recommended by Flemming (2015, p. 10) have been adopted in full as he proposes intangible spillovers like those derived from knowledge and new ideas, those derived from networking and the density of art and artists in a specific area, as well as industry spillover from the industry as a whole in the cultural value-chain. Placing such spillovers in an EIA creates yet another layer but the intention still remains to measure the financial and market value as succinctly articulated in the BOP Consulting study:

[A]n EIA starts from the premise that an arts or cultural organisation attracts visitors, who do not simply spend money on their ticket or entrance fee but also buy meals in local restaurants, go to local shops, or perhaps stay in local hotels as part of their trip. (BOP Consulting, 2016, p. 7)

The impact assessment provided by EIA, however, falls short of measuring or articulating what is at the core of culture – its intrinsic value.

Contingent Valuation Method

Snowball and Antrobus (2002) recommend that the EIA as an assessment tool be combined with a Contingent Valuation Method (CVM) in order to optimise measuring the value of the arts to the economy. CVM could be seen to complement EIA because it measures the non-market contribution of culture - what Holden (2004) refers to as

²⁹ Different Arts and Culture agencies in Europe (England, Ireland, Netherlands), commissioned a study to explore methodologies that can capture the spillover effects of arts and culture. See Flemming (2015).

the “use value and existence values not captured within markets” (Holden, 2004, p. 32). David Throsby and Glenn Withers were among the first to apply CVM to the arts back in 1983 (Throsby, 2003). In order to determine the contingent value of a cultural good, service or practice, the investigator measures what respondents are “Willing To Pay” (the WTP method). This tool is used to measure what people are willing to pay, sometimes even without experiencing the artistic expression. For example, asking people directly if they would be willing to pay to have a particular artistic offering (a festival, a museum, a Community Arts Centre) and for how much. Assessors use WTP to provide “data on social and/or non- market externalities” (Snowball & Antrobus, 2005, p. 1315). If I were to use this method in this research, for example, I would find out if people derived value from the existence of Funda (based on services, products or other outputs like the Funda library) even if the people do not necessarily use those services themselves. In addition, interviewees might be asked how much they would be willing to pay. The non-market externalities could mean the same as intangible spillovers as articulated in the previous paragraph. The most positive attribute for this method in terms of culture is that it really forces us to address *how* respondents see the value that culture creates.

This tool does not come without its limitations. Twenty years after conducting what was deemed a successful and sufficient³⁰ CVM, Throsby (2003) himself reflected on some of the weaknesses of this methodology. He firstly questions whether CVM/WTP methods will ever be able to provide enough information so that a respondent can make good judgement. He argues that the nature of the value might have to be considered over the value that the individual derives. In a demographically diverse country like South Africa and with a history of inequalities, it would be interesting to see the grey area about whether a response about a *willingness* to pay is affected by an attitude driven by an *ability* to pay in the context of a relatively poor community making priorities. When one considers an institution like the Soweto Theatre for example, I often question if the people of Soweto would choose for public funds to be utilised for the theatre based on what they require for everyday survival, as pointed out by Cabral (1970) regarding ideas versus the tangible for this kind of valuation. But that is not what my study is about at the moment. Supporters of the CVM method

³⁰ Deemed successful by its findings and accepted by the Australian Government and later the Canadian government.

include Bakhshi, Freeman and Hitchen (2009), who, urge us to *stop worrying and love economics* by pointing out that the “solution is not to exempt arts spending from economic criteria but rather to improve the economic practice used to judge such spending” (Bakhshi, Freeman and Hitchen, 2009b). Indeed, as alluded to before in this paper, culture does carry an economic value but perhaps there is room to reflect on its other values as Dessein et al. (2015) remind us: “[W]hile indicators reflect policy options, they can also shape them, since very often policies, or at least activities are defined by what outputs can be measured. This often leaves behind the less quantifiable areas of cultural sustainability and which are a great many” (Dessein et al., 2015). And much more useful for the gaps that this paper attempts to fill, “it becomes necessary – far more difficult – to devise and use qualitative indicators by means, for example, of general descriptions, anecdotes and observations, narratives, images and perhaps even performance” (Dessein et al., 2015, p. 50)

CHAPTER 3 Framing the Research

“Understanding the benefits of the arts is central to the discussion and design of policies affecting the arts.” (McCarthy et al., 2004, p. iii).

Berger and Patchner (1988) remind us of the crucial role a conceptual framework plays in that “concepts enable us to impose some sort of meaning on the world; through them reality is given sense, order and coherence. They are the means by which we are able to come to terms with our experience” (Leshem and Trafford, 2007, p. 97). In the case of a narrative research approach, this aligns with Moen’s case for extracting meaning in stories where “the constant interaction between theory and empirical data makes it possible to understand and gain new insight” (Moen, 2006, p. 7). Thus the conceptual framework in this research serves the purposes of framing the research within certain borders, understanding definitions, while also providing a lens through which the data can be reflected upon. To sufficiently orientate the value of culture, it is worth interrogating what is meant by culture and its role in society. It is also important, given the fluidity of the meaning of culture, to place our understanding within a context that justifies capturing its value.

DEFINING CULTURE

It is not within the scope of this research to go into detail about the meaning of the term “culture”, which can be interpreted in a number of ways from various perspectives. However, to do justice to the point of investigation for this research around cultural value, some contextual orientation is necessary. Firstly, given that I am using this word in English, whose closest meaning in my own language of Setswana is loaded cosmologically/linguistically, I will attempt to present what this term means to me and for this research. Secondly, in the next section, I attempt to contextualise the use of this term within the cultural value discourse (Holden, 2004) which highlights the nuances of how culture can be valued in delivering the goals of public policy.

In his breakdown of English keywords, the oft quoted Williams (1983), has described the word “culture” as one of the most complicated words in the English language. He traces the use of the word with roots that suggest that the term is derived from cultivation and grooming of crops or animals, to recent times where it is associated

with art and intelligence (Williams, 1983, p. 87). To illustrate the complexity of the term “culture” outside the roots and history that Williams (1983) refers to, I thought of my own relation to the word given that English is not my first language. In Setswana, there would be different terms used to refer to various aspects of “culture”. If someone were to ask me in English “What is your culture?” I would not be able to answer without probing some more because in my language there is no such word per se. If the same question is asked in Setswana for example (to induce a similar answer), the question would be framed around some specifics such as “*O mokae?*” - this alone asks, “what people are you from?” and simultaneously “what is your language?”. “*O wa ga mang?*” – “what is your clan or family name?” or “*O ana eng?*” - “what are your symbols and totems i.e. what do you represent?” I associate the word with identity in that who you are and how you live is an embodiment of your culture. In this association, a fellow Motswana friend indicated that he would translate the word as meaning “*Botho*”, more popular in its isiZulu translation as *uBuntu*, meaning your “Being” and way of life. Just as with life itself, culture is always moving and never stagnated in one place or time. These interpretations suggest that the term culture can be used to refer to this “beingness” as a product and an action or process simultaneously or separately. In other words, how a state of being is actualised. This interpretation of culture from my lived experience aligns with many Africans’ take on approaching this word, as succinctly put by renowned historian Walter Rodney: “A culture is a total way of life. It embraces what people ate and what they wore; the way they walked and the way they talked; the manner in which they treated death and greeted the newborn” (Rodney, 1982, p. 34).

Contextually, this orientation about the fundamental basis of my understanding of the meaning of “culture” is even more appropriate because of how Funda (as the object of culture in this investigation) is placed in society. The research therefore asks: What is this being/entity that is Funda, what is Funda’s way of life and ultimately what values/meaning does it create in the cultural ecosystem? The research is enriched by taking into account the socio-political environment that shapes the conceptual framework of cultural value. For a people whose culture has been repressed, misrepresented and stolen such as in South Africa, Amilcar Cabral offers an appropriate lens through which to interpret the meaning of culture in his seminal speech of 1970, *National Liberation and Culture*; that the value of culture becomes the

“vigorous manifestation on the ideological plane of the physical and historical reality of the society that is dominated” (Cabral, 1973, p. 41). For the purpose of this paper then, I deduce that whatever culture may be interpreted to mean speaks to how it embraces the totality of its expressed beingness and its role in society, since culture is always evolving and cannot be fixated into a temporal box as a singular frame of reference. Therefore looking at the history of Funda enriches this research report in distilling how different values show up during different periods. Culture, for this research then, is represented by both the object and activities that make up the identity of Funda Centre and thus the values that emerge as a result.

CULTURAL VALUE TRIANGLE AS A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK – The Trinity of Holden, Manaka and Mphahlele

My curiosity about Funda Centre led me to deliberate about the essence of the value of culture. What does value look like? From what perspective can the value of something be acceptable? What could be the different factors that inform value? As highlighted in the research questions, I also pondered whether value transforms through time where if something was of value in the past, the present time could render it valueless and why, or vice versa. A useful way of approaching this is best expressed by O'Connor and Gibson who look at the cultural economy broadly and state that "our answer is to position art and culture as a combination of freedom and necessity, needs and rights" (Connor and Gibson, 2015, p. 12).

Both the concepts of "culture" and "value" are fluid and complex, creating space for multiple perspectives and articulation. For this reason (or to circumvent this), this paper relies on scholarship that approaches the concept of cultural value from three complementary angles represented by John Holden, Matsemela Manaka and Es'kia Mphahlele that together frame this research. Holden (2004, 2006) provides the overall model whereas Manaka (1987, 1997) and Mphahlele (1984, 2003) frame the specificity of place and time in South Africa in relation to the value of culture from an African and practitioner's perspective.

The themes in this narrative report are inspired by the Cultural Value Triangle (CVT) conceptual framework, which was conceived by UK-based cultural policy analyst, John Holden (2004, 2006) with the aim of addressing commonly stated struggles of measuring and capturing the value of culture – a noteworthy frustration in the cultural policy discourse. I found the CVT framework appropriate for this report as it particularly relates to cultural organisations in the context of public policy goals. I have chosen to use Holden's CVT to inform the narrative of Funda because he arrives at this model as a response to how culture can be measured using a new language that help us reflect better on the cultural governance plane. Moreover, the confluence of the three values within the CVT framework is useful in distinguishing distinct, particular features which converge to provide some kind of vocabulary and guidelines to capture cultural value.

This research brings forth the importance of representing an African viewpoint about the value of culture because it is precisely that context that would allow me to capture the narrative of Funda Centre – a centre based in an African country and existing within a particular socio-political climate. I consistently came across these two renowned thought leaders, Matsemela Manaka and Es'kia Mphahlele, who were both in their own right active actors in the artistic, education and leadership of Funda Centre. Manaka was the founding coordinator of Funda Art Centre in 1984 and Es'kia Mphahlele the founding Chairperson and later Director who led Funda Centre in its transition to Funda Community College from 1988.

It is therefore befitting for this study to consider the conceptual understanding of culture from the thought-leaders that are well-respected by the cultural community.

Renowned writer and cultural expert Zakes Mda declares Matsemela Manaka and Maishe Maponya as pioneers of Theatre for Resistance and distinguishes them thus: “Whereas Protest Theatre (of the 50s and 60s) addressed itself to the oppressor with the aim of appealing to his conscience, Theatre for Resistance addressed itself to the oppressed with the overt aim of rallying or of mobilising the oppressed to the fight against oppression” (Mda, 1994, p. 17).

Through their own work as artists, (Manaka as a lauded theatre maker and Mphahlele as an acclaimed novelist and poet), they have consistently brought forth the intrinsic value of culture from an African perspective through artistic expressions. It is their thought leadership and artistic work that saw both render institutional value to Funda for its recognition as an important institution in the cultural ecosystem during their time on earth. Both Manaka and Mphahlele therefore bring to the table a very context-based framing of cultural value as relating to the very object of investigation with which they were both very intimate, and also because Funda’s activities are associated with education and the arts.

The cultural value triangle (CVT)

In order to sufficiently capture cultural value, Holden suggests that organisational processes and outcomes, together with acknowledgement of the subjective be taken into account so that legitimisation of institutions does not solely come from “delegated decision-making authority” (Holden, 2004, p. 44). In an article aptly titled *Cultural Value and the Crisis of Legitimacy: Why Culture Needs a Democratic Mandate*, Holden

(2006) sharpens the concept of cultural value (stemming from his work in 2004) by devising a triangle **consisting of three values, namely; the Intrinsic Value, the Instrumental Value and the Institutional Value associated with cultural organisations.**

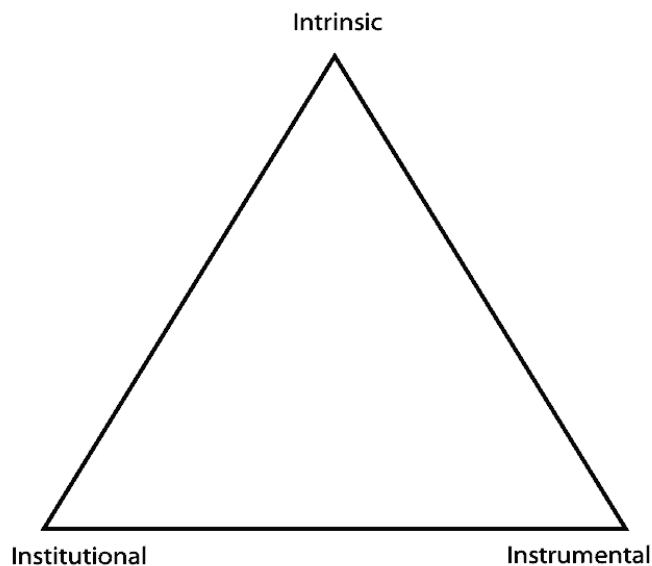


Figure 1: Cultural Value Triangle by John Holden (2006)

I begin this section with the categorisation of cultural value as framed by Holden (2004, 2006), and incorporate the specificities and relevance brought in by Manaka and Mphahlele.

Intrinsic Value

At the apex of Holden's (2006) Cultural Value Triangle is the **Intrinsic Value** to express a set of values that "relate to the subjective experience of culture intellectually, emotionally and spiritually" (Holden, 2006, p. 14). This aspect of cultural value is a contentiously sensitive issue in terms of how it can be captured due to its intangible and idiosyncratic nature. However, Holden (2004) does offer useful guidelines and examples of how this value can be perceived. The intrinsic value of culture connects to innate associations such as belief systems, symbolism, sense of identity, or evoking emotional senses. "This tells me who I am", declares Holden (2006, p. 14), offering one example of how the intrinsic effect might be articulated by someone. Similarly, relating to identity and its role, Manaka (2007) asserts in the introduction to his book, *Echoes of African Art*, that "the question of identity brings us back to sharpen our understanding of culture as the creative source" (2007, p. 18). Mphahlele (2003) defined this identity in the realm of spirituality and culture as *African Humanism*. In this

framing, culture has an intrinsic value that embodies uBuntu or Botho as a way of life and one that is upheld by the Revised White Paper and enshrined in the Constitution of South Africa (The Department of Arts and Culture, 2017). With South Africa's National Development Plan emphasising social cohesion as a key strategic goal for building our nation (Republic of South Africa, 2012), the concept of intrinsic value becomes crucial and is worth recognising outside of other more tangible values of culture. Assessing the value of culture at American CACs, (McCarthy et al., 2004) bring in a relevant observation from their research about the ability of culture to bring people together. They reflect that,

[W]hen people share the experience of works of art, either by discussing them or by communally experiencing them, one of the intrinsic benefits is the social bonds that are created. This benefit is different from the instrumental social benefits that the arts offer. (McCarthy et al., 2004, p. xvi)

Culture as Botho or Humanism (Mphahlele, 2003), therefore, finds manifestation in these social bonds.

A more tangible/practical element of the intrinsic value for an institution is brought forth by Mphahlele (1984) from his autobiography, *Afrika My Music*, when he responded to a question about what makes an African university. He points out that more than just employing more African people, what is even more important is that the content and ideas employed reflect the intrinsic value and identity: “[C]urricula and syllabuses should increasingly be Africa-based, instead of constantly singing the triumphs of Western civilization” (Mphahlele, 1984, p. 7). Manaka alludes to such symbolic yet tangible value in a comment he made to journalist Raeford Daniel in 1979 relating to his seminal play *Egoli*. Speaking around representation as a cultural value, he laments: “In my studies of English at Unisa, I have to read Shakespeare. Why can't I read Serote, Mtshali and Soyinka, who are part of my culture and are alive to the present?” (Davis, 1997, p. 199). It is therefore telling that intrinsic value is associated with certain symbolic actions in that for an institution to embody such values there needs to be an action associated with the identity of users and participants.

The different facets of the value of culture as intrinsic resonates with many other voices on the discourse of culture (Rodney, 1982; Bakhshi, Freeman and Hitchen, 2009b;

Peterson, 2014; Bakhshi *et al.*, 2015; Connor and Gibson, 2015; Snowball, 2016, 2022; O'Connor, 2022) who recognise the seemingly intangible and subjective which are nonetheless present in the intrinsic realm to inform the value of culture. The ideas are best summarised by one of the leading scholars in the area of measuring culture, Throsby (2003), who reminds us that:

The characteristics of cultural goods which give rise to their cultural value might include their aesthetic properties, their spiritual significance, their role as purveyors of symbolic meaning, their historic importance, their significance in influencing artistic trends, their authenticity, their integrity, their uniqueness, and so on. (Throsby, 2003, p. 280)

The framing of the concept of the intrinsic value in Holden's (2006) triangle is helpful in understanding how this value locates meaning in the way that Manaka and Mphahlele have offered this succinct perspective as might apply to the object of investigation that is Funda Centre.

Instrumental Value

The second value in the CVT is the **Instrumental Value** of culture. This particular value, unlike the intrinsic, is a lot easier to determine through outputs. Using culture to achieve good health, or for learning and teaching, or as a business to generate income creates a value that is immediately identifiable within respective metrics. The CIC programme coinciding with the Growth, Employment, and Redistribution (GEAR) in South Africa, sought to focus on such as observed by Hagg (2010) that "in order to obtain state funding, the centres had to back up their demands by increasingly arguing for their utility in terms of social and economic investment, similar to the arts centres overseas" (Hagg, 2010, p. 169). What the instrumental value of culture allows us to see is its use and impact on other issues that are not necessarily art related as an outcome. As established by cultural policy scholars:

The instrumentalisation of policy embodies this ideological change by ensuring that considerations that are external to the content of the policy sector itself receive much greater attention than had previously been the case, and become

much more central to the consideration of what public policies are meant to achieve. (Gray, 2007, p. 210)

In other words, the instrumentality of culture and the outcomes one wants to achieve in a tangible, measurable way speak back to the value of culture or influence how policy is shaped. Notwithstanding the many indicators that might point to whether a culture exhibits value such as the indicators employed by the South African Cultural Observatory (SACO) on the arts and culture sectors' contribution to the GDP, or to society's well-being, or the educational impact etc., the lens of Instrumental Value in this section is assumed to acknowledge how we define and measure this value in a way that assists the findings in this report to understand and capture the very idiosyncratic (albeit instrumental) values of the case study. Holden (2006) points out that "this kind of value tends to be captured in 'output', 'outcome' and 'impact' studies that document the economic and social significance of investing in the arts" (Holden, 2006, p. 16). In their capacity as artists and educators, the most instrumental of values embraced by Manaka and Mphahlele are in the realm of art and education. Manaka (1987) places this value in terms of its output and outcome when he writes on the back cover of his compilation of South African art works that "making art is more important than the final product. Making art is some form of a ritual, a spiritual obsession that becomes some kind of a religion" (Manaka, 1987). This statement shows the interaction of culture as simultaneously a process and product, but this report will not go into the hierarchy of which aspect is more important as this is outside its scope. Manaka's statement is still a valuable take on the connectedness of the process to the outcome – and the connectedness of the instrumental value to the intrinsic.

Manaka (1987) further illuminates on this point in relation to the instrumentality of art that "it is through art that we can begin the struggle for social reconstruction...Our art should therefore serve the social, education, religious, political and economic needs of our people" (Manaka, 1987). Providing the Foreword in the same book, Es'kia Mphahlele also emphasises the integration of the educational value of culture by reminding the reader that:

We owe it to ourselves to treat the arts as an education. Alternative structures should be created where the arts should be taught seriously and purposely, if

the day does arrive when the formal school will adopt them as a part of the curriculum. (Manaka, 1987)

Mphahlele, a prolific teacher and an advocate of education, globally respected for his thoughts on alternative education, holds the philosophy that education “is a product of culture. It expresses the culture and helps to define and redefine it” (Mphahlele, 2003, p. 7). In other words, and as articulated in Holden’s (2006) framing, culture becomes a tool by which the impact of education can be measured as its product.

In South Africa, a major instrumental value and one that finds location within the community arts discourse is one where culture is viewed as an instrument for social justice especially during the liberation struggle (Sachs, 1991; Nawa, 2021). For this very important role, I’m inclined to agree with Pitika Ntuli who breaks down the narrowness of what is meant by “struggle” by asserting that “culture is and always will be a weapon of struggle”. He goes on to define struggle as meaning “a process of adjusting, rearranging and engaging the forces that militate against the natural flow of life” (Ntuli, 1993, p. 71). As an institution with a strong focus on education for example, it was interesting to find out how the programmes impacted students and teachers at Funda when the intrinsic meets the instrumental during different political periods.

One of the major limitations in capturing the instrumental value speaks to the nuanced and dynamic meaning culture carries. Holden argues that “establishing a causal link between culture and a beneficial economic or social outcome is difficult because of temporal remoteness, complexity of the interaction, the context in which it takes place, and the multiplicity of other factors impacting on the result” (Holden, 2006, p. 16). In a country like South Africa, where unemployment is generally high and literacy rates are low, it would have to be taken into account that culture, while it plays a significant role in development, cannot solely be judged to resolve all socio-political issues nor claim to be a single authority unaffected by the very environment within which it exists. This is to say that, while it is useful to consider the instrumental value, it cannot be the only deciding factor for what culture means in relation to societal needs. The 2017 Revised White Paper on Arts and Culture is clear on this as it is formulated with recognition of “the inherent as well as the social and economic values of the arts, culture and heritage” (The Department of Arts and Culture, 2017, p. 9). For this reason, it would

seem that at the least, the intrinsic should not be compromised for the instrumental simply because of the convenience of measurement.

Institutional Value

The last of the values in CVT is the **Institutional Value**, which relates very closely to the value of Funda as an organisation. This value is concerned with ensuring that there is public good (Holden, 2006). The public good in institutional value brings us back to the interconnectedness of culture to everything else as highlighted by cultural policy researcher Akhona Ndzuta:

When cultural goods are not treated as a public good, what's reinforced is that they are only for those who can afford them. And so, no matter how innovative the cultural products or services, the conditions of demand are not solely dependent on the sector. Instead, they relate to the vibrancy of the economy and government approach to economic policy. (Ndzuta, 2021)

According to Warner (2002), “[a] public might be real and efficacious, but its reality lies in just this reflexivity by which an addressable object is conjured into being in order to enable the very discourse that gives it existence” (Warner, 2002, p. 51). In the case of CACs that were built during Apartheid like Funda was, Judin (2024) expresses that the white architects of such buildings faced the challenge of designing spaces for a collective in a country that practised segregation. He further says that the architects had to play the role of social activist that understood that “community centres were social amenities drawn from the belief in public being equally a place, process and people that could be forged” (Judin, p. 178).

In this conceptual framework, this view is useful in distinguishing what kind of public good comes out of the institutional value of a place such as Funda, having existed during an oppressive government which now espouses democracy.

For a more pragmatic view of institutional value, Holden (2006) asserts that “the responsible institutions themselves should be considered not just as repositories of objects, or sites of experience, or instruments for generating cultural meaning, but as creators of value in their own right” (2006, p. 18). This framing is useful to the research in delineating data about how Funda is seen in its own right throughout its existence.

For Mphahlele and Manaka, who have both been at the helm of building cultural institutions, this value is best summarised by Mphahlele's views about the value of creating institutions outside of mainstream because "only in alternative structures can we institutionalise our ideas, and create programmes that will express *us*" (Mphahlele, 2003, p. 204). We are able to deduce from this that an institution does not have to be state-owned or controlled in order for it to hold a recognisable public value. It is instead possible in Mphahlele's view for an institution to create a unique value working independently within a particular ecosystem. Manaka has been a key player in actively creating institutional cultural value, embraced by practitioners and the community as entities that are respected for their quality and value despite being placed outside of State control as purported by esteemed theatre practitioner, Ali Hlongwane in his contribution to the book *Culture and Liberation Struggle in South Africa* (Hlongwane, 2021). Yet still there are external influences that might threaten the public good an institution offers and how it is viewed. In an interview recorded in 1997, Shauffer (2003) recalls Manaka talking about how this value might shift based on other factors such as when people would feel unsafe coming to watch the plays that his organisation, Creative Youth Association (CYA) would stage because while the one eye is on the play, the other is looking out for the police that might appear anytime to harass them. Manaka says in that interview: "This stopped the ritual of experiencing theatre. The theatre is a ritual and you can't, I mean, go for your sacrament and still be worried that the police will come in. This is probably why I stopped for some time even to write or produce for the stage" (Shauffer, 2003). This shows that despite any intrinsic or instrumental value, it is very possible for the institutional value to decline if there is danger associated with that institution, for example. Ensuring that the audience feels safe is part of heightening its institutional value within Holden's CVT framework.

Holden (2006) further expands on institutional cultural value as an investment in the functioning and processes that govern cultural institutions. These could be as simple as how welcoming the place is, how efficient the administration or even how accessible the venue is – all elements echoed in the cultural governance discourse (Joffe et al., 2019). Holden (2006) asserts that "through its concern for the public an institution can achieve such public goods as creating trust and mutual respect among citizens, enhancing the public realm, and providing a context for sociability and the enjoyment of shared experiences" (Holden, 2006, p. 17). In other words, what mechanisms does

the organisation or institution apply to connect and remain relevant to the public, which allow for different stakeholders to identify with the value derived from the Funda Campus despite the corner or building or even geographical area beyond Soweto from which they might come.

The idea of self-empowerment, self-pride, and self-determination, which were and still are the basis of Pan-African and Black Consciousness ideology that informed most of Mphahlele's and Manaka's work, are aligned with Holden's framing of the institutional value being a value in and of itself as carrier of ideology not only for what takes place but also how things are done.

The three values addressed through this trinity offer a way of capturing and distilling which values were more prominent at particular stages in the journey of Funda Centre. It is these three values that inform the narrative chapter outline and structure.

Funda Centre could be seen as being made up of the people (teachers, students, practitioners, community); the building (the institution as a cultural object); and the ideology that speaks to self-determinism. Each of the values in the triangle assist the research in determining if what has been vandalised physically (the building) also destroyed the spirit (the meaning and intrinsic value) as connecting to its institutional value in how its value is perceived for public good through its instrumental value (based on activities and programmes).

CHAPTER 4

RESEARCH DESIGN: MULTI-PERSPECTIVITY

This report is located in the qualitative research tradition. Literature in the field of qualitative research posits that “a qualitative approach to the field of investigation means that researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of and interpret phenomena in terms of the meaning people bring to them” (Moen, 2006, p. 5). Furthermore, qualitative research encourages the use of method triangulation where multiple methods or data sources are used “to develop a comprehensive understanding of phenomena”(Carter *et al.*, 2014). For the historical aspect of this research, it was important to consider multiple perspectives so as to achieve a nuanced narrative through what history education scholars refer to as ‘Multiperspectivity’. To document a dynamic institution like Funda Centre, what is useful to understand is that embracing multiperspectivity involves recognising that there can be various simultaneous viewpoints regarding a ‘historical object’ (such as an event, phenomenon, or figure), based on the understanding that history is inherently subjective and cannot be perceived from a purely objective standpoint (Abbey, Wansink and Abbey, 2022, p. 68). Therefore, in the case of exploring the cultural value of Funda Centre this research has opted for a narrative case study approach - a method widely used for generations in the field of Sociology, highly regarded as “an entrée to information that might otherwise be inaccessible” (Brandell and Varkas, 2001). While this method has not been widely used in the emerging field of Cultural Policy and Management, its strength for this report lies in its ability to allow for a combination of research tools which I detail in the sub-sections below.

One of the identified weaknesses of the narrative case study as observed by Spence (1993) in Brandell and Varkas (2001) is that “only the narrator has access to all of the facts and tends to report these selectively” (Brandell and Varkas, 2001). Therefore, as this research relies heavily on narratives in order to craft its own narrative from my assessment as researcher, it would be crucial to apply a theoretical framework, suggesting that “a guiding perspective or ideology provides an organizing structure”(Miller and Salkind, 2011, p. 4). To support this view Brandell and Varkas (2001) suggest that “the dissemination of such data thus becomes an important

method both for theory building and as a vehicle for challenging certain assumptions” (Brandell and Varkas, 2001). As such this report appropriately applies the Cultural Value Triangle³¹ for this purpose as detailed in Chapter 3. Because of the nuanced way in which cultural value is seen, the research design is inspired by efforts from other cultural value theorists and embraces the notion that “changing the character of evidence drawn upon may affect the ways in which culture is delivered and funded” (Kaszynska, 2015, p. 264).

Moen (2006) provides examples of various forms of data³² that inform narrative case studies which resonates with research. I collected data from documents relating to Funda Centre such as a biography (Auerbach, 2002), pamphlets, newsletters, posters, prospectuses, official reports, interviews, focus group discussion, voice and video recordings, and exhibitions. I also relied on my own observation at the events I attended at Funda during the time of the research. I apply a narrative case study method to present this paper and elaborate on key research tools in the subsections below.

CASE STUDY METHOD

Yin (2014) defines a case study as “an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon (the ‘case’) in-depth and within real-world context, especially when the boundaries between the phenomenon and the context may not be clearly evident” (Yin, 2014, p. 16). This research puts a special spotlight on Funda Centre as a cultural phenomenon in order to respond to broad research questions in the context of cultural policy and Community Art Centre discourse in South Africa. An important perspective about the strength of the case study as a research strategy is aptly articulated by research expert, Denscombe (2007), who points out that “the real value of a case study is that it offers the opportunity to explain why certain outcomes might happen – more than just find out what those outcomes are” (2007, p. 36) and so with this method there is an opportunity to discern connections that address the

³¹ Conceived by John Holden (2004; 2006), the cultural value triangle comprises of the Intrinsic Value; Instrumental Value; and Institutional Value as detailed in the previous section of this paper.

³² “data can be in the form of field notes; journal records; interview transcripts; one’s own and other’s observations; storytelling; letter writing; autobiographical writing; documents such as school and class plans, newsletters, and other texts, such as rules and principles; and pictures and video recordings” (Moen, 2006, p. 6).

range of cultural value in a way that shows the dynamic relationship between the case and its environment.

It is well-known that during Apartheid many institutions based in Black communities did not keep records for varying reasons. Based on the political era in which Funda was established, evidence of records for activities or ideologies deemed to be against the State could endanger the lives of those involved in such institutions. This can be seen in how the state banned all Black political parties from the 1950s right until the 90s, driving many organisations and movements underground (Ndaba, Owen and Smith, 2017). The terror extended to all kinds of formations that could be seen to threaten the Apartheid status quo. As South African oral historian Sideris (1986) notes about this suppression and the nature of most such organisations, “the state in its official history has made a concerted attempt to deny the creative role played by all but the white ruling minority in the making of South African history. The informal nature of much popular organisations has meant that records and archival storage of the organisations’ activities do not exist” (Sideris, 1986, p. 41). In recording the history of Funda, the case study approach fills the important gap of archiving what was not always possible under Apartheid while also understanding what that history and its current state means for cultural policy. The report highlights the most crucial nodes in the story of Funda in the context of its cultural value and not necessarily all its story. Respected Pan-African historian, Walter Rodney’s assessment about telling historical accounts is apt for the kind of capturing in this report. He states that, “In a sense, all history is transition from one stage to another, but some historical situations along the line have more clearly distinguishable characteristics than others” (Rodney, 1982, p. 38). It emerges from the story of Funda that this is an institution that was always in transition and the moments and experiences reflected herein through primary and secondary sources (Brandell and Varkas, 2001, p. 57) reflect the most impactful given the chosen conceptual framework employed. Through this qualitative study, I was able to gather empirical data that offers an in-depth understanding of the case study in a way that enabled the research to make connections pertaining to cultural value and presenting its narrative in the findings.

NARRATIVE APPROACH

In this report, I apply a narrative approach to offer both structure as well as method for the research (Brandell and Varkas, 2001; Moen, 2006; Miller and Salkind, 2011;

Tomaszewski, Zarestky and Gonzalez, 2020). Writing about narrative research, Moen (2006) describes a narrative as simply “a story that tells a sequence of events that is significant for the narrator or her or his audience” (Moen, 2006, p. 4). But perhaps the usefulness of a narrative approach is best expressed by Flyvbjerg (2006) who suggests that this approach “tell[s] us whether the present is satisfactory, and provide[s] us a forward glance, helping us to anticipate situations even before we encounter them, allowing us to envision alternative futures” (Flyvbjerg, 2006, p. 27). Likewise, the data collected during the research period will show that Funda has undergone a transformation that starkly distinguishes its past from its current state, both periods being part of a different political policy/governance environment, which together inform what the future might hold for the institution.

In order to accentuate the meaningfulness of Funda Centre in its past and present, the report will dedicate different chapters from the analysis of data to reflect the different kinds of cultural value separately and in some instances as combined values that correlate. While the “factual” history of Funda in itself is core to this research, the entirety of the narrative will not follow a linear timeline format but instead portray the different values as a continuum entering any phase of the Funda story.

I cannot talk about presenting a narrative report without acknowledging my role as narrator and researcher. As a student of Cultural Policy, my interest in Funda Centre is based on stories around me as alluded to in the introduction. I have only known Funda at a distance, yet close enough for my academic interest in the value of culture as relating to Community Art Centres. There is also another noteworthy part of myself that I acknowledge bringing into this narrative. I have already established in previous sections how crucial funding expectations are in determining value. My work in fundraising for an institution of higher learning has also allowed me to interpret some governance issues especially as pertains to resource mobilisation and factors affecting relations between the funder and funded. Recognising that my voice as narrator does not exist in a vacuum allows me to use narrative as an interpretative tool that allows me to enter the world of others without imposing my own narrative. Jill Bradbury – an academic at the Department of African Literature at Wits University who encourages narrative inquiry – says “with narrative there is an awareness that we are working as who we are even as we enter the world of others” (Lecture/Talk MS Teams: 30/10/2020), by being open and attentive in weaving the story. In augmenting this

approach, I also rely on observation as a method to interpret the narrative – I will explore this methodology in the sub-section below.

OBSERVATION

To get intimate with the case study in the quest to understand its cultural value, I used the observation research method - more popularly used in ethnographic studies – which appeals to this research as it allows for “the use of our five senses to orient us to the social environment” (Angrosino, 2012, p. 23).

As alluded to in the introductory section of this paper, Funda Centre has always had an element of mystery to me as someone who had never fully participated in its programmes even though its name is one of the most glorified as a node of cultural production and community engagement. It became important and relevant that I use this research as an opportunity to experience a part of Funda's trajectory by observing and participating in the events they hosted during the time of this research. This lens highly enriches the main purpose of the research as it opens another dimension to understanding the case study, especially within a context that values organic relationships. Being an observer allowed me to “see” the spirit that is Funda. I could therefore utilise the observation method to augment and/or compare with data gathered from other sources used in this research. Denscombe (2007), who is an expert in research methods, points out the distinct way that observation is different and useful in collecting data is because “the whole point is to observe things as they normally happen, rather than as they happen under artificially created conditions such as laboratory experiments” (2007, p. 207).

During the time of this research, Funda did not have as many current “users” as it did in the past with only one department surviving, but also whose participants were not around as explained in the research limitations section. This means that most of the participants interviewed spoke more about a past era than the current. The current users are not always formally incorporated. Some come and go, and mostly people come when there is an event they identify with, but one cannot say the presence of people is constant as activities appear to be more project-based. For me to understand the way Funda is functioning currently and to be able to tell its story, I found it worthwhile to go to the space to experience how the different cultural and educational expressions were being received – and how they created cultural value in the present.

I attended nine events during the time of this research. The first was a fundraising auction organised under the banner of #IAMFUNDA and hosted in Rosebank by Aspire Auctions on 17 April 2021. The proceeds of the event would go to the Funda Department of Fine Arts which was then the only surviving constituency of the Funda Art Centre. The event was spear-headed by Teboho Moloi, a concerned artist and community member who saw value in “saving” Funda, and as he declared:

To help raise funds for the college which has produced award winning fine artists. I have been going to Funda to work with other artists and realised that they have been going through some problems. There’s been so much written about Funda but there hasn’t been much financial support for the space.

(Motumi, 2021)

The auction collection featured some of South Africa’s most esteemed artists such as Dr Esther Mahlangu, Ayanda Mabulu, Tracey Rose, William Kentridge, Kemang wa Lehulere, Robert Hodgins, Penny Siopis, Bambo Sibiya, Sydney Selepe and more. At the event, Ayanda Mabulu, whose art is often controversial (Artsy webpage, no date) because of how explicitly it critiques power structures, commented strongly about the need for spaces that validate people’s sense of being by doing things for themselves such as Funda did.

The other eight events I attended were hosted on Funda’s own grounds, namely: an art exhibition by Funda and the Goethe institute; a theatre performance of Kgafela oa Magogodi’s Chilahaebolae; a seminar on Mmino wa Malopo - one of the most ancient and sacred music forms in South Africa; a History seminar by Sbusiso Nxumalo, the General on 24 July 2021. I also attended a lecture celebrating the work of Matsemela Manaka on 14 August 2021; as well as an event hosted by Nomsa Manaka Dance Studio collaborating with Indigenous Games practitioners on Cultural Day 2021. At each event there was a formal opening speech about the purpose of the event, and it always included a bit of history, plans and challenges that the centre was going through. Some of the values observed during these events will be presented in the narrative section of the paper. Being an observer at these events added to the research’s understanding of where Funda is currently and making connection with its history to comprehensively capture its journey.

INTERVIEWS

Interviews are central to this research as a method of collecting stories about Funda Centre and understanding the various ways it creates cultural value. I opted to conduct unstructured interviews to distill the values that participants associated with the case study. Unstructured interviews are distinguished from other types of interviews in that,

Unstructured or Informal interviews (also called discovery interviews) are more like a guided conversation. The interviewer has complete freedom to vary the questions from respondent to respondent, so they can follow whatever lines of enquiry they think are most appropriated, depending on the responses given by each respondent. (Thompson, 2016)

Analysing the practice of researching cultural value, Kaszynska argues that,

Producing an adequate understanding of cultural value will require a better account of the actual experiences on the basis of which judgements of cultural worth are made. More specifically, I have claimed that theories of cultural value ought to be grounded in and shaped by first-order experiential data. (Kaszynska, 2015, p. 263)

In the style and purpose of this paper, I relied on the participants' narrative about their relationship with Funda, with the main foundational question being about their role and experience at Funda Centre. I would then ask follow-up questions guided by their narratives to understand the period, the environment and activities that defined the case study. My intention was originally to conduct these interviews physically to gauge mannerism and underlying messages that only physical interaction can "see", akin to the method of phenomenology (Bliss, 2016). However, the interviews were conducted in 2020 and 2021 when social distancing protocol were in place to curb the spread of covid-19. Some interviews were as such conducted online via Zoom meaning that it was not always possible to engage the physical energy that was envisioned at earlier stages in the research. However, the unstructured nature of the interviews allowed for similar intimacy in that "the strengths of unstructured interviews are that they are respondent-led, flexible, allow empathy and can be empowering" (Thompson, 2016).

This kind of approach was appropriate for such a study as participants took ownership of their own story at a level of intimacy and engagement with Funda that was very personal to them.

The 24 participants that were interviewed were varied in their roles. These included: management, students, alumni, teachers/tutors, artists, activists and community members. It was interesting to note that the nature of Funda Centre allowed for some respondents to hold more than one role during the time that they were part of the institutions. For example, most students that I approached also simultaneously identified themselves as teachers/tutors. Masoga suggested in my interview with him that in the 80s “there was a whole culture at Funda of your senior students teaching the more junior students”. And then again, the majority of those in some kind of leadership/management service also identified as artists and activists. When I interviewed Motsumi Makhene in January 2020, he was talking to me as the CEO of Funda Community College. However, his experience at Funda goes back to when he was a music teacher who also headed the Madimba African Institute of Music under Funda Art Centre. Representation from the community came from the “users” of the space organised under the hashtag #IAMFUNDA and #FriendsofFunda, as they had never been formally incorporated into an official Funda programme. Although I had come into the research with plans of classifying the different groups to establish how each category would respond, I found that each interview could be analysed for its own merit with the common connector being their experience and perspective of the case study that is Funda Centre. The variety and range of perspectives offered by participants afforded the research a wide and layered view that allowed the research to capture and analyse multiple ways in which culture is valued. Once the interviews were transcribed, I used the Atlas.ti software to create codes for analysis and organise the data from the 24 interviews³³ in order to determine similar and varying experiences.

It was important for the research to hear from a variety of voices so as to capture cultural values that could have been experienced differently by different stakeholders. In this way the interviews add to the range of diversity and plurality of meaning of the values of culture.

³³ See List of Participants on page 143

DOCUMENT ANALYSIS

The choice for document analysis stems from the history-heavy nature of this study where it would be important to capture and analyse documents relating to Funda as the case study. Examining the role of documents as a source of data, Bowen (2009) summarises that “as a research method, document analysis is particularly applicable to qualitative case studies - producing rich descriptions of a single phenomenon, event, organisation, or program” (Bowen, 2009, p. 29). Some of the documents that I utilised as sources for the research include the Funda newsletter, the prospectus, newspaper articles, campus map, notices about events, records of meetings, the Funda Facebook page, and a biography of Franz Auerbach (2002) who was the head of the Independent Teachers Centre at Funda Centre from 1984 to 1987. It is from such documentation that the research was able to thread the journey of Funda Centre, its governance and its mission and vision.

With this study framed in the realm of cultural policy, I studied the White Paper on Arts and Culture of 1996 and the Revised version of 2017 (RWP), as well as the impact report of Community Art Centre commissioned by the Department of Arts and Culture to identify connections with the story of Funda. Given Funda's recent history and identity as a Community College, a noteworthy policy document for this study was the Department of Education's Post-School White Paper specifically as it pertains to Community Education as a way to contribute to “improving community cohesion and social capital, and a response to the geographic and sectoral needs and challenges” (DHET, 2013). While this policy document is not the focus of this research, it is worth noting that the purpose of CET colleges is aligned to the RWP in assessing their relevance to community needs within the context of their cultural values. The analysis of both these policies was therefore necessary in establishing whether policy makers are equipped to interpret how cultural value is articulated for it to be effectively/optimally implemented in the cultural governance ecosystem.

DATA ANALYSING TOOLS

To analyse the collected data, I relied on a combination of several analysis tools to address the research topic and related research questions that inform the narrative.

I have already indicated in the section above what the purpose of document analysis is for this report. In addition, document analysis also provides space for both inductive

and deductive analysis of the data. I have relied on elements of both these thematic analyses to capture the cultural value of Funda Centre. The difference between the two is aptly captured by Caulfield (2021), that “an inductive approach involves allowing the data to determine your themes. A deductive approach involves coming to the data with some preconceived themes you expect to find reflected there, based on theory or existing knowledge” (Caulfield, 2021). The analysis in this report is inductive because it relies on the themes emerging from the interviews and other data sources discussed in the previous sections. But the analysis is also deductive in that some concepts around the value of culture inform how the data is analysed. On the one hand I had an idea that Funda had strong cultural values represented in Holden’s Value Triangle and wanted to capture some of them through this research. The inductive part of the analysis came with the discoveries from the history and experiences that further paint a more nuanced story to engage the very cultural value that Funda embodies based on different perspectives. I have therefore applied both forms of thematic analysis to establish and interpret the patterns across different participant groups/data sets (Alumni; Teachers; Management; Community activists; Current stakeholders) and therefore capturing the dominant experiences from which the value of culture can be distilled. Given that a significant portion of the narrative of this report is based on subjective experiences in addition to a variety of documents, I further use elements of discourse analysis to capture and acknowledge practical circumstances within the data. The value of discourse analysis is that it “involves a focus upon the sociocultural and political context in which text and talk occur” (Lupton, 1992). In many ways, the story of Funda Centre is also the story of South Africa and many of the decisions, activities and ideologies were shaped by the sociocultural and political climate within which it exists. Writing about discourse analysis in the arena of policy, Anderson and Holloway (2020) explore a kind of analysis that brings to light the hidden “underlying thoughts, actions, beliefs, and ideologies” (Anderson and Holloway, 2020). The authors further elaborate on the usage of this approach (which they have labelled Type B in the specific use of their research). They summarise that “Discourse in Type B is thus seen as evidence by which analysts can discover meanings (e.g. determining hidden agendas, identifying marginalized groups, or highlighting power relations and structures) underlying texts” (Anderson and Holloway, 2020), and it is precisely these kinds of meanings that the research topic and corresponding research questions seek to narrate as part of Funda’s journey and current status.

RESEARCH LIMITATIONS

During the course of the research some limitations surfaced with regards to the diversity of interview participants. Attempts to get in touch with a key manager who came in after Kahn³⁴ were not successful. One of the biggest limitations to this study is that I was not able to hold interviews with a good number of the current cohort of visual art students (the only surviving department from the Art Centre) due to violent threats to the Funda Board and users of the space when a group of people claimed parts of the campus buildings. At the time of writing this report, the visual arts department had also folded (in 2022). However, I was able to have an interview with Charles Nkosi who was the outgoing head as well as his successor (and course coordinator) Tumelo Mokopakgosi, as well as one of the key students who served a residency at Funda during lockdown. While the sample is representative of an array of stakeholders that cover a range of experiences, the sample could be seen as small given the very long history of Funda Centre. Within the limitation of time and length of this research report however, I tried to cover as many representatives of each group as possible in order to inform a more comprehensive picture in the narrative to address the research topic.

ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

I have obtained ethical clearance from the university and have got permission from Funda Community College to conduct research at the premises where necessary. All Participants have given me permission to use their names in the final research report.

³⁴ I interviewed Stan Kahn who was director of Funda Centre from 1984-1991. Henry Jeffries was the next director from 1991 – 1993 – I tried hard to locate him but was not successful. The next rector of the campus from 1994 -1996 was Walter Smith who passed away before this research could be conducted.

CHAPTER 5: CAPTURING THE CULTURAL VALUE THROUGH A NARRATIVE OF FUNDA CENTRE

This research explores how the history of Funda could inform present day community arts to function optimally in the current cultural policy environment. The report therefore fills the gap of documenting the history of Funda (a cultural community centre) on the one hand, while on the other, distilling the various ways in which culture is valued in order to justify the legitimacy of such institutions and their unique features. In honouring the narratives about the value of culture, the research may shed light on the following research questions:

- What affects the changing value of a community art centre over time?
- In what way has Funda kept itself relevant in the context of contemporary societal needs?

For a conceptually grounded presentation of the narrative and to inform the discussion points, the sections in this chapter are organised into themes informed by the Cultural Value Triangle³⁵ framework, i.e. the Institutional Value, the Instrumental Value, and the Intrinsic Value. As discussed, the timeline of the history therefore, does not necessarily follow a linear chronological order although organically there is a sequence. In some cases, the historical timeline finds itself represented within the continuum of the various values.

It is also worth mentioning that although different aspects of Funda might represent a more pronounced value than others in certain periods, there is always the spirit of the other values binding and moving through the spaces. For example, I first explore the institutional value of Funda to map its origins. With its history interconnected to the socio-political history of South Africa, the formation of Funda as an institution also encompasses the instrumental value, where education was/is the instrument of culture that identifies its singular purpose. For the intrinsic value, Funda Art Centre in particular carries much of the intangible and deeply personal values that connect to all other activities and buildings, yet the FAC itself, like other Funda entities, was primarily a centre for education.

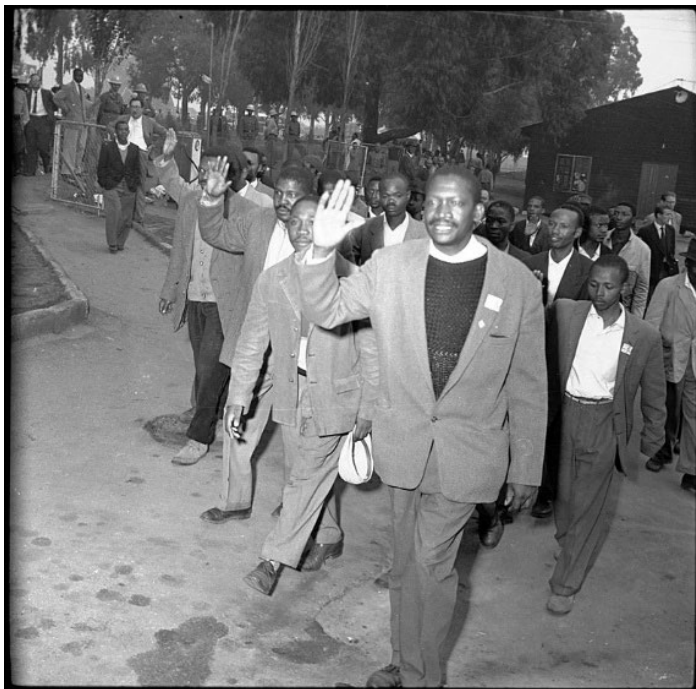
³⁵ Devised by John Holden (2006)

I begin with the contextual historical background that assisted this research to understand variables of the value of culture within the socio-cultural-political landscape of South Africa, starting with the period when Funda was established and informed by a response to Apartheid laws.

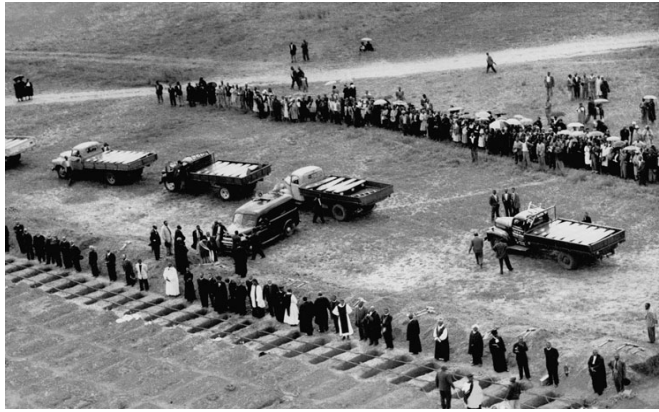
The Beginning Which Is The Middle: The Story Of The Land's Struggle Against Apartheid.

– “Go a nyewa”

The 1980's in South Africa, when Funda was established, was a period of total mayhem politically, socially and culturally. To fully appreciate the cultural value of Funda centre, I first look at the socio-political atmosphere of its time during the state of emergency from 1984. The only other state of emergency prior to this was declared in 1960 following the Sharpeville Massacre - the single event that inspired what we today know as Human Rights Day in South Africa. It is in the interest of this research to highlight the sense of violence in the country which was met by resistance in the realm of intrinsic spirituality and identity for the oppressed, but also to appreciate the cultural institutional value that Funda Centre carried in this harsh environment of existence during this heightened time of turmoil.



Picture 1 Robert Sobukwe leads anti-Apartheid Protest. Created March 31 1960. Photo Courtesy of Mayibuye Archives



Picture 2 Sharpeville Funeral 1960 photo by Jurgen Schadeberg

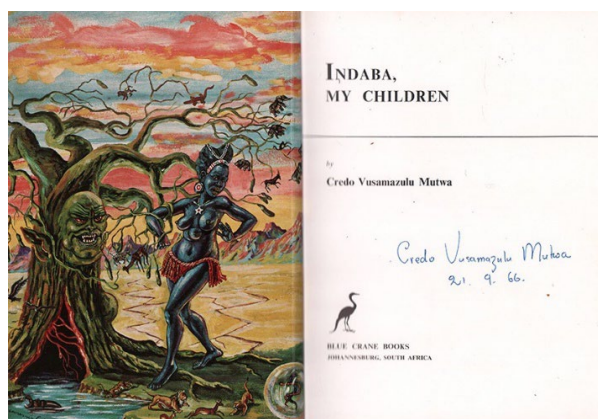
Since 1948 when the National Party legislated the Apartheid governance system – having been put in power through an election process that excluded black/African people – there have been many displays of the Apartheid government’s brazen violence. One distinct event was in 1960 – on 21 March in Sharpeville, when police shot at unarmed peaceful black demonstrators who were protesting against pass laws by going to the police station to hand themselves over for having burned their passbooks³⁶. In response, police killed 69³⁷ people, injuring about 250. The oppressed people of the country were livid and horrified! The protest had been organised by Pan African Congress leader, Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe, who eleven years earlier as a student activist voiced the importance of spiritual and cultural liberation when he stated on 21 October 1949: “We must fight for freedom - for the right to call our souls our own” (Sobukwe, 2012).

The war was also spiritual in that the great and venerated iSanusi Credo Mutwa performed the oath of cutting his vein to release blood to earth to mourn and dedicate his life to defending the lives that were lost on that day. iSanusi uMkhulu Mutwa says this is how he came to write the seminal collection of African stories, history and mythology called *Indaba, My Children* (Mutwa, 1964, p. xxi). For the colonised, we see how the struggle to achieve political freedom also finds expression in performing cultural rites and protecting the intrinsic identity on a spiritual domain. The connection between the political and the cultural thus becomes intertwined. The revolt following

³⁶ Also known as a Dompas. “This book would have stipulated where a Black South African was allowed to work, and travel during the Apartheid era in South Africa. It controlled and restricted movement and freedom.” <https://www.bbc.co.uk/ahistoryoftheworld/objects/Pj2V5ki8SG6LBHDigaXpRg>

³⁷ This figure has recently been contested through narrative and other research to be 83 (this not including the lives of the unborn whose mothers were murdered).

the Sharpeville Massacre saw the apartheid government declaring the first State of Emergency³⁸.



Picture 3: Cover of signed copy of Inbaba My Children

The next State of Emergency was 25 years later in 1985, a few months after Funda Centre was established. Renowned percussionist, Mabeleng Moholo who went to Funda during that time expresses that “*Ne go nyewa ka nako tseo, bana ba ba ngata ne ba ba romela boarding*”³⁹.

In 1985 I was in Grade 1 at Leboneng Primary School, in this township and had no idea we were under a state of emergency. But I knew that “*Go a nyewa!*” - South African seSotho language phrase used to express just how bad things are. It comes from a reference to all things unpleasant - things that belong in the toilet, the sewage, the gutter⁴⁰. This phrase holds a distinct memory in my childhood relating to the harassment of citizens by the police in the then Bophuthatswana Homeland⁴¹ where I grew up. I thought it was just how things were that no two male black people should walk together for fear that their company upsets the police. I remember times as a Grade 1 child running home from school during the chaotic clashes between

³⁸ “By 6 May 1960 the government revealed in Parliament that 18,000 persons had been arrested and detained since the proclamation of the Emergency. Detainees were held without access to lawyers and family, at times in solitary confinement. Most detainees were released after spending one or two months in jail, but about 400 remained in jails across the country until the Emergency was lifted.” <https://www.sahistory.org.za/>

³⁹ Translation: “It was so bad at that time, many children were sent to boarding school”.

⁴⁰ Also informed by the concept of “poetry from the gutter” - a state of such hopelessness in Black Consciousness circles.

⁴¹ A region that the Apartheid government allocated for a particular group of Black people and declared it an independent state, although no other country recognised it as such. There were 10 such “states” during Apartheid – what Zakes Mda calls “the grand scheme to de-nationalise indigenous people” (Mda, 1994, p. 6).

Makhosasa⁴² and the police; tear-gas smog in the air, school uniform dripping wet from being shot with water cannons, eyes red from the chemicals and from crying. On any other day, I would have received a hiding from my strict conservative Christian parents who allowed no such “unpalatable/swearing” words in our home but we all understood that *go a nyewa*.

In the years following the globally publicised 1976 series of protests which have come to be known as the June 16 Soweto Uprising - led by black students and triggered by apartheid’s insistence that Afrikaans be the medium of instruction at schools - there was mounting pressure from within the country and internationally to overthrow this government of oppression. This period was characterised by blatant violation of human rights, with the Apartheid government feeling so threatened that it declared a state of emergency in 1985⁴³. This meant that the state gave itself power to detain thousands without fair trial or even a charge, the media was barred from reporting about the violence in the country, and more and more organisations perceived to be anti-apartheid were banned. Equally, resistance against the tightening grip of Apartheid throttling Black⁴⁴ populations was heightened with school boycotts that resulted in some schools being shut down, consumer boycotts spread, and the cultural boycott intensified in the eighties. It was during these tensions that Funda came to being.

What is pertinent to take from this part of SA history, in relation to Funda, is the way in which the Apartheid government was determined to exclude black people from attaining quality holistic education, including the arts, and a kind of education that would be affirming to African identity and self-actualisation. The cry of 1976 continued to echo into the 1980s, and still roams within the education discourse as pointed out by editors of *Students Must Rise: Youth Struggle in South African before and Beyond Soweto 1976*, Heffernan and Nieftagodien (2016) observing that students born after democracy “have consciously connected their current struggles for free and quality education to the struggles of the 1976 generation” (Heffernan and Nieftagodien, 2016,

⁴² The Congress of South African Students (COSAS), which was eventually banned in August 1985.

⁴³ “Within the first six months of the Emergency, 575 people were killed in political violence”

<https://www.sahistory.org.za/>

⁴⁴ I use the term “Black” to refer to Indigenous Africans (Abantu) who are the majority, as well as other racial categories/classification that the Apartheid government categorised as Coloured and Asians to put a hierarchy of benefits based on how people looked.

p. 1). Funda was an important intervention for a more self-directed kind of education as I will show in the section below, based on the historical data and interviews. Motsumi Makhene and Charles Sokhaya Nkosi, who have both been at Funda since inception and who both also hold leadership positions, have repeatedly stated to me and elsewhere that Funda was indeed birthed by the 1976 riots. *“After ’76 school was disrupted. Funda was an opportunity for students to learn”*, says Nkosi (interview 2021). Writing about the formation of the Urban Foundation, the NPO that established Funda Centre, Dan Smit admits that “it is widely accepted that the uprisings in Soweto earlier that year (June 16) and the country-wide tumult that followed had shaken the captains of industry who were fast losing confidence in Pretoria's ability to deal with deteriorating conditions in the townships” (Smit, 1992, p. 36).

In this orientation of Funda Centre I acknowledge two fundamental and inter-linked instruments of law that were deeply destructive and condescending to the existential experience of black people. The first and relating directly to the 1976 protest was the Bantu Education Act of 1953 which essentially reduced the education of black people to learning only basic things that would prepare them to be labourers for whites while white people were supported with superior education that allowed them to take pride in their culture and inspired them to be dynamically knowledgeable (Evalds, 1978). The second was a group of laws pertaining to allocation and management of land. In order to dominate and assert white supremacy⁴⁵, a minority white⁴⁶ government enforced laws that alienated other races from participating in the governing of the country and from freely experiencing the land in terms of living spaces and access to means of productions. The main laws laid in the 1920s to this effect were the Native Land Act of 1913⁴⁷, the Native Urban Areas Act of 1923⁴⁸ and the Representative

⁴⁵ My use of the term is based on the explanation by Frances Lee Ashely (1989) who asserts that “By white supremacy I do not mean to allude only to the self-conscious racism of white supremacist hate groups. I refer instead to a political, economic and cultural system in which whites overwhelmingly control power and material resources” (Ashely, F 1989) https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/White_supremacy accessed 20 May 2018.

⁴⁶ Refers to descendants of Europeans

⁴⁷ “[The Natives Land Act](#) (No. 27 of 1913) was passed to allocate only about 7% of arable land to Africans and leave the more fertile land for whites. This law incorporated territorial segregation into legislation for the first time since Union in 1910.” <http://www.sahistory.org.za/dated-event/native-land-act-passed> accessed 20 May 2018

⁴⁸ “The Natives (Urban Areas) Act legislated on a broad front to regulate the presence of Africans in the urban areas.” <http://www.sahistory.org.za/article/apartheid-legislation-1850s-1970s> accessed 20 May 2018

Native Act of 1936⁴⁹ which ensured that the white population which made up less than 10% of the total population⁵⁰ was enabled to oppress and dispossess the other 90% of the population. As the research will show in the next sections, the issues of ownership of land and access to quality education still plague the current status quo at institutional level in the case of Funda Centre.

The Location of Funda

Funda is built in Zone 6 of the township called Diepkloof in Soweto, south of the city of Johannesburg. The township was established in 1959 to accommodate black people who were forcibly moved by the Apartheid government from Alexandra township in the north of the city. Diepkloof represents another era and sad history of forced removals and dispossession of land. Molefe Pheto, founding member of Mhloti Black Theatre Company⁵¹, writes about the profound effect the forced removals had on his family in a way that unsettled them economically, emotionally and spiritually (culturally) as his parents were buried miles apart from each other:

In Alexandra my parents had owned a small piece of land called a stand, for which they were still paying a mortgage bond. Should they have paid it off, they would have had title deeds to the place and in a sense, some economic independence. That was not to be. So, my mother was buried more than sixty kilometres from my father, her spouse of many years. The white South African apartheid government removal scheme could do that to Black people. (Pheto, 2012, pp. 28–29)

The families that were forcibly moved from Alexandra were housed in match-box houses⁵² that were allocated in six zones and demarcated according to ethnic groups as determined by apartheid. While the families lost everything they knew, it was

⁴⁹ "The Representation of Natives Act essentially stripped African people in the Cape of their voting rights and offered instead a limited form of parliamentary representation, through special White representatives." <http://www.sahistory.org.za/article/apartheid-legislation-1850s-1970s> accessed 20 May 2018

⁵⁰ Statistics from the first Union census of 1911

⁵¹ Mhloti had become the vanguard theatre group of an arts movement called MDALI, short for Music, Drama, Arts and Literature Institute. It lasted from late 1971 until 1975.

⁵² "The CSIR came up with a standard design for a four-roomed house of 40 sq m, the 51/6 plan" (Creighton, 2003).

interesting that some institutions of culture and education entrenched their influence. Sbu Nxumalo, who is a cultural activist and community member at the helm of the “I AM Funda” movement, did not study at Funda as a teenager but went to Immaculate Holy Cross⁵³ which he says *“follows the people. It came with them from Alex”*. While the church went where people were, community centres such as Funda did not find their way in a similar manner.

Instead, structures that were built were for the labour force to enrich the Apartheid system directly or indirectly. Owing to Diepkloof’s proximity to the city (about 15 kilometres) hostels were built to house the black labour force that came from around the country.

Diepkloof is also characterised by hostels, located in Zone 6, which were built to house large numbers of single male migrant workers. These hostels were built by the Apartheid government to provide basic shelter in the form of shared dormitory space within a room or hall, and communal toilets and kitchen facilities. (Hoosen and Mafukidze, 2009, p. 7)

In the 1980s when Funda itself was built, the Apartheid government had begun development of Diepkloof Extension, with better houses than the “match-boxes” occupied by the Alexandra-removed, to accommodate a black middle class (made up of professionals such as teachers, nurses and doctors). This was made possible by the 99-year leasehold system that created an opportunity for private land ownership in Soweto “in order to facilitate the flow of private sector funding into housing” (Creighton, 2003). It was the Urban Foundation that is credited with putting pressure on the Apartheid government to accept the 99-year leasehold tenure and accept “the permanence of black urbanites and to abandon the temporary sojourner philosophy” (Smit, 1992, p. 37).

I mention these key spatial phases in the history of Diepkloof to illustrate the kind of demographic that physically surrounds Funda. This also presents an entry into the next section to analyse the Institutional value of Funda Centre. As alluded to in the

⁵³ A private Roman Catholic School

introduction of this paper, Funda can be viewed as both a physical space and an ideological space.

Funda coming to being: From the Gutter, a reservoir of hope emerges.

The idea behind Funda Centre was the brainchild of a Not-for-profit organisation established in 1977 called the Urban Foundation (UF) whose founding chairperson was Anglo-American's Harry Oppenheimer, and his deputy Anton Rupert, the doyen of Afrikaans business. Judin (2024) confirms this and leads us further into the mentality behind approaching community needs:

With the apartheid state unable to suppress civil unrest, the urgent provision of civic amenities had been brought to the fore by desperate officials and business leaders in forums such as the Urban Foundation by the mid-1970s. Community had by this late stage of apartheid come to mean primarily black township residents. (p 156.)

Against the backdrop of Apartheid, the two leaders rallied other business leaders to a conversation about how best to intervene in contributing to development in South Africa's urban spaces (Grassroots, 1980; Lee, 1982; Wilkinson, 1982; Smit, 1992). The nexus of UF's quest for structural change was highlighted by then Director, Robin Lee: "The priority areas for 1982/4 have been identified as education, housing and business development" (Lee, 1982, p. 16). Funda Centre was officially opened in March 1984 to address the education component that the Urban Foundation had identified. In fact, according to Stan Kahn: *"The current Funda was a site for a school. At the time, the government was not interested in educating the black child, and the ratio of primary schools to high schools was 4:1"*. This meant that there were more primary schools but not enough high schools to accommodate students to advance their education, therefore creating a bottleneck in the formal education process. Following the research that UF undertook, the initial interventions were aimed at teachers. Soon the activities organically touched on a number of key facets of the education value chain which were to inform the culture of Funda.

In the inaugural newsletter about Funda Centre, Judge J.H Steyn who became the executive chairman of Urban Foundation writes about what it took to realise the dream that was to become Funda Centre from an institutional governance perspective: “Long hours of fruitful contact and discussion have been spent in negotiations with associations, the Department of Education and Training, private projects and potential donors, leading to clarity as to how the land could be acquired and the Centre established and sponsored” (‘Funda Centre Brochure’, 1984). The multiple stakeholders involved informed the nature of governance of Funda Centre. And so it was that the land on which Funda is built was offered by the Bantu Affairs Administration Board (BAAB) under the then government.

The architecture and the building were curated under the auspices of the UF, which also saw to the maintenance and management of the Centre. Individual buildings were sponsored by individual corporates as outlined in the governance structure diagram (see page 80). The “users” of the space were the independent community organisations and associations, and these had autonomy over their activities and programmes. This autonomy followed from Urban Foundation’s own mission which was geared towards “an over-riding emphasis on projects based on self-help and self-determination” (Wilkinson, 1982, p. 06). What was the central and connecting factor for these organisations was education, as succinctly articulated by Es’kia Mphahlele as the first Chairman of the Board: “Funda Centre is a physical place where various interest groups can generate and mould creative ideas into projects within the whole enterprise we call education” (‘Funda Centre Brochure’, 1984). For Stan Kahn, who served as the Director of Funda Centre from 1984 to 1991, the question of identity around the purpose of Funda Centre was vague. He spoke to me about how he was never sure if everyone understood the purpose in the same way.

There wasn’t a coordination of education focus. I thought I was going into an Adult Education, teacher upgrading entity. That’s what I thought I was doing. I get there and there is no coordination of activity to reach a purpose. I finished up as a landlord – a guy running a block of flats and each of the guys in their apartment were doing whatever they wanted.

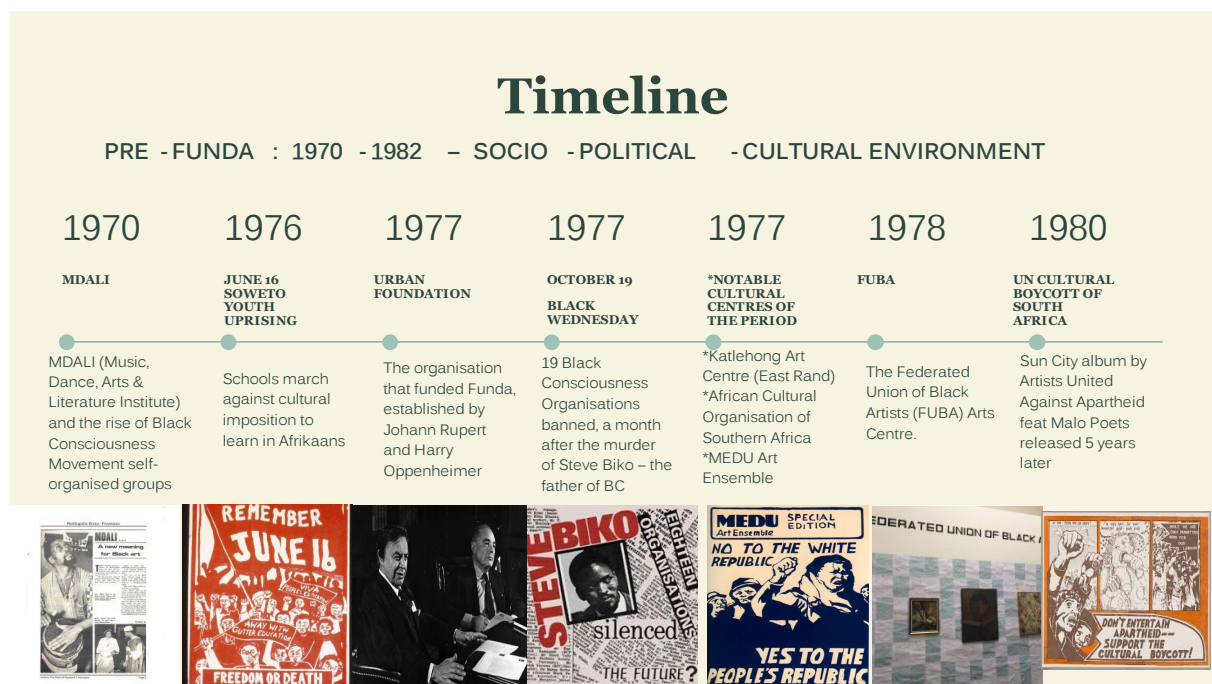
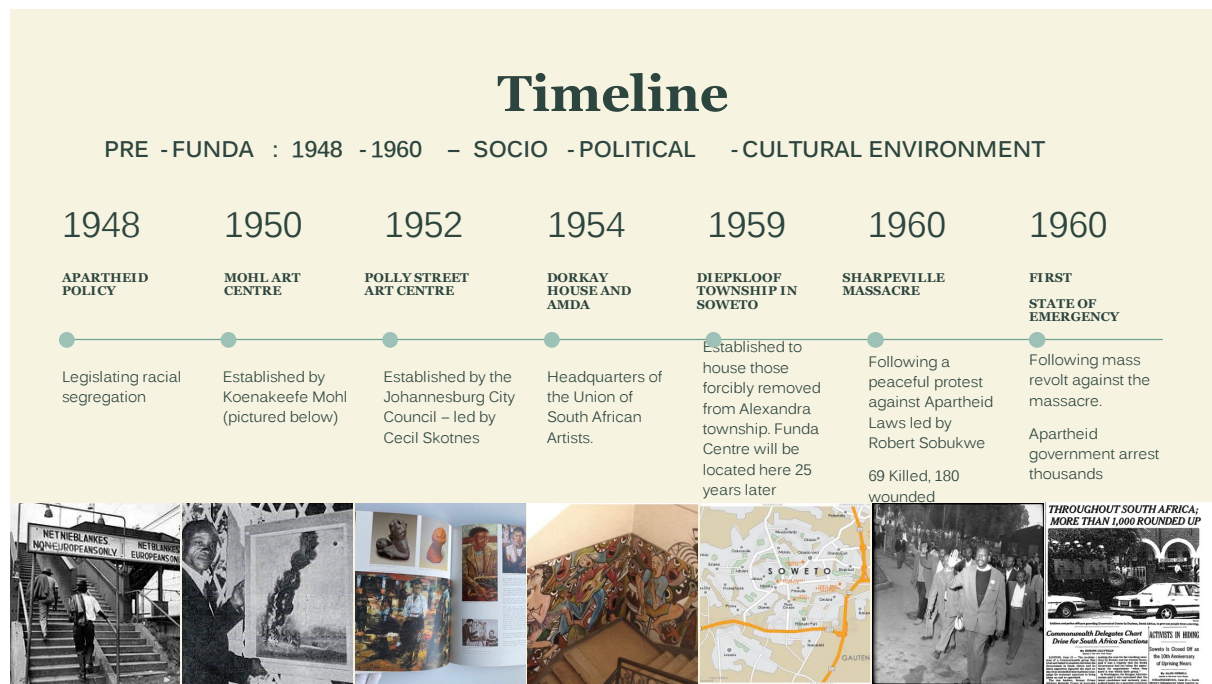
Kahn continues to tell me that he commissioned an evaluation study with an expert in Adult Education which confirmed what he had suspected, and even after leaving Funda in 1991 he believed a common purpose was never reached: *“There was never a common understanding of Adult Education. There was no one mind. There was a diversity of what people wanted. And I’ll tell you the truth, I don’t know if they ever articulated what they thought they were doing”*.

Kahn seems to have been consumed by teachers’ and adult education although as early as 1984 he had already acknowledged and embraced the organic ways in which Funda was transforming. He wrote:

As Funda was originally conceived it was to be an innovative educational centre focused on the upgrading of teachers, and the training of trainers. These goals have had to be modified in light of demands made by the local community of educators. This has meant the growth, relatively, of programmes aimed at audiences other than teachers and trainers, while still devoting a major proportion of the resources of the Centre to the original intentions. (‘Funda Centre Brochure’, 1984)

The modification he refers to is a useful lens for the Cultural Values presented from findings in this section to put a spotlight on the dynamics of community demands and diversifying modes and media for education. The ideology, and therefore, the culture of Funda centre was/is a product of its users in relation to community needs; as pointed out by Makhene: *“[P]olitical activists; cultural activists; education activists, shaped the identity and temperament of this organisation”*.

HISTORICAL TIMELINE



Funda Centre Timeline

1984 - 1990 – KEY MOMENTS, ORGANISATIONS AND PEOPLE

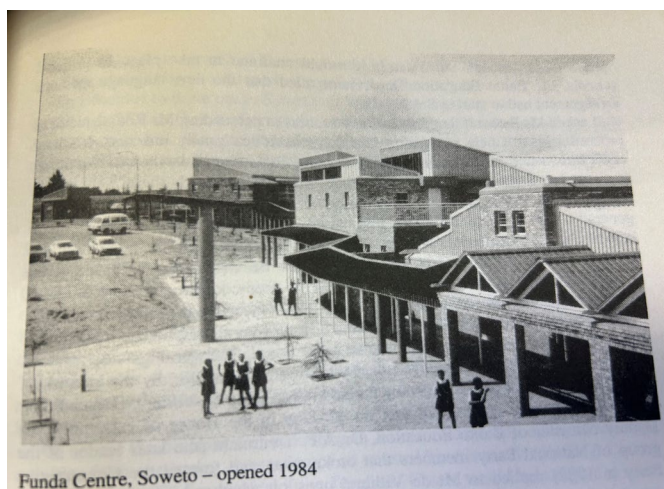


Year	Key moments connected to the story of Funda (1990 – 2021)
	The events and parties represented in the timeline are a small sample to provide an overview.
1990	Unbanning of political movements
1990	Community College Process begins for Funda Centre
1990	"1990 marks the beginning of when Es'kia started the process of turning the centre into an institution." Makhene interview
1990	The Urban Foundation fully withdraws from Funda Centre
1992	The Joint Education Trust provides grants for staff salaries at Funda.
1994	The First Democratic Elections in South Africa
1994	Funda Centre officially registers as Funda Community College
1994	Es'kia Mphahlele Building constructed to serve as administration Building
1997	Funda Community College (FCC) model and structure takes effect. The management board is tasked with overseeing the college activities.
1998	Matsemela Manaka, founding co-ordinator of Funda Arts Centre, passes on.
2004	Gauteng Organization of Community Arts Centers [GOMACC] is established as an NPO to support CACs. Their mandate did not reach Funda Centre
2006	Acts of vandalism at Funda Centre– destroying most buildings including the library; damaging and stealing music instruments; no electricity

2007	From the Funda Art Centre institutes, the Fine Arts Department continues with survive. NAC and DSAC fund bursaries for students
2008	Senior Citizens Focus Cooperatives is given powers to occupy Funda by the Johannesburg Municipality, connected to Funda Community Training Centre. They obtain a 10-year lease agreement
2008	Es'kia Mphahlele passes on - the first Chair of the Funda Board and pioneer of Funda Community College.
2008	uMkhonto we Sizwe Military Veterans' Association (MKMVA) – established in 1996 and an affiliate of the ruling ANC government – is given powers to occupy Funda. And other occupiers such as the church
2014	Mollo wa Ditshomo established at Funda
2015	#RhodesMustFall student protest lead to #FMM (Fees Must Fall protests) with students demanding inclusion of all students into tertiary education regardless of financial standing.
2015	Overhaul of the former Adult Education and Training programme. Adult Education and Training (AET) offered through Public Adult Learning Centres (PALCs) to Community Education and Training (CET) College
2016	Funda Community College wins a court case against occupation of space by the Senior Citizens Focus Cooperative. The FCC is thus recognised as the legitimate user of the space.
2016	Occupiers, including churches are forced out by the FCC.
2018	The library is restored, and some books saved.
2018	Funda Community Training Centre occupies Central Admin Building, Adult Education Centre and the Science Centre
2020	COVID - The year of the lockdown
2021	Funda Centre: Operation Restoration

THE INSTITUTIONAL VALUE OF FUNDA CENTRE – a closer look

Within the Cultural Value Triangle framework, Holden (2006) asserts that Institutional Value is generated (or destroyed) by how organisations interact with their constituents; that it stems from their working procedures and attitudes and is anchored in the public service ethos. An institution's care for the public can achieve public goods such as building trust and mutual respect among citizens, improving the public space, and providing an environment for sociability and the enjoyment of shared experiences (Holden, 2006, p. 17).



Picture of Funda in 1984 from Franz Auerbach (2002)

To begin with, there was intentional thoughtfulness that went into the award-winning architecture of Funda Centre as a campus. The brief to the architects⁵⁴ was to construct “a multipurpose centre to promote non-formal education; in-service training of teachers and cultural activities in Soweto” (‘Funda Centre Brochure’, 1984). The campus boasted several buildings dedicated to specific activities: A Maths & Science Education Centre with laboratories for teacher in-service training; an Adult Education Centre offering short courses and non-formal programs; a Multipurpose Teachers’ Centre where workshops and classes could be conducted; and an Art Centre which housed art and culture institutions. The common buildings shared by users were the Auditorium used for conferences, exhibitions, cinema, and other activities; and a state-of-the-art library with a system managed by UNISA and headed by librarian, Mrs Esme Manganyi. For food and refreshments, a canteen was made available to be run as a

⁵⁴ This followed research conducted in 1979 by the University of Free State’s Research Unit for Education System Planning.

small business venture by Mrs Queen Rabothata. The African Institute for Art (AIA) mentions that when they were looking for a place to establish the institute, one of the appealing reasons for deciding on Funda was “the existence of amenities such as the library, auditorium and canteen” (Seidman, 1994, p. 11). Artist and city planner Hans Wilreker reviewed the architecture and declared that *“the Funda Centre is a radical building.”*

According to the architects, the landscape was designed to form “an oasis of public domain and its enclosed tamed gardens as an island in the Northward falling veld” (‘Funda Centre Brochure’, 1984). The look and feel of the campus made an impression on poet Maakomele Manaka (2020) who started going to Funda as a baby and remembers the green landscape with nostalgia:

Funda Centre at the time was beautiful. How it was structured was that you were welcomed by these perfectly placed trees. It is as if these trees were choreographed, and they move along a certain line. Then there is also an open green grass and walking into that space was as if you were walking into a different world.

The campus itself was meant to inspire; visually breaking away from the monotonous, flat, uninspiring architectural landscape of Soweto as the architects assessed that *“[t]he Funda Centre is not a political programme but a cultural dimension”* (Hans Wilreker).

More than the aesthetic, the design took cognisance of the need to incorporate existing organisations and created a concept of linked but clearly distinct buildings. To ensure a smooth-running organisational structure, Kahn tells me that *“every one of the buildings had a co-ordinator, and each had representation at the Board”*.

AN INSTITUTION OF INSTITUTIONS – The institutional cultural value of space

Funda centre at once became a space that brought together a variety of education related initiatives that were already taking place elsewhere. This is how the physical space itself is so important and offers value for people coming together and networking, becoming fertile ground for nurturing the quality of culture. I have gathered

from interviews and documents tracking the history of some of these organisations that they were alive and active even before coming to Funda Centre.

Before Funda, *“the Maths and Science Teachers Centre was operating at a building behind Baragwanath hospital”* according to Stan Kahn, and at the German School in Johannesburg under the leadership of Klaus Bruk (Auerbach, 2002, p. 118). The Independent Teachers’ Centre (ITC) never had a permanent home but it did impactful work as activists for education often holding workshops, exhibitions and conferences for black teachers at venues like Saheti in Senderwood, Johannesburg College of Education and at Jabulani College in Soweto (Auerbach, 2002, pp. 118–119). Before being housed at the zozo/cottage structures where builders and security guards used to sleep, the African Teachers Association of South Africa (ATASA which eventually established SATDU) used to operate from Vulamazibuko School in Diepkloof where the principal, Dr H.H. Dlamlenze was general secretary (Auerbach, 2002).

Before Funda, Matsemela Manaka’s Creative Youth Association (CYA) was operating from his parents garage and held shows at community and school halls (Davis, 1997; Hlongwane, 2021). These initial efforts gave rise and space to more as there was always something to build on. When the AIA was looking for space to establish an educational institute of art for black people, “Matsemela Manaka suggested bringing the project to Funda Centre” (Seidman, 1994, p. 10) where the Funda Art Centre was already formatively established. The photography project of AfroPix and the film school of AfroScope operated in the city before they were raided by Apartheid police. They found a home at Funda in 1984 under the new name – PhotosDoc. Eddie Mbalo explains: *“Our purpose for moving to Funda was not an ideological decision, it was so that we can be closer to the people we were serving and targeting young people who were dropping out of school.”* Stan Kahn wrote about “thousands of people coming in every week” (‘Funda Centre Brochure’, 1984). From the pictures of the packed auditorium gatherings and from interviews there is a sense that people were constantly interacting with each other, cross-pollinating and serving a purpose of CACs that Zayd Minty brands *“The Fireplace, creating an environment for people to gather and to share, to listen and be listened to”* (Minty’s presentation at Shukuma Conference 2018). In 2014 following a six-year period of dilapidating conditions at Funda, one of the projects for its revival and to mark 30 years since its establishment, was a literal manifestation of the fireplace when Fine Arts students registered an NPO called Mollo

wa Ditshomo⁵⁵. One of the founding members Simangaliso Sibiya remembers that formation fondly:

Yeah, 2014. So we would do a 6 to 6 fireside every last Saturday of the month. And there was only one thing to achieve. By the morning, we needed a solution to whatever we came up with. So we would come in and say, how do we take back Funda? We'd perform, we'd eat, but there would be a discussion [around] the fire. And we did that for like a good year. And we started attracting more former students, more mentors, to register the thing legally, the cooperative, to help business because the admin side was a real challenge for us.

The value of creating such a space for conversations is worth capturing.

Perhaps even if decisions weren't immediately and tangibly finalised at these gatherings, the institutional value of the space could be far-reaching. Nomsa Manaka highlights what she deems highly valuable about the Funda Centre of the 1980s as “...a place of safety for kids where they could express themselves. Funda kept kids [off] the streets and from destructiveness to themselves and the community” which aligns with this paper's conceptual framework around institutional value.

Although this element of safety for children is not high in value at the current Funda, during the Covid lockdown in 2020 when schools closed Sibiya and his team put together a programme for art and dance which saw 200 local children visiting the campus daily to keep busy.

I was happy to see kids doing art and all of that. So in 2020, the community started coming and saying ‘Oh Funda, you guys are saving our kids. How can we help?’ I know one of the mothers of the boys who were here, Mam’ Malata, would be like, there's nothing I can do, just bring your washing and I'll wash for you guys because every time I come here you guys are dirty.

⁵⁵ Translated: a fireplace for stories or stories of fire.

Evidently, it is this kind of value that also restores the trust of the community.

I highlight the value of space because currently in South Africa and as shown in the literature, policy does not make provision for the definition of CACs. There is ambiguity in governance, leading to many cultural activities feeling excluded from obtaining physical space to operate from as opposed to ad-hoc showcasing space at bare community halls which are run by local municipal government.

Perhaps then the first significant sign of a declining institutional value at Funda Centre was vandalism of buildings in 2006 and the hijacking (illegal/unwelcome occupation) in 2008 as I will show later in this section.

In 1984 not only did the Funda Centre create a physical space that afforded dynamic education groups proximity to each other, but the space was considered a safe refuge amidst political turmoil. As pointed out in the African Institute of Art publication of its 10-year journey at Funda Art Centre: “From 1984 the school system in Soweto had begun to collapse but Funda was never disrupted. The community accepted that Funda was a democratic centre; it put education and culture in the hands of African people” (Seidman, 1994, p. 22). This is corroborated by Auerbach⁵⁶ in his memoir that “from mid-1984 we had to work in a very disturbed educational environment. In spite of this our work continued, and in five and a half years of daily commuting to Funda I only had to miss a single day because it was considered a bit risky for whites to ‘go in’” (Auerbach, 2002, p. 153).

While Funda itself was not associated with particular political parties, those who spoke to me about this aspect tend to agree that its ideology leaned more towards Black Consciousness. For example, Mbalo shared with me that him and the PhotosDoc crew “*were the so called Charterists, UDF, ANC and everyone else was Pan Africanist or of the Black Consciousness movement*”. Even as that was the case, each “user” could stay connected to their respective ideological outlook openly because as Mbalo explains, “*political maturity had us working together at the Centre in the best interest of the people and we set aside our ideological differences*”. These different ideologies presented themselves in different ways. Some of today’s biggest debates and issues

⁵⁶ A White teacher who lived in the City but worked at Funda in Soweto.

around funding/financing of culture were already a lived experience during Funda's formative years. Mbalo narrates this story illustrating this point:

We all had to raise money from different sources. I remember Matsemela and Motsumi asked us to fill in a form to apply for funding from USAID who were funding a lot of activities for Urban Foundation. We refused to sign the form. We said we do not take money from Americans. We refuse imperialists. It was interesting and we were laughing because BC and PAC were more vocal anti-imperialists and we thought there was a contradiction in being anti-imperialist and then asking for money from Americans in particular.

Matsemela Manaka has a different perspective and shared with Davis (1997) that “as soon as we get into debates about what money is clean and what money is dirty...we are wasting our time, because there is no clean money. It is how the money is used that makes the money clean” (Davis, 1997, p. 13). Yet, these differences in perspective did not create enmity or intolerance. Despite which of the cases holds more ideological or moral weight, this kind of ideological debate healthily opens us up to conversations about the significance of culture in the economy.

Mbalo remembers that they protected each other from outside danger. He tells me:

We had a car that was stolen for an underground mission and the police got to know about the car being at Funda Centre. When they arrived, they did not know who they were looking for. They met Matsemela and pointed to our space ‘we are looking for the person that sits there’, referring to my office. So Matsemela said ‘there’s many people who sit there. We ALL sit there’.

This indeed illustrates the level of safety whose institutional value can be captured – a place that was safe enough to enable freedom of expression; and freedom of association.

In addition, the diverse partnerships and networks at Funda Centre demonstrated its high institutional cultural value because of the trust it cultivated with other public

institutions that were themselves well established and highly respected. In particular, the University of South Africa (UNISA) and the University of the Witwatersrand (WITS) had a strong relationship with Funda Art Centre. They collaborated to enrich the quality of education by introducing Africa-focused curriculum at these mostly western-orientated education providers, as well as encouraging articulation for Funda students to acquire a recognised degree from a state institution of higher learning especially in Music and Fine Arts as I will show when I discuss the instrumental value of education at Funda later in the paper.

Funda's high institutional value and stature also made an impression beyond the borders of South Africa. In Swaziland, Notkoko Mkhali was just a primary school boy when he decided he wants to study music. He grew up listening to South African local jazz music on Radio Zulu and experienced live music performances of South African greats like Mahlaeni, Lucky Dube, Soul Brothers, and Stimela who all used to pack stadiums in Swaziland. He laments that at the time his only chance to learn and practice playing instruments was limited to playing at weddings. Then one day in 1989, while he was in his last year of high school, what he was seeking found him:

*I heard about Funda from reading about them in [a] newspaper. **Everything that was described sounded like me.** I then wrote them a letter through a company called Rand Envelope, with a stamp and all. About a month or so later they replied back with a letter inviting me to come audition. I didn't know what an audition is. All I wanted was to learn and learn so that I could go to university.*

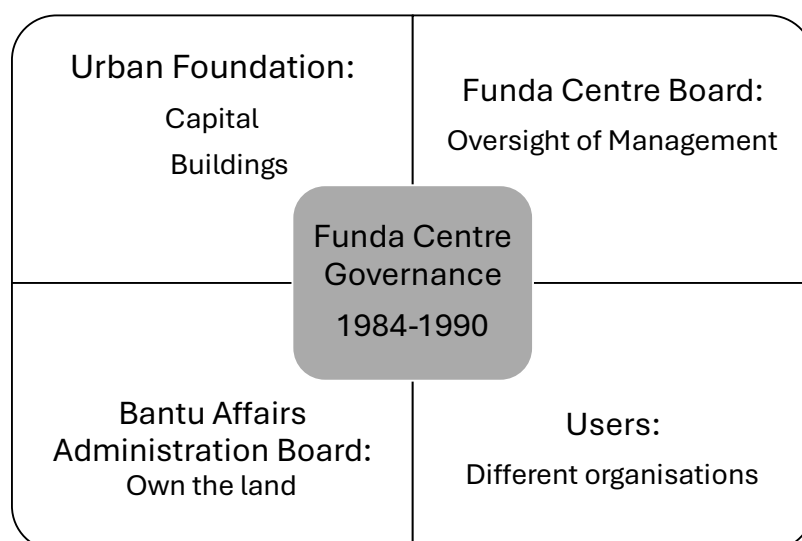
The agility of Funda's engagement and swiftness to respond solidifies what Holden (2006) deems a great factor in creating institutional value because, "[t]he public, as increasingly sophisticated consumers, are likely to be more demanding, and less forgiving of dowdy cultural infrastructure, poor service and over-inflated claims" (Holden, 2006, p. 22). Funda, through their marketing and engagement with their constituents, really meant business.

The aspects of institutional value observed in this section, i.e. the aesthetically pleasing and functional buildings, the sense of safety, the local and Pan-African reach, and the place for connections encouraged inclusion, diversity and created an

opportunity for radical corporation. However, there is another dimension that Holden (2006) puts at the centre of Cultural Institutional Value which is concerned with how well run and administered an organisation is. It is therefore worth discussing the historical organisational governance within the Funda and the impact it has on cultural value.

GOVERNANCE MODEL AND PARTNERSHIP REPRESENTATION (Cultural Governance Ecosystem)

The diagram below demonstrates the governance structure when Funda Centre was established to show respective roles of stakeholders.



Entity	Role
Bantu Affairs Administration Board (BAAB)	Ownership of the land
The Urban Foundation	- Overall campus management - Overall owner of buildings - Payment of staff (i.e. manager, cleaners, security, building co-ordinators) - Payment of services (i.e. water, electricity)
Funda Centre Board	Executive Management
NOTABLE FUNDERS:	
German Chamber of Business (e.g. BMW, Siemens, Mercedes Benz)	Funders of: Teachers' Centre and Science Laboratory
AECI	Funders of the Hall

Anglo- American	Funders of The African Institute of Art
Goldfields	Funders of the ICT (Teachers' Centre)
Shell Oil Company	Funders of The African Institute of Art
USAID	Funders of the art curriculum development (Khula udweba Teachers Art Project)
Remgro and Rembrandt Trust	Funders of the Art Centre
IBM	Funders of the Library
Joint Education Trust	Funders of the new administration block under the FCC Funders of staff salaries
National Arts Council	Bursary funding for fine arts (post-1994)
Department of Arts and Culture	Bursary Funding for fine arts (post-1994) Living Legends Project (talk and exhibition series)
Independent Development Trust Joint Education Trust Kagiso Trust USAID	Funders of the establishment of Funda Community College
USERS	LOCATION
Shared Common Spaces	Library Hall (Denis Mavin) Canteen
ATASA	Old huts/Prefab structures Science Education Centre Teachers' Centre
FUNDA ART CENTRE	• African Institute of Art • Madimba Institute of African Music • Soyikwa Institute of African Theatre • Creative Youth Association • Photosdoc Photographers for Social Documentation, previously Afrapix
Ingoapele Madingoane Meshack Mabogoane Aggrey Klaaste – Nation Building Imilonji ka Ntu Choral Group Mbambo Dancers Bahumutsi Theatre Group African Writers' Association Staffrider Literary Magazine Congress of South African Writers Melodi Sounds of Home Festival Soweto String Quartet Soweto Symphony Orchestra Melodi Festival of African Music The African Jazz Pioneers Izibane Productions Maskandi Festival Mbongeni Ngema + 15 other Organisations	Funda Centre Campus

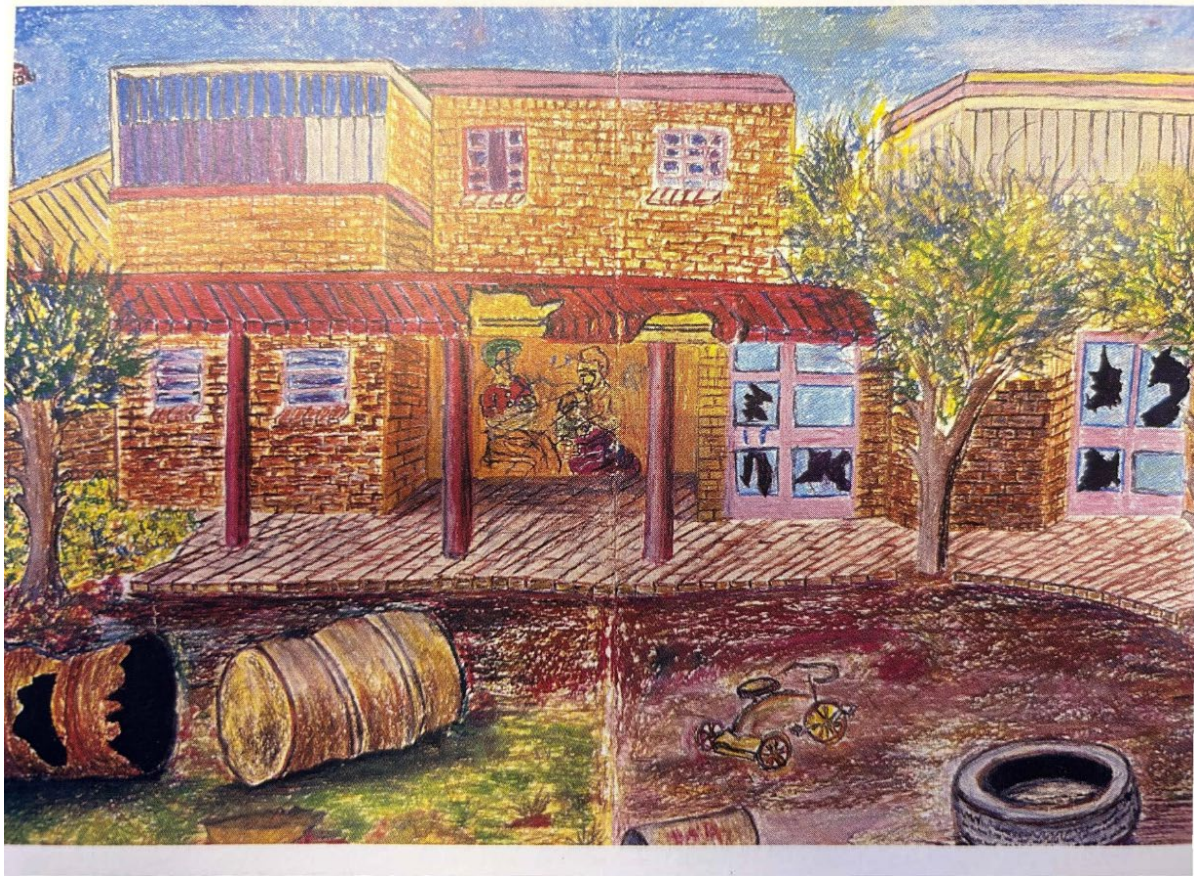
Figure 2 Funda Centre's cultural governance ecosystem

CULTURAL GOVERNANCE AS INSTITUTIONAL VALUE

The structure of the cultural governance model applied in the origins of Funda indicates a multi-stakeholder representation where the state, industry and the community forge a partnership. Zooming into the original administrative structure, Mhlanganisi Masoga (2021 interview) who was at Funda Art Centre as a part-time student, a fulltime student, a tutor, then full lecturer and eventually the music programme coordinator explains:

The approach in structuring the organisation was that of proper systems put in place early on. We had public funds and people fundraised and that money must be accounted for. So you had formal processes put in very early on, like administration systems, financial systems, organisational management and so on. All the projects came in as independent projects but there was a user organisational structure where the Art Centre will sit on its own as management, and some of the managers of the Art Centre institutes would sit in the full Funda Centre management, and some sat on the board along with other board members who were not involved fulltime with Funda.

While this approach was effective in ensuring representation at organisational level, there was from the beginning to date, contestation around the question of who of the stakeholders should be at helm of its leadership.



Picture 4: Moipone Segoto. Landscape 1993, Pastel drawing 85x122 cm catalogue No. 60. Picture courtesy of AIA (2010)

"We couldn't agree on how to agree," says Stan Kahn, referring to the management style.

The origins of ideological friction, around leadership specifically, could be traced back to a time immediately after the Urban Foundation was established following a conference by leaders of white-owned businesses. Auerbach (2002) recalls that while most people, including government and the business community, hailed the efforts of the Urban Foundation, there was also *"opposition from Black Consciousness and socialist-inclined groupings that accused the UF of trying to co-opt middle-class Blacks into the capitalist system"* (Auerbach, 2002, p. 149). As relating to the history of the country which I have outlined in the sections above, Motsumi Makhene⁵⁷ who has been at Funda from its launch year to date, makes it explicit that, *"Funda comes into being as part of a macro ecosystem that is largely political and so it needs to be understood based on this binary relationship with coloniality"*. When I probe Makhene further about

⁵⁷ Music curriculum developer, Founder of Madimba Institution of African Music based at Funda Centre, music program co-ordinator, teacher, later Chair of the Board of Funda Community College.

whether there are marked differences in challenges that Funda has experienced throughout its existence, he places a rather big elephant in the room, expressing that, *“Funda Centre, and subsequently College, was always challenged as to whether it is a centre of community development or whether it is a gift to the elite”*. The room itself as a national and even global landscape has been dealing with such debates especially in the context of colonisation and its aftermath. In a seminal book capturing the history of art education in South Africa since 1926, Magaziner (2016) acknowledges that after World War I there were global debates about the future of education for a colonised Africa: “[E]ducation theorists across Africa and elsewhere re-evaluated whether the European-derived colonial education system was appropriate to the needs of the African child” (Magaziner, 2016, p. xxiii). How fitting then that at the official opening of Funda Centre, Es’kia Mphahlele’s key note address titled *The Crisis in Black Leadership* “expressed the hope that Funda would supply much of the enrichment which the learning process provided by the State lacked” (Auerbach, 2002, p. 153).

Steven Sack, who was part of the founding leadership of the African Institute of Art at the Funda Art Centre, argues that even as Apartheid was repressive “a vibrant and independent non-racial culture was forged by artists and cultural activists working in alternative, privately organised venues - community centres and art centres” (Campschreur and Divendal, 1989, p. 75). Sack (2021) also concedes that the dynamics of working in such spaces “also involved the complex negotiation of a coming together of black and white protagonists in the context of a desperately unequal environment” (Sack, 2021, p. 1). Writing about art education as a microcosm of the culture, he highlights that “[c]onflicts would inevitably arise, fuelled by racial mistrust, personality clashes, competition for resources and differing opinions on the role, purpose and content of art” (Sack, 2021, p. 2). Sometime in the middle of 1985 Franz Auerbach recalls:

Funda was beset by some tensions. Some though not all of the leaders of the various sections had a strong Black Consciousness philosophy, and felt quite strongly that Funda was about empowerment, and that meant that while whites were welcome to work there no part of it should be run by someone not black.

At the seminar, that also translated into a demand that our Director, and the Funda Board, should start looking for an African successor. (Auerbach, 2002, p. 155)

This is certainly not surprising for an institution that has been inherently associated with Black Consciousness, whose father Steve Biko often reflected on the complexities that come with the involvement of white people as leaders in the black struggle. In one article of his Frank Talk columns he argues that “While, as a matter of principle, we would reject separation in a normal society, we have to take cognisance of the fact that ours is far from a normal society” (Biko, 2004, p. 13). It is also worth considering that in 1984, South Africa established a new kind of constitutional structure called the Tricameral Parliament⁵⁸ where only whites, coloureds⁵⁹ and Indians could be represented in parliament, intentionally excluding the group of people they identified as Black Africans, therefore heightening the intensity of agency on the part of black people to establish their voice and presence in other institutional spheres.

The Constantly Bubbling Coup

The tension about inclusion pertaining to Urban Foundation’s relationship with its beneficiary stakeholders is well corroborated by Wilkinson (1982) in his general analysis of the early stages of UF.

In the major metropolitan centres, organizations able to mobilize substantial popular support in the black townships around specific issues like inadequate housing and facilities, or rent increases, arose to challenge the idea that the question of the quality of life in the townships could genuinely be posed on a ‘non-racial, non-political basis’. Further, at the level of their understanding of the fundamental nature of the ‘quality of life’ problem, these organizations began to question the validity of any ‘solution’ which in their perception

⁵⁸ “...Coloureds were allowed eighty-five representatives (House of Representatives) and the Indians forty-five (House of Delegates)... The white chamber (House of Assembly) has 178 members...The country's black people who make up 73.8 per cent of the total population of about 32 million have not been included...The Coloureds and Indians let in on the new tricameral deal, make up merely 6.7 and 2.7 per cent of the population respectively.” (Vollenhoven, 1986, pp. 486–487)

⁵⁹ All these racial categories were determined by the Apartheid government themselves.

remained merely ameliorative, dealing with the symptoms rather than the underlying structural causes of the problem. (Wilkinson, 1982, pp. 5–6)

At Funda, the diversity of voices wrestled with the idea of leadership against the backdrop of a racialised unequal society. One significant event stamped in the memories of Kahn and Makhene is that of the “the first coup” as Makhene calls it:

In 1986 there was a coup of Funda by a journalist who had started a project here in the adult education centre called The Society of Young Africa – somehow linked to the PAC – if you understand history. His name is Meshack Mabogoane – intelligent, brilliant writer, but radical in terms of what he wanted to do. As part of his project that was based here at this centre which was his colonial enclave, he started to train people as security guards. One day on a Monday, we found a new security company that had taken over at the centre. Only black people were allowed to come in. After the coup – a decision was taken following debates about the value of Meshack’s intervention in relation to the future of this place. Some people argued that Meshack is right – in fact no one said Meshack was wrong. Some said he is right and they agree with his strategy while others said he is right but they did not agree with the strategy ‘because this is our centre’.

Stan Kahn mentions the incident but with much dismissal: “*There were disreputable people. One guy started a little militia. He practised marching up and down the back street. Meshack Mabogoane was his name. He was nuts, I think*”. What cannot be denied is that this remains an issue the residue of which still plagues Funda Centre.

Towards the end of January 2023, soon after matric results were published, I was in the middle of finalising this research report when I was alerted to the violence going on at Funda. The battle of ownership and leadership which turned bloody and even involved death threats was between members of Funda Community College and those of Funda Community Training Centre. Just like in previous years, once again Funda

had become a site of contestation. But without the background of racial power relations perpetuated by Apartheid, where did this battle begin?

It is said that in 2006, the local government municipality of Johannesburg granted ownership of Funda buildings to an organisation called the Senior Citizens Focus Cooperative (SCFC) which was made up of ANC's uMkhonto we Sizwe Military Veterans' Association⁶⁰ (MKMVA). I could never get official documents to scrutinise this arrangement but Makhene, Nkosi, Sibiya, Mokopakgosi and some members of the focus group know about that period. During this time, Funda Centre had already transformed into a community college. Between 2006 and 2008, Funda Centre was vandalised, and many artefacts stolen including music instruments and library books. Water and electricity systems were sabotaged while most buildings were occupied by churches who claimed they paid rent to members of the MKMVA. This period marks the beginning of the deterioration of Funda's Institutional Value.

From 2008 the SCFC obtained a 10-year lease agreement from the City of Johannesburg which they used to legitimise their management of the buildings. Sowetan Live reported that "FUNDA Centre is up and running again thanks to the efforts of an NGO that has taken over its affairs," (Moreosele, 2009) while Funda Community College "had been struggling to obtain a permanent leasing of the area, having tried in 1989 and 1993" (Bambalele, 2019). "*We refused to move*," declares Charles Nkosi on behalf of the FCC. To counter the occupancy of the SCFC, Funda Community College obtained a court order from Gauteng South High Court which put the Funda Board as custodians of the campus from 2008. In the meantime, The SCFC changed its name to Funda Community Training Centre and maintained its occupancy while also getting itself legitimised by registering with the Department of Education and with Sector Education and Training Authorities to get accreditation for short courses that they provided. Winning the court case allowed the FCC to reclaim some of the buildings like the library and the hall where church services were held. However, these efforts of restoration did not totally guarantee peace of mind for the campus where there had been gradual muddled uncertainty in governance/leadership, nor did it provide resources to restore the damaged infrastructure like the electricity wires and

⁶⁰ See Figure 3: Comparing FCC and FCTC "Founded in 1996 to represent the interests of individuals who had participated in the armed struggle against apartheid as members of Umkhonto weSizwe (MK), the ANC's armed wing."

general upkeep and facility maintenance. The capacity of the FCC was eventually reduced to offering one educational programme in Fine Arts in collaboration with Wits University.

These findings about the clash between these two organisations are not meant to determine who is wrong or right. Instead, the research seeks to highlight the significance of governance as a factor to the declining value of an institution. No more are these rivals from the same kraal as with the Mabogoane coup but rather two kings anointed by separate authorities seeking to occupy the same seat. The situation highlights the lack of leadership and policy direction from the government when it comes to CACs, therefore negatively impacting their institutional status and legitimacy. Charles Nkosi alludes to the SCFC as a product of an ANC⁶¹ agenda to overhaul the institution. Similarly, Sidogi (2020 interview) points out that *“the current ANC government is in many respects indifferent to Funda. They could care less if the institution survives or fails and that is because it is not part of their legacy as an organisation”*. It is curious why the SCFC and the FCTC did not enter Funda simply as one of the users instead of coming in to replace or “take over” from the inherited Funda Community Centre which held the history. Steven Sack could be correct in indicating that *“[t]he failure of the community college is something that needs to be interrogated because for some reason the ANC⁶² said no”*. And Mhlanganisi Masoga confirms that *“the big fall out came when government said no, we’re not going the route of community college, we have enough problems with our own institutions, we can’t adopt you and put you in our system and you can’t be part of the funding stream”*. It is perhaps for this reason that cultural policy scholar, Lance Nawa decries the post-1994 legislative gaps on culture that exclude the agency of local government to structure their own cultural policies and where “culture continues to be applied as an after-thought to a backlog of service delivery demands” (Nawa, Sirayi and Ebewo, 2016, p. 165).

⁶² African National Congress as the ruling party post-democracy.

Comparing FCC and FCTC

Name and Logo	Funda Community College 	Funda Community Training Centre Primary Co-operative 
Directorship	Emanate from Funda Centre legacy (1984)	Emanate from Senior Citizens Focus Cooperative (2008) And Funda Community Training Centre (2009)
Mission statement	“The mission of The Funda Community College is to provide practical and community-relevant education so as to enable graduates to gain or create jobs, proceed to further education at a university or Technikon and assume leadership roles in their respective communities”. Prospectus 1997	“FCTC is an accredited Skills Development Provider, offering Matric Re-write, Community Health Work, Public Awareness of Dread Disease and HIV etc.” Facebook page
Philosophy	“The FCC provides education and training from adult basic education through to post-secondary levels in the spirit of life-long learning. This is	Not communicated.

	underpinned by an educational philosophy that is committed to the re-establishment of educational priorities by creating an environment which is supportive of freedom of enquiry, self-discovery, critical thinking, independent learning and socio-economic self-reliance – an education and training approach that is based on learning by doing”. Prospectus 1997	
Registration with CIPC	87/001300/08	2012/006141/24
Physical Address on CIPC records	8642 RAMOLONGOANE STREET ZONE 6 DIEPKLOOF	9642 IMMINK DRIVE ZONE 6 DIEPKLOOF
Physical Location	Funda Centre Campus 8642 Immink Drive Zone 6 Diepkloof	Funda Centre Campus 8642 Immink Drive Zone 6 Diepkloof
Type of company	Non-Profit Company	Primary Co-operative
Date registered	1987/03/26 1997/05/13 THE FUNDA CENTRE	2009 and 2012

Registration Status (as of February 2024)	Deregistration Process Annual Returns Filed until 2021 AR Final deregistration ⁶³	Deregistration (2009) Active (2012) No Annual Returns ⁶⁴ have been filed
Website/(URL)	None (Facebook Page)	None (Facebook Page)
Arts and Culture Programme	Fine Arts Music (later fell away) Workshops Public Lecturers Exhibitions Performance Staging Dance Program Indigenous Games festival	None
Education Program	Matric Rewrite/Upgrade New Venture Creation Adult Basic Education	¬Matric Rewrite/Upgrade ¬Hygiene and Cleaning ¬ New Venture Creation ¬Community Health Work ¬Public Awareness & Promotion of Dread Disease and HIV/AIDS ¬Health Promotion Officer

⁶³ After five or more missed annual returns, the company will be moved into "AR Final Deregistration," ceasing to exist as a legal entity.

⁶⁴ An annual return is an action the directors of a company need to take every year to review and confirm the company's details on the Companies Register.

		↯ Community House Building ↯ Building and Civil Construction ↯ Information Technology: End User Computing ↯ Technical Support.
Accreditation	Registered with Gauteng Department of Education	Registered with Gauteng Department of Education Accredited by the Sector Education and Training Authority QCTO (HWSETA; CETA; SSETA)

Figure 3 Comparing Funda Community College with Funda Community Training Centre

With this paper's interest in factors that contribute to an institution's decline based on how its cultural value is captured and understood, it is not clear how the democratic government came to the decision to not "see" the value of Funda Centre when they offered the space to the ANC affiliated organisation instead of following a more consultative approach to determine what would be in the interest of the public that it served as well as the administrators that would action the agreed upon mandate. If the values of the Funda Centre of the 1980s were considered, then perhaps there would not have been this battle of space based on political party orientation. A related example that directly connects with the idea of oneness and sharing that the FCC and the FCTC could consider is best exemplified by a collaboration that put uBuntu at the centre – ANC member and Sowetan editor Aggrey Klaaste's⁶⁵ initiated the Nation

⁶⁵ "Most of the journalists who worked for him supported the [Black Consciousness Movement](#)." (Cowling, 2021)

Building Project⁶⁶. Through this project he worked with Reverend Lebamang Sebidi of the Teachers' Centre at Funda to spread the principles of Ubuntu. The message is aptly captured by Cowling (2014) quoting Sebidi's views: "*Ubuntu – African humanism – is stubbornly and inherently anti-individualism. Ubuntuism, as he called it, was inclusive, humane, and concerned with the community*" (Cowling, 2014, pp. 337–338). These principles did not carry through into the new dispensation at Funda. When a democratically elected black ruling party is not facilitating such collaborations the value of culture suffers, compromising governance structures and leadership.

THE TRANSITION TO FUNDA COMMUNITY COLLEGE – a new mode of governance

For historical purposes and to address the research questions that concern this paper about factors that affect the cultural value of specific organisations, it is worth tracking back and zoning in on the transition of Funda Centre into Funda Community College during and after the leadership of Professor Es'kia Mphahlele.

With the changing political landscape of South Africa from an Apartheid policy to one of democracy in 1994, Funda Centre itself experienced a transformation that affected both its identity and the activities that made up that identity. Hagg (2010) who categorises Funda Centre as an NGO centre points out that:

The arrival of the democratic state ended the preferential treatment of the NGO arts centres by international donors, forcing the centres to adapt to a new social and funding environment over a very short time. The state forced donors to channel all development funding through the state RDP Fund in an attempt to coordinate international funding. (Hagg, 2010, p. 167)

The transition also brought shifts in institutional governance. The ownership of the land where Funda Centre is built was transferred from the hands of the BAAB to the City of Johannesburg municipal authority. The buildings within the campus were transferred from the stewardship of the Urban Foundation to the Board of Funda Centre still under

⁶⁶ "Its central idea was to unite black South Africans behind community improvement and engagement. He intended the newspaper to be a key driver of the project." (Cowling, 2021)

the directorship of Professor Es'kia Mphahlele, giving birth to Funda Community College.

This paper has already established in the literature review that it is also useful for CACs to craft their own meaning as they define their role in society. And so Funda Centre embarked on this mission. According to Makhene:

By 1987 Urban Foundation starts to move out and Mphahlele questions the institutional mind of Funda. He says he does not want free market involvement but rather an institution of the community. He suggested the idea of a community college. Transfer of ownership property from Urban to Funda Board so that it can be an institution for the community. 1990 marks the beginning of when Es'kia started the process of turning the centre into an institution.

Simangaliso elaborates on the idea:

So '84 to '94 it was a Funda Centre because it was organisations who were coming. It was operating like that in one space but in silos. But in 94 it was registered as a community college because the plan was to move from a center to a community college, then college to university, and eventually a university, just using how they teach here. So in 94 it transitioned and it was officially opened as a community college. But I don't blame people for calling it a centre because at the entrance there's a big Funda Centre signage. I've been trying to get it removed. But it's that. It's that how do we make this our own university?

Just as the literature reviewed in this paper shows, there is a disjuncture in how value is interpreted by different stakeholders. For Makhene and Sibiya, there is nothing ideologically different about how Funda used to operate pertaining to the transition into FCC except that it was unifying all activities. Others hold a different view to the narrative in how this change affected the organisation. Focus group participants Ntokozo, Jeanette and Thebe seem to feel that Funda's institutional value started to

decline with the advent of the FCC. These alumni of Funda express that they simply could not relate to the new structure. They all blame it on the Big Round Building.

Tatane Ngobeni, employed as a security guard during the directorship of Stan Kahn until 2022, narrates the history of the round building and the changes that came with it:

The Round Building came in 1995 when Funda changed into a college with funds from the Joint Education Trust. The round building became the administration building. Before then the administration office was at the Teachers' Centre. The funding requirement from JET required that all projects be combined together into a college. Walter Smith⁶⁷ from America built the round building, he officially opened the Funda Community College with Walter Ngcobo.

Ngobeni goes on to say that ***“at that time everyone was under one management – those who did not want to be part of the new formation had to leave and find space elsewhere⁶⁸.”*** Like everyone interviewed, no one could say with authority why things didn't work out as planned for the FCC.

I'm not sure why the education went down. I don't know if it was mismanagement or what. The people that were hired here for the FCC were always very educated. You could see when they advertised a post, they were always looking for people with Master's degrees and upwards.

However, he could say this about the music department, which links to what the focus group suspected with regards to demands for qualifications according to the status quo: ***“Music department collapsed because there was no longer electricity and many instruments were stolen.”*** The vibrancy created by the Art Centre (music, dance,

⁶⁷ Smith is highly regarded as an expert in building Community Colleges. Mourning his death, the local newspaper in his hometown of Tampa in the USA declared: “After an epic career — president of Florida A&M University, the creator of higher education programs in South Africa and Malawi - Walter Smith came home to Tampa.” (Hare, 2022)

⁶⁸ Emphasis is my own.

theatre, fine art) for the Funda campus, gradually disappeared in a formal sense when the transformation of the entire campus bonded all buildings and services under the new name, Funda Community College as a preferred *modus operandi* to having a decentralised system of the mid '80s and early '90s.

Ngobeni's reflections are echoed by the focus group participants who blame the round building but also point to ideological fractures that did not incorporate the African cultural approach of the old Funda. Ntokozo explains:

*This American guy came in, and I'm not trying to blame him. He institutes some changes here and there and tried to bring everything under one roof. He wanted to uplift the Centre as a whole but he forgets that the institutes especially at the Art Centre, were meant to serve as **AFRICAN**⁶⁹ art institutions specifically. He wanted them to be centres that teach art but without any specialisation because if that was not the case they wouldn't have gotten rid of people like Mhlanganisi. Yes, they brought in people with degrees but those people did not have degrees in African Art or African music or theatre. So people started coming flaunting their degrees but during those times there was hardly any institutions specialising in African Art except Funda. So for anybody to come in and say give me your certificate? From where? Where were we supposed to get certificate? Say for example Mabeleng having learned from Zimbabwe and Funda. I studied all my music courses at Funda. All of them. So if you want someone to teach Marimba with a degree where would they get it from because in 1990 art education in South Africa was predominantly for the elite and the whites only. Funda was our only gateway.*

Thebe, who started going to Funda attending Maths and Science classes after school before enrolling at the Art Centre as a drummer and later a music tutor, also relates

⁶⁹ Emphasis is my own.

that when he taught at the FCC he was made to feel like an outsider: “*We were being asked for evidence of our accreditation. Our skills and knowledge was questioned and we were deemed unqualified*”. While Makhene elaborated that extensive research⁷⁰ was undertaken to ensure a successful launch of the FCC, it was not clear how consultative the process was for the actual Funda users in deciding what the unique focus of the new establishment would be. The process in that regard seemed to have been top-down rather than inclusive.

Although none of the people I interviewed could account for why funding of the FCC by JET and USAID was discontinued, it remains relevant to this research to probe the public funding landscape that could have disadvantaged the FCC further. According to the Department of Sports, Arts and Culture (DSAC) Annual report of 2022, Community Art Development commitments had not been achieved for the past two years due to provinces not implementing programmes (The Department of Arts and Culture, 2023, p. 43). The province of Gauteng reports that of the national R11 000 000 community art centre budget, they spent R3 500 000 on 22 productions from the artistic programme. However, the metrics used to arrive at selecting these programmes is not reported. Moreover the project was not audited and the output broadly reported under the outcome of facilitating a “diverse socially cohesive society with a common goal” (Gauteng Province, 2023, p. 58). With the FCC outside these parameters of evaluation, recognition of its cultural value falls outside this funding mandate. Neither does the FCC fall within government’s scope of Community Education where since 2015 the Department of Education,

[T]ransitioned the sector from Adult Education and Training (AET) offered through Public Adult Learning Centres (PALCs) to Community Education and Training (CET) Colleges that are regulated by the Continuing Education and Training Act, Act No.16 of 2006 (the CET Act). The CET Act requires that, for CET Colleges to be deemed functional, systems and particular structures are

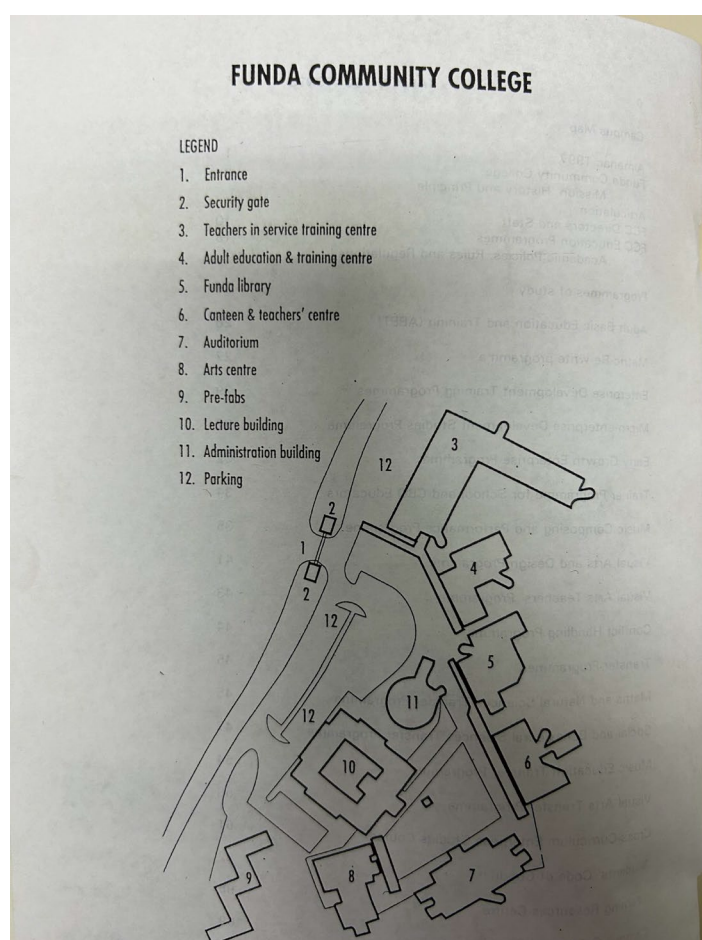
⁷⁰ These include; community of practice exchanges locally and internationally with institutions like Khanya College; and participating in the National Institute for Community Education[NICE] which advocated for the establishment of Community Colleges in South Africa from 1993 to 1997, headed by Silas Zuma – although as we now know, the ideas did not materialise.

in place. Nine (9) CET Colleges were established, one in each province.”⁷¹

(ETDP SETA, 2023, p. 17)

Without any form of injection of funds, the FCC finds itself in a fragile position that cannot see it realise its vision. Perhaps as Makhene (2021) lamented “*Funda’s pursuit became greater than its intent*”.

In the next section I analyse one of Funda’s pursuits as an instrument of cultural value through education within the CVT where throughout its history, the fundamental organising principle at Funda was education.



Picture 5: Reference of Funda Buildings from the FCC Prospectus

⁷¹ “The 3 276 inherited PALCs have since been clustered under the 9 CET colleges and gazetted as Community Learning Centres (CLCs) to ensure their legality” (ETDP SETA, 2023). Funda Community College is not one of these.

THE INSTRUMENTAL VALUE OF CULTURE

“Education is a product of culture. It expresses the culture and helps to redefine it”.
(Mphahlele, 2003, p. 7)

As delineated in the previous section about the history of Funda Centre’s institutional value, its establishment is premised on the value of Education. It is widely accepted by education and cultural policy scholars that there is an organic, empowering relationship between education and culture (Mulcahy, 2006; Gilmore and Comunian, 2016). Within this position, Makhene (2021) suggests that “*Funda’s model has always tested the symbiotic relationship between community and coloniality*” given the socio-political climate in South Africa under Apartheid. When Es’kia Mphahlele was elected Chairman of the Board of Funda in 1984, he was already heading the Council for Black Education and Research from 1981 which was developing/advancing the idea of “alternative education”. This approach intentionally puts a focus on culturally relevant pedagogy (Marcum, 1982; Barnett, 1984; Mphahlele, 1984, 2003), with the RWP further acknowledging that in terms of financing educational institutions during Apartheid, “indigenous forms survived in the past by creating informal semi-community spaces and alternative platforms” (The Department of Arts and Culture, 2017, p. 14).

Mphahlele argues that “only in alternative structures can we institutionalise our ideas and create programmes that will express *us*. To wait for the State to provide is to wait to be accommodated in State structures that already stand discredited” (Mphahlele, 2003, p. 204). Similarly for Matsemela Manaka, who founded Funda Art Centre, self-determination was important and his commitment was for “African cultural identity and black political unity expressed through new forms of theatre” (Davis, 1997, p. 15) and other art forms that were being taught at the FAC. This means that when the Bantu Education Act of 1953⁷² wanted to determine the education agenda for Black people, Funda was the antidote. Ali Hlongwane confirms this through his experience:

There was a recognition that the system, at the time, did not have training programmes that were relevant to the interest of a large section of South African

⁷² This law “ushered a tiered system of education, where both the schools students attended and the content of the curriculum they were taught there were based on race. HF Verwoerd infamously declared that education for Africans had to prepare them to be ‘hewers of wood and drawers of water, and fit only for manual work’ (Heffernan and Nieftagodien, 2016, p. 2).

society, and that society being the Africans. And that our stories, our perspective, our philosophical views of the world at the time, or before, or in the future, dynamic and changing as it was, was not really underpinning formal education programmes.

To capture this philosophically intrinsic approach to education, this section looks at how Funda Centre manifested its way of teaching and learning in line with Holden's framing that "instrumental values relate to the ancillary effects of culture, where culture is used to achieve a social purpose" (Holden, 2006, p. 16). He mentions examples such as using culture to achieve good health or to generate income among other instrumental values. The overarching idea about instrumental culture in the context of cultural policy is that it is not always directly used to achieve a cultural outcome⁷³ but rather allows for punctuating what might otherwise be viewed peripherally as secondary. With the confluence of cultural value captured in the history of Funda, I discuss how the instrument of education enabled the institution to establish its voice as a cultural space concerned with empowering a racially marginalised community of people.

ACCESS – The Doors of Learning and Culture shall be open.⁷⁴

It has already been established in the previous sections that after 1976 there was instability in the schooling system in South Africa. Added to that was the disproportionate availability of education resources and facilities due to the long history of laws that prevented quality education to black people. Within the context of the heightened inaccessibility of education during the state of emergency, Funda was instrumental in providing a safe space where teaching and learning could continue happen.

The Fees Must Fall protests (#FMF) in 2015 exposed many limitations that pertain to access to higher education in South Africa with one of the highlights being "to protest the rise of university fees, a barrier of access to tertiary education for poor black

⁷³ Gray (2007) offers this useful example in the case where the construction of a museum in the UK was first approached from its instrumental value role and purpose: "Tate Liverpool in 1988 was largely discussed in terms of urban regeneration and social cohesion and it took some time before more traditional concerns of the museum system, such as curatorship, began to be considered for their significance in the context of this development".

⁷⁴ Adopted from The Freedom Charter of 1955.

students” (Heffernan and Nieftagodien, 2016, p. xi). As established in the literature review, one of the most important defining factors of CACs is their accessibility due to low or no fees (van Robbroeck, 1992; Seidman, 1994; Falken, 2004). Throughout its history, Funda has been credited with enabling access to education. Some of the students that enrolled at Funda in the 1980s did so because they had nowhere else to go given the riots of that time that disturbed the schooling system. For example, master percussionist, Mabeleng Moholo had initially wanted to go to a technical school to make some money to support his mother after his father’s passing.

I wanted something that was a proper school that would commit me and keep me busy academically. But I was inspired to study the piano by the likes of Lionel Richie when he played the solo piano. When my father was alive I used to randomly play music for his shebeen customers. I would play the O’Jays and that type of repertoire and sometimes jazz and the customers liked it.

And so it was that in February of 1986, instead of going to the technical college, he auditioned at Funda and started studying without his schooling getting interrupted. During the period leading up to first democratic elections in South Africa, the distinction between the high fees of university in comparison to those at CACs was evident. Ntokozo studied at Funda between 1990 and 1993 without ever having studied music before, and then qualified to study at the University of KwaZulu Natal as a result of the skills he acquired at Funda. He says, “*I killed that audition! I went to town!*” But without the money to study at UKZN he had no access to further his formal education. “*On New Year’s Day of 1994, a letter arrived informing me that they have accepted me. It was nice for the year of democracy. But the money was nowhere to be found.*” The fees did not fall during his time. Yet even after the new government, Funda continued to be an access point to education for students like Fine Artist Simangaliso Sibiya, who wanted to study Graphic Design in 2007 but explains that he “*was too poor for College, and I was too rich for NSFAS [the National Student Financial Aid Scheme]*”. He tried to work and save some money for private education but it was not enough. Seven years later in 2014, he found Funda and is now a thriving artist. For these three generations of Funda students, respected and talented in their field today, financial accessibility to education was enabled by Funda.

Another demonstration of how Funda Art Centre manifested accessibility is their relaxed yet robust entrance requirements. Van Robbroeck (1992) argues that “the community arts movement is concerned with the individual's right to cultural participation in any artform of his/her choice” (van Robbroeck, 1992). The three interviewees, like the others I spoke to, had had no training in the art form in which they graduated. All three were thankful that someone saw something in them that had potential to be developed. Mabeleng and Ntokozo say they did not know what an audition was and when they did audition, they had no idea what they were doing. “Modimo!”⁷⁵ exclaims Mabeleng at the memory of that experience when Sandile Khemese of the Soweto String Quartet conducted his audition. Once he was accepted Mr Khemese was the one who eventually suggested that he try out drums,

[B]ecause we needed to form a band in class and everyone wanted to play the piano. It was piano, piano, piano...so he told us we can't have a band with just pianists. So because my surname is Moholo and there is a great drummer, Louise Moholo, Sandile decided for me to play drums.

And today, the world knows Mabeleng as the seasoned percussion drummer he is.

Funda – THE WAY OF EDUCATION at Funda Centre

Funda in isiZulu means to learn or to read. Its name is reflect the core of its mission. The range of education services at Funda Centre between 1984 and 1994 were themed according to their respective core missions and allocated buildings⁷⁶ that focused their related activities⁷⁷. Below is an overview of the buildings and accompanying short narrative that came from findings relating to programmes⁷⁸, activities, interactions, and relationships relevant to this research. The narratives highlight the innovative and practical ways that Funda Centre nurtured a culture of education as a value.

The biggest of the buildings was the **Maths and Science Centre** which served as a training centre for upgrading and supporting teachers of these subjects. “Klaus Brück

⁷⁵ Translation: Calling on God because of how startled/stressed one is.

⁷⁶ See map of buildings page 101

⁷⁷ For list of organisations that operated see governance model diagram on page 84

⁷⁸ For list of funders see governance model diagram on page 83

persuaded the German government which subsidised the German School in Johannesburg to allow him to start longer science in-service courses in Soweto” (Auerbach, 2002, p. 118). The Centre boasted science laboratories equipped with resources that allowed practical experimentation that township schools lacked. Not only did the Centre serve teachers, students in primary and secondary school could attend after school homework classes as well as Saturday classes that enabled them to tackle their maths and science curriculum back at their core schools. This is how percussion drummer and music teacher, Thebe, first encountered Funda. He shares: *“I was at Funda around 1984 when those trees were still small. We came once a week and on Saturdays. You could get classes on anything from science to electronics.”* It would seem that the element of STEM⁷⁹, which to this day occupies a priority in education discourse (Parliamentary Monitoring Group, 2023), was already an area deemed important in the education ecosystem at Funda Centre.

Thebe eventually enrolled at the Art Centre when he finished school because the campus as a whole allowed for organic flow of movement between spaces.

“We would see people rehearsing. My favourite was the sound of the bass but when I heard it from a distance I thought the sound was coming from a drum and that’s what I wanted to play”. But before that, it was all about learning the art of learning as he puts it. *“There were classes on ‘How to Learn’ – we would touch books and study even the spine and the cover. Such small things. This is before I studied Art.”*

There were no boundaries in terms of accessing the services. Sisters Ntepana and Jeannette, who ended up at Funda as dancers and tutors, talk about spending more than half their school lives at Funda. *“We used to go there every single day after school. We started at the library, did our homework then went to dance classes.”* Now a professional dancer in her mid-40s, Jeannette remembers that consistency with joy. *“I never stopped dancing since Primary School. After matric I got a scholarship to go to London for a year. Now I’m teaching at Nomsa Manaka Dance Studio”.* The proximity of these education organisations and buildings created an organically enriching environment where there could have otherwise been a strict boundary of silos which limit other ways of learning and exploring.

⁷⁹ Science, Technology, Engineering, Mathematics

Another key building was The **Adult Education Centre**, which was concerned with matters of adult basic education and used to host a variety of activities when required. The building was managed by Reverend Lebamang Sebidi who together with Sam Mabe collaborated with the editor of *The Sowetan* newspaper, Aggrey Klaaste, on the Nation Building Project⁸⁰ as an example of one of the variety of projects⁸¹ that could be accommodated. During Apartheid, Adult Education was viewed as an empowering tool used by political activists (Mangena, 2015, p. 4) to reach the community of adults who never had writing and reading skills while also conscientising them about the socio-political issues. In addition, Makhene points out that,

Adult education was regarded [as] an aspirational service. You provide it and adults can talk among themselves, they can learn new things, they can move up the ladder in a controlled manner especially because the services industry was growing more...not just mining.

In 2022, the FCC, in the efforts to “revive” or “salvage” Funda, put an emphasis in center-ing Adult Education as its core mandate⁸².

For Mphahlele, adult education went into the heart of family relations in that once parents/elders of students that were at school could themselves read, they were likely to be involved in their own children’s schooling affairs (Mphahlele, 2003). This kind of inter-generational engagement could be seen to be promoting social value in and of itself rather than the distance that Apartheid policies created where the older generation and the younger seem to operate on different planes.⁸³ The dynamic leadership of Sebidi allowed for the Adult Education Centre to go beyond the call of duty just as he had done when he was still a Catholic Priest. He started off his career as a catholic priest and first Black rector at St Peter’s Seminary in Hammanskraal⁸⁴

⁸⁰ “Led by its editor, Aggrey Klaaste, the newspaper engaged in an ongoing process of social re-imagining under this flag of nation building, partly through its editorial columns and partly by initiating and reporting on community projects.” (Cowling, 2014)

⁸¹ See previous section on Institutional value alluding to the kind of columns that came from this project sharing Sebidi’s views on uBuntu.

⁸² AGM Minutes 2022

⁸³ Mphahlele is passionate about this separation as can be seen in his creative and autobiographical work where he speaks about the distance that studying at a missionary school created between him and the elders who had never gone to school.

⁸⁴ Openly and publicly protesting against the 1977 ban of Black Consciousness Movement parties; challenging the church leadership to intervene as captured in his interview with Gail (Gerhart, 1989).

and chairperson of the Black Priest Solidarity Group that often organised protest meetings at Regina Mundi Church⁸⁵. He left the priesthood when it occurred to him that the Catholic church was not advancing the mission of solidarity with the oppressed black people, as recorded in his interview with Gail Gerhart in 1989, but still carried on the spirit of activism for education informed by Black Consciousness principles when he got to Funda (Gerhart, 1989). One of the key programmes that illustrated how the Adult Education project worked with the community, was a collaboration with hostel residents of Diepkloof at a time when there was distrust between hostels and the main community despite the close physical proximity to each other. A big factor that fuelled tensions was principally caused by Apartheid's philosophy of segregating people (or divide to rule). The hostel residents⁸⁶ came to the Centre for classes in Adult Basic Education (ABET) but with Funda's collapsed boundaries around projects, a Maskandi⁸⁷ festival was born, facilitated by Mbongeni Ngema⁸⁸ and the Madimba Institute of African music based at the Funda Art Centre. Motsumi Makhene as coordinator of the Madimba explains the depth of this relationship.

The collaboration between the Arts Centre and the Adult Education Centre had a cultural and political synergy. The festival involved those playing Maskandi (students of ABET) to collaborate with the music students and the visual arts students would exhibit. There were workshops. We realised that Hostels are places where people from the rural live. Hostels and rural people have a right to collaborate and participate in workshops and seminars. Then the question of language emerged and we needed to break the language barriers, not just language but space would be important – urban and rural creative expression would be important.

⁸⁵ A Church in Soweto Rockville regarded as a symbol of anti-apartheid activism. Located about 5km from Funda Centre along the same Chris Hani Baragwanath Road.

⁸⁶ Hostel dwellers came to live there as migrant labourers for the mining industry. They were men who often came from rural areas. They were usually not integrated into the community and did not have full family structures.

⁸⁷ Maskandi is a form of Zulu folk music, originally associated with migrant workers. (Wikipedia)

⁸⁸ Mbongeni Ngema (10 May 1955 – 27 December 2023) - a South African playwright, lyricist, composer, director, choreographer, and theatre producer. (Wikipedia)

This example offers a lens through which we can see the tangible instrumental value of the outcome to achieve education in what Mphahlele (2003) frames as a product of culture given the language factor and the ubuntu basis that informs Sebidi's approach to education (Quan-Baffour and Romm, 2015)⁸⁹.

Besides the first two teacher-orientated centres, there was also **The Teachers' Centre** which had its own building run by the Independent Teachers Centre (ITC) under the leadership of Franz Auerbach⁹⁰, whose biography contributed a lot to this research in understanding this space. The work of the ITC was popular and highly respected as a place where Black teachers of all subjects and levels could upgrade their skills whether in Early Learning, Primary or Secondary School right up to teaching courses for Vista university student-teachers (Auerbach, 2002). "*A person that was there all the time was Angie Motshekga*⁹¹", recalls Stan Kahn from his days as director there. During times when the ITC had financial constraints to raise their own funds for projects, Kahn was instrumental in facilitating support for this centre and would come in with some funds to rescue the centre and allow them to continue that successful work. Auerbach writes about acquiring this space and what it meant for teacher development. "So after 3 years in the wilderness, so to speak the Independent Teachers Centre had a permanent home"(Auerbach, 2002, p. 149). Again, from Auerbach's journey with Funda there is a sense of the principle of empowering black educators as a tool for activism as opposed to the many ways that the Apartheid state disenfranchised them. Besides these direct interventions for teachers, one of the most celebrated collaborations to come out of Funda is the *Khula Udweba*⁹² handbook created for teachers of visual arts. The aim of the project was to encourage teachers to be innovative by tapping into their own experiences and creativity (Seidman, 1994, pp. 18–19). With the AIA operating from the Teachers' Centre, the cooperation between the two became natural even though both parties were never happy with the lack of space. Auerbach consistently mentions this lack of space as their programmes expanded while the AIA laments that they were allocated "into the hopelessly

⁸⁹ The authors were inspired by Sebidi to advance knowledge in their article titled "Ubuntu-Inspired Training of Adult Literacy Teachers as a Route to Generating Community Enterprises".

⁹⁰ He headed the Teachers Centre from 1984 – 1988.

⁹¹ Motshekga served as the Minister of Basic Education since May 2009 (14 years at the time of writing this report). Although Funda is not mentioned in her official Bio -she was the National Convenor of Teacher Unity talks that led to the formation of South African Democratic Teachers Union which took shape at Funda Centre

⁹² Written by Lindi Solomon.

inadequate and very small ‘teachers’ centre” (Seidman, 1994, p. 11). Even with these circumstances, the Khula Udweba handbook has had considerable longevity and is still in circulation at bookshops today while the Fine Arts department that emanated from the AIA during the transition to a Community College eventually became the only surviving programme from this era. This resilience is worth capturing as a noteworthy outcome of instrumental value.

The bedrock of a lot of the education and teacher related activities was possible because of the amount of research that was done by the council for Black Education and Research that Mphahlele established. They did not have a building for activities per se but shared office space with The African Teachers Association of South Africa (ATASA) at the prefab buildings. They held seminars at any of the buildings and facilitated workshops and seminars for the Funda community and the outside communities. They facilitated development of course material in accordance with the needs of the Funda Community which in turn would become accessible to the wider community. In their publication to celebrate their 10th Anniversary and reflect on the experience, the AIA alludes to how the research and work of the Council transformed their approach.

The AIA recognised from its inception the Euro-centric bias of the standard South African tertiary art history syllabus. In response the AIA participated in an on-going seminar at Funda entitled ‘Teaching the Arts in the Black Community’. The seminar explored the history of Black arts education and looked at strategies to enhance art education opportunities within the Black community. (Seidman, 1994, p. 17)

In fact one of the reasons mentioned concerning the unsuccessful efforts of supporting AIA students that were enrolled at UNISA for a Bachelor of Arts in Fine Arts (BAFA) is that the students “battled with essay writing and art history” (Seidman, 1994, p. 13) with only one graduate ever making it out of the nine that were mentored. One of the people that dropped the degree was Matsemela Manaka himself, who Steven Sack tells me left the UNISA programme as he would rather not be learning about the art history of Europeans before that of Africans.

The Council for Black Education and Research was also responsible for publishing and editing the Funda Forum publications⁹³ which seemed to have had great impact on the users in communicating the research (probably akin to science communication endeavours). Although I could never get my hands on the copies, most interviewees referred to these and expressed that they hoped someone was keeping them safe and would make them public one day.

With education as the organising principle, I highlight these programmes and organisations to illustrate how Funda was able to manifest innovative modes of learning, therefore listing the instrumental value of education.

“If as an artist you fail to be very artistic in form or very revolutionary in content, you are not an artist for a situation like ours” – Matsemela Manaka⁹⁴

The last of the considerations in allocating space was **The Funda Art Centre**, according to my interview with Makhene. Yet it was the FAC whose work Mphahlele highlighted as espousing the ethos of alternative education, declaring that, “The Arts Centre at Funda Centre, Johannesburg, where theatre, music, graphic and plastic arts, and photography are taught, is a modest but vibrant provider of alternative education” (Mphahlele, 2003, p. 11).

The FAC was intentional about its commitment to nurturing the relationship between culture and education. They articulate this succinctly in their newsletter: “Whereas education for Blacks focuses on curricula related to the needs of industry, the underplaying of cultural influence on society through education (especially African culture), corrodes the basis of social stability and purpose of African communities” (Funda Art Centre, 1986, p. 2).

Perhaps the most notable value about the Art Centre, and one that all interview participants highlighted, was the Africa-centered curriculum and approach.

⁹³ Most people interviewed referred to these publications although no one seemed to be sure where they were archived. I bring out their value as captured from the respect that participants seem to give and regret that the research cannot discuss them.

⁹⁴ “Interview given to Geoffrey Davis on 8th June 1981” (Davis, 1997, p. 111)

The art institutions that provided education under the umbrella name of Funda Art Centre were intentional in their identity as African and as being of service to the community through their artistic works:

- Soyikwa Institute of African Theatre – which was also overseeing the youth programme, Creative Youth Association
- Madimba Institute of African Music
- Photographers for Social Documentation
- Ukukhanya Video for Community Documentation
- African Institute of Art

Education at the Funda Art Centre incorporated African knowledge in a way that was not common in mainstream institutions. Speaking about the Music programme, Mhlanganisi Masoga explains how they worked around recognition of their curriculum:

We taught the theory of African Music and used books by Professor Kwabena Nketia⁹⁵ of Ghana as our curriculum. We were developing a music curriculum in African Studies, which there is no place for us to accredit that. But in terms of your general music theory and instruments all our students were writing music with your Royal School of Music and your Trinity School of Music. So there was that formal aspect where you were trained in classical music like classical piano, and then around October you write your music theory exams, and your practical exam and we link that by registering you with the Royal School of Music exams – and to other international music boards. Alongside that, we still created a curriculum involving jazz and African Music – and on that front the curriculum was not accredited by anyone because no one is providing that.

⁹⁵ “J. H. Kwabena Nketia, a Ghanaian ethnomusicologist and composer who became the world’s leading scholar on African musical traditions” (Russonello, 2019)

Mabeleng confirms that “*something they emphasised at Funda is that you had to play one African instrument and one European instrument. Playing an African instrument is a must*”.

Ntokozo let me in on what a typical music programme would look like:

I had three piano teachers – it was Mhlanganisi Sibanda who was my first piano teacher before Mokale Koapeng. Then it was Noel Khumalo. Sibusiso Khoza taught me most of the theory; Sis Sibongile Khumalo was teaching me class singing – I never was very good with that. Ntate Makhene was teaching me Oral Perception – being able to listen to music. Sometimes he would teach us Ensemble. We had an Ensemble for class. Ntate Makhene was very smart. We would get our instruments in class – he would write a song right there and then and say ‘okay, let’s play this’. My first Ensemble at Funda was traditional music. I played with Thembeke Mavuso and Thembeke Shange, and Magdeline Molebatsi and Bheki from Protea. I also had the privilege to get after school lessons from Themba Mkhize at this house.

Despite this intensely comprehensive way of teaching and learning, combining the formal and non-formal, this programme was not accredited by any authority. The practical experience of learning took some students to neighbouring countries. Mabeleng Moholo is now a renowned percussionist and respected expert in indigenous music instruments. He credits Funda for much of his foundation which was advanced through his experience in Zimbabwe.

Funda at the time did not have so many instruments. Even with percussions, you did not find Congas and so on. You found traditional drums of VhaVenda and the VhaTsonga. I could say it was much more traditionally influenced. So in 1991 I went to do a two year Diploma in ethnomusicology in Zimbabwe through a scholarship. That’s where I got exposed to Mbira dza Badzimo,

Marimba, Nyunganyunga, and other percussions. The patterns were different. They call their music Chimurenga.

He says this while beating the table to demonstrate the drumming and his impressive skills. This ease in mobility for artists is highly recommended by the UNESCO 2005 convention as a value in strengthening cultural policy (El Bennaoui, 2017). When Mabeleng came back to Funda, he started teaching and therefore for this paper, a value of investing in such an exchange in turn makes an impact on the CAC's community and not just the skills of the artist.

In the performance space, the Pan-African engagement can be seen with the workshopping, writing and performance of plays like Goree⁹⁶, which explored west African dance tradition and storytelling⁹⁷. As elaborated by Xaba in his study of community-based theatre: "Specific to Manaka is that he advanced African spiritualism while promoting intra-continental solidarity in his plays. That their influence is enduring is particularly apparent in the productions Goree" (Xaba, 2022, p. 12). I got the opportunity to interview Nomsa Manaka who was choreographer and cast member of Goree and now a celebrated choreographer of African Dance, who started off wanting to be a ballet dancer. She remembers how this process enriched her, having to engage in West African and South African dance traditions: "*Funda; it produced the choreographer that I never knew I was*".

Locally, they would get traditional dancers from the community to workshop a play or dance together. Makhene remembers one experience where after completing weeks of what they thought was the Domba dance of Venda, the authenticity was questioned by one student from the Fine Arts programme. They immediately had to rectify by inviting an elder who was in touch with the roots of the dance and who came in to workshop the sequence and context. Ali Hlongwane and Motsumi Makhene stress that part of the theatre curriculum involved working with rural communities as expressing the value that "*as a drama student, you know, I learned the history of drama playmaking, I became part of a project where we went out into the rural areas.*"

⁹⁶ The name inspired by the Island of Goree in Senegal which was one of the largest slave-trade portals.

⁹⁷ "Goree was first produced in 1989 by the Soyikwa Institute of African Theatre and directed by John Kani with the following cast: Nomsa Manaka as Nomsa, Sibongile Khumalo as Oba and Matsemela Manaka as the percussionist." (Davis, 1997, p. 175)

The drama programme was much broader and to empower students even more, they took classes in communication skills, something that Jeannette, Nte and Mabeleng thought was a pain at the time but are now thankful for. *“Abut Matsemela came in one day and said ‘you’re now going to study, you’re going to stop practical dancing for a while’. It was the same thing about English like Mabeleng said, we did not know English well. We were just primary kids from Giyani Primary,”* says Jeanette who preferred dancing. Her sister Nte’s pain was the assessment part where *“you need to explain what your piece is about, why you chose that music to go with it. That was the terrifying part. That’s when we excused ourselves and pretended to be sick.”*

Hlongwane explains the formal design of this curriculum in collaboration with the Council for Black Education and Research:

A number of youth that we were attracting to the programme, as students had very challenging reading and writing skills. So, we get to meet them halfway in that context, but there was also a strong belief that it is not sufficient to be a good performer, or visual artists or musician, but have a defect in terms of understanding why you are involved in that form.

Matsemela Manaka expressed that “when we started Soyikwa we had a course in Analysis. It was compulsory for every student. All students must see five plays and review them. They must also read five plays and review them. If they don’t do that they don’t qualify” (Schauffer, 2003, p. 200). Writing, as closely associated with theatre was an element that was always encouraged with the collaboration of the African Writers Association, which Hlongwane says was very active at that time:

They used to run writing workshops, but also just reading. You know, so at Funda Centre we would actually host afternoons where writers would come read extracts from their work and that was right during the heart of the state of emergency.

The value for writers and community building is best expressed by the relationship with *Staffrider* where “Manaka purposefully developed a literary tradition that inspired his students at Funda” (Xaba, 2022, p. 11). Publisher, Mike Kirkwood noticed the

strength in community relations as he expressed in an interview: “ My first insight into how powerful and well supported an arts group could become, in fact, was when Matsemela Manaka walked into the office, coming not as an individual but carrying with him as it were, a whole group of writers” (Ndaba, Owen and Smith, 2017, p. 190). Indeed *Staffrider* provided a platform not only for writers from the same community, but all kinds of artists from many parts of the country where cultural groups were already formed in the 1970s⁹⁸ to create a community to be reckoned with. What was notably inspiring about *Staffrider* as particularly empowering to artists as a community was the level of involvement they had in the entire value chain⁹⁹ - except the ownership. The artist contributed to the content and editing, as well as the distribution and therefore developing audiences in their own community.

STUDENTS AS TEACHERS

“When the student is ready, the teacher emerges” - this saying accredited to China’s philosopher, Lao Tzu, becomes relevant in the research findings pertaining to Funda’s approach to learning. “*Most fulltime students took their lessons during the week but taught on Saturday,*” says Mhlanganisi Masoga referring to the Saturday classes run under the Creative Youth Association (CYA), which was a form of outreach programme for younger people as well as for art activities that were not formalised as classes. It is worth noting that the value in the cycle of education and the multitasking that comes with how the Funda Art Centre operated, contributed to a robust way of learning. Every one of the people that I interviewed at Funda who was a student also had the responsibilities of being teachers, therefore upholding what education experts regard as an epistemically diverse curriculum whose components are “traditional cognitive learning of propositional knowledge; learning by doing for the application of disciplinary knowledge; learning experientially and fourthly developing epistemic cognition so as to be able to think reflexively and contextually about one's learning” (Luckett, 2001, p. 49). At Funda, this in turn inspired other students to their own greatness as Thebe shares: “*I admired boMabeleng who were multitasking. He was*

⁹⁸ “They came in various names and from different parts of the country: Creative Youth Association of Diepkloof, Soweto; Moakeng League of Painters and Authors (MALEPA) of Bloemfontein and Kroonstad; GaRankuwa Art Association; the Guyo Book Club of Sibasa; Mpumalanga Arts of Hammersdale; Community Arts Project of Cape Town; Peyarta (Port Elizabeth Young Artists Association), and several others.” (Ndebele 1989, p. 413)

⁹⁹ The cultural value chain is defined in terms of 2005 UNESCO Convention in these stages: creation, production, distribution, dissemination, participation and enjoyment. (Cliché & Isar 2017, p. 17)

my teacher. He taught theory, he taught Marimba, he taught drums, and he also conducted an ensemble.”

THE LIBRARY

The library was one of the spaces the value of which in the education ecosystem of Funda Centre was greatly appreciated by the people I interviewed. *“I loved the library. I went there everyday. Everyday,”* declares music student, Ntokozo. According to Motsumi, the collection at the library had to reflect the seriousness that Funda placed on education. As purported by Maakomele Manaka, in his experience, *“Funda was one place that had a functioning library”*, and a professionally managed and staffed one at that, as Stan Kahn confirms. It is perhaps for this reason that when the library was vandalised, Simangaliso Sibiya thought it should be the first space to be revived because he had assignments and reading to do and was frustrated that there was no other library in his proximity to that.

CHANGES IN CURRICULUM – The Funda Community College

According to the FCC prospectus of 1997, “Funda Community College was launched in 1994 by Prof S Bengu, the first Minister of Education post-1994, with a new Board, Management and articulated university programs with RAU (BSC and B.Com), and Wits (Visual Arts)” (Funda Community College, 1997).

	Funda Centre	Funda Community College
Years active	1984 - 1990	1997 -
Official Registration status	NPO	NPC – registered with the CIPC
Land Ownership	BAAB	City of Johannesburg Municipality
Buildings ownership	Urban Foundation	Funda Community College Board
Directorship	Mphahlele was appointed as the executive chairman of the board of directors	FCC Board Mphahlele – Founding Director of the FCC Henry Jeffreys
Management	Stan Kahn - Director	Walter L. Smith - Rector
		Bhekithemba Walter Ngcobo
Organisational Structure	Independent organisations/users	One organisation
Executive Management	Urban Foundation Board	Funda Community College Board
Funding channelled through the Urban Foundation	Seed funding mainly from private sector and international development	Seed funding mainly USAID and Joint Education Trust (and adhoc project-based)

	agencies (and adhoc by different organisations)	
Funding	Users' payments of 'rent'	No monthly rent costs for Users

Figure 4 Comparison of Funda Centre and Funda Community College

Since the establishment of Funda Community College, there is evidence of a different curriculum programme as established in the Institutional value section of this paper. The content of the curriculum changed focus from some of the projects listed in this section. For example, the prospectus mentions The Foundation Programmes, aimed at facilitating articulation for students to enter formalised Higher Education (included Psychology and Sociology as majors in Social Sciences studies). It is not clear to what extent these programmes materialised. There was also a focus (or intention) on vocation programmes including Small Business Management and Office Administration, while Community Education included Matric re-write services and short courses in skills such as leadership and literacy. Following AGM resolutions in 2019, there are meeting minutes about establishing a Funda Diploma that encompassed most of the earlier offerings but would also include specialisation in Community Early Childhood Development practice. From this information it appears that Funda, while sticking to the mandate of education, became more interested in a being a bridge and a support structure for mainstream education rather than being the pioneer and leader that it once was viewed as. In its revival efforts, Funda minutes of the AGM of 2023 express an intention to build articulation agreements with the higher education institutions that it used to have in the 1980s, but it is not clear whether the quality of the education has been maintained nor about who would be worthy of designing the curriculum. As expressed in the previous section, some former students/tutors say that it moved away from the African-centric pedagogy.

THE INTRINSIC VALUE OF CULTURE AT FUNDA

The intrinsic value of culture is perhaps the most challenging to capture and analyse. Some effort to express what this could look and sound like is outlined by cultural value expert, Throsby (2003) who suggests that “the characteristics of cultural goods which give rise to their intrinsic value might include their aesthetic properties, their spiritual significance, their role as purveyors of symbolic meaning, their historic importance, their significance in influencing artistic trends, their authenticity, their integrity, their uniqueness, and so on” (Throsby, 2003, p. 280). Holden (2006) offers a useful lens through which we can view the intrinsic value as “the capacity and potential of culture

to affect us, rather than as measurable and fixed stocks of worth” (Holden, 2006, p. 15). He further suggests some ways that these values might be captured: “These kinds of values can be captured in personal testimony, qualitative assessments, anecdotes, case studies and critical reviews” (Holden, 2006, p. 14).

This research therefore presents the intrinsic value of Funda Centre based on what interview participants related in their words and actions, as well as the use of my voice as a participant-observer in the process. Adding pictures in capturing this value adds to the dynamic variables of presentation.

HOME

For some families, like the Manakas and Kupis¹⁰⁰, Funda represented their actual home. Poet, Maakomele Manaka was born just a year before Funda Centre was officially opened. Having both parents work there as administrators and teachers, as well as his paternal and maternal uncles and aunts as students and artists, he considers Funda his first home.

I think that home really comes from different aspects of how I relate to Funda Centre personally right. In that the first place that I know as school was Funda Centre. Before I learnt how to walk or run on any other field, I learnt to walk on the grounds of Funda Centre. My first memories as a human being and as a child and as a person it has always been Funda Centre. So a lot of those people who were administrators in the space and the teachers and the students most of them I used to call Malome or Mmamogolo. So for me Funda centre is a home outside of my own home. I am at home actually.

In addition, his grandmother, Gogoshi used to cook and bring them food when they had events. The concept of home as meaningful finds resonance with the social literature associated with resistance and domestic homeplace as framed by bell hooks (2019) that “despite the brutal reality of racial apartheid, of domination, one’s homeplace was the one site where one could freely confront the issues of humanization, where one could resist” (hooks, 2015, p. 42). It is perhaps for this

¹⁰⁰ Matsemela Manaka and his wife Nomsa Kupi Manaka involved their entire family.

reason that Nomsa Manaka, Maakomele's mother, says the one thing she learned at Funda was uBuntu¹⁰¹ in action.

On another phenomenological realm, philosophers like Gaston Bachelard look at the concept of home as "made out of memories and experiences, each room stirs different sensations and yet it promotes a unified, intimate experience of living" (VickiCulture, 2012). This kind of relation and sensation can be observed from Smangaliso and Thebe respectively when I ask them what Funda means to them. "*I don't know. Funda is like this ghost that is haunting me,*" expresses Smangaliso while a similar attachment is expressed by Thebe that wherever he goes "*the experiences of Funda, they never die*". Indeed, there has been some reference to Funda as a spirit from others¹⁰².

The sense of home about Funda was not just limited to those that were on the campus as students and teachers, but to the community as well. S'busiso Nxumalo talks about Funda as a physical extension of his own home which created harmony in landscape.

So at the corner where I live you will see that there is a cactus tree there and if you look into my yard you will see there is a cactus tree there and the landscape to that whole thing. In fact there are pictures that Jimmy¹⁰³ took - he wanted it to look like a park.

S'busiso is one of the founding members of the "I Am Funda" movement whose mission is to revive the spirit of Funda even though he did not formally study there while growing up. He is now very involved and runs a programme called "Zibike"¹⁰⁴.

IDENTITY

Like with a sense of home, Funda directly impacted the users' sense of identity, some in very direct ways. Ntokozo reflects that in his music education journey, "*the nicest thing about Funda was finding oneself*". This was a shock for Smangaliso in his first

¹⁰¹ Although a complex philosophical concept, a definition is offered by Es'kia Mphahlele and Lebamang Sebidi as "African Humanism".

¹⁰² Tumelo Mokopakgosi and Maakomele Manaka as quoted in the introduction of this paper.

¹⁰³ His father who was in the taxi business and would from time to time provide transport for Funda as and when needed/asked.

¹⁰⁴ Zibike project involves exhibitions and workshop around the concept of space described in the event programme as "*Stations of performative reflections in the Voodoo Vortex Installation*" (Funda Community College, 2021).

year of studying fine arts when the main assignment was about himself. He came to Funda from a digital arts background and doing a portraiture made him nervous as he remembers: *“They gave me one big cartridge paper, a pencil, and a mirror. The first three months were hard, but I wanted to prove myself because others in the class were really good.”* His frustrations at the time were added to by the parallel assignment to research his surname and family lineage:

There’s no Google for that. And you must research your surname because it is your history. So from portraiture you draw your spiritual animal. Mine is a cow and that’s how I started building my identity as an artist. I came in expecting to learn art and ended up learning my history.

Others like Mabeleng, found their identity by shedding off their “Christian” name and fully embracing their African identity.

Funda is where you would see people wearing Dashikis. I came using my ‘school’ name which was Ephraim and then they asked me what’s your home name and I told them Mabeleng and they said well from now on you are Mabeleng. Ever since then the name of Ephraim never sounded right to me.

With the erasure of African names brought by colonisation and apartheid, the cultural value of identity bears an intrinsic value that cannot be measured using tools dedicated to the instrumental values, yet it is a value that the dispossessed find to be invaluable and inspiring freedom and self-confidence.

SYMBOLS AS CREATORS OF MEANING -Ledada

The students of Funda assign a key symbol to Funda Centre which brings them nostalgia as Ntepana narrates:

Another highlight of Funda was Ledada. There is this sculpture of a bird. We called it ledada. We used to chill there. It was a symbol that was always there. That’s where we used to gossip and catch up. When we were disgruntled in class we just used to say ‘ledada’ and gesture towards it so that as peers we

*can talk about whatever. Like on the occasion of being reprimanded about stethoscope*¹⁰⁵.

Still standing perched in the quad area of Funda is Baloyi's Sculpture of the Zimbabwe Bird¹⁰⁶ created in 1987. *"The guy who welded that thing...classy, classy artist,"* says Stan Kahn, impressed. *"He was a student of AIA who sold the sculpture to Funda Centre."* The symbol as a brand has withstood the test of time and serves as the logo of the Funda Community Centre. This can be seen as enriching the intrinsic value associated with alumni of the institution which literature in Marketing defines as Brand resonance - "the nature of the relationship customers have with the brand and the extent to which they feel they're 'in sync' with the brand," which leads to "a sense of community and active engagement" (Purani and Jeeshia, 2022, p. 53).



Picture 6 Vincent Baloyi, creator of the steel sculpture of the Zimbabwe Bird. Picture courtesy of ASAI.co.za

SOCIAL COHESION

According to the study on the use of culture, "Social cohesion concerns connections between people and groups, intercultural and intergenerational understanding" (Matarasso, 1997, p. 12). South Africa's National Development Plan towards 2030

¹⁰⁵ She is referring to the assignment of writing lyrics to Caiphus Semenya's Play with Fire wherein instead they sang stethoscope instead of "the *status quo* can't go on any longer) and so had to do some more researching about the meaning of the words".

¹⁰⁶ According to the government of Zimbabwe "Zimbabwe birds represent sacred or totemic animals of the Shona – the bateleur eagle (Shona: chapungu), was held to be a messenger from Mwari (God) and the ancestors" www.zim.gov.zw

places the notion of Social Cohesion as central to nation building and recognises its significance:

Cultural activities and art can also play a major role in facilitating the sharing of common spaces. In addition art can foster values and facilitate dialogue and healing, thus restoring pride among African, Indian and Coloured South Africans. This can only happen if the country supports and encourages the production of stories that facilitate healing, nation building and dialogue, as well as tell the histories and stories of South Africans. Artistic works can portray progress in building a united nation, but also by presenting the country's blemishes they can challenge South Africans to aim higher as individuals and as a nation. (Republic of South Africa, 2012, p. 473)

Since social cohesion as an intrinsic value can have indefinite means of measurement, it is encouraging to see the acknowledgement that comes with such intangible but recognised values. While this paper has already referred to such gatherings during the Funda of the 1980s to around 1994 in earlier sections¹⁰⁷, since undertaking this research, there have been several culture and art-related works¹⁰⁸ that have served the social cohesion role between 2021 and 2022. These include Kgafela oa Magogodi's theatre musical, Chilahaebolae – a satirical play exposing corruption and greediness in the new South Africa. It was performed to a packed audience outside in the quad by the Zimbabwe Bird sculpture on the winter night of June 16 2021. There have also been memorial lectures in honour of Funda's thought-leaders Es'kia Mphahlele and Matsemela Manaka, while the Nomsa Manaka Dance Studio (NMDS) has put on dance shows in collaboration with indigenous games practitioners to celebrate Heritage. To present some of these gatherings, I'm exercising some poetic license to let the pictures tell the story with descriptions as captions.

The scope of this research does not allow for a comprehensive review of these works of art, rather this is presented within the intrinsic value of culture as they represent

¹⁰⁷ Such as the popular lunch-hour music concert that saw everyone on the campus gathering to enjoy music presented by the music class bands and ensembles.

¹⁰⁸ See pictures on page 143

how Funda is able to bring people together for the purposes of what is presented in the National Development Plan where I saw conversations among audiences, and engagement and participation in the work.

While the social cohesion represented by the coming together of people was strong, there were also special bonds and intimate relationships forged at Funda. The constant networking and coming together of people gave birth to forms of family bonds reminiscent of the fireplace concept in the institutional value section of this paper. As expressed by Eddie Mballo: “*We all became personal friends.*” This despite ideological differences and despite the different artistic and social activities they were conducting respectively. Not all of them started on a happy note though, as Nomsa Manaka tells me how she became such close friends with Sibongile Khumalo:

I had known Sibongile from FUBA where she was a music teacher. I didn't like her and thought she was full of nonsense. So when I saw her at Funda, I had two choices, either to leave Funda or to tolerate that woman. That's how much I didn't like her. Not knowing that we're going to become one of the best friends ever. That's where our friendship actually started. She became the sister I never had, and I became the younger sister she never had.

At Funda they had to work together because art production relied on each other, in this case music and dance, and they organically shared personal stories. The two friends went on to perform together in the acclaimed play Goree.

The bond in sharing creativity networks also find expression in the tight relationships such as the Mabeleng and Tlale Makhene one, master drummers in their own right who as Mabeleng says “*were inseparable like tongue and saliva*”, even as they started their relationship as teacher and student. The bonds were not only in the realm of artist to artist but also with the audience. Matarasso purports that “the mutually-supportive relationship between artists and people participating in the arts as non-professionals is easily overlooked, but it is crucial to the growth of individuals and to sustaining cultured and creative communities” (Matarasso, 1997). These bonds came through in other surprising ways as people felt free to interact such as in the story Thebe shares:

The cleaners were like our parents. They would also guide us even in music. One of them found me drumming away one day and told me I was making noise and that I should play softer. Since then I am gentle on the drum because of that baba¹⁰⁹.

For the intimate social bonds with the community, a heart-warming story is shared by Ntepana; that not only did parents fill the hall on the days of the showcasing, but in the year that they went to Germany for the first time, the Diepkloof community in Zone 1 hired out combis just to accompany them to the airport because they were so proud of this moment for their community.

HUMILITY

Most people interviewed expressed how Funda Centre taught them humility and innovation. *“I wish I had learned the power we had,”* reflects Nomsa Manaka, highlighting that humility was the single most important thing that Funda taught her. *“I can work with anybody from any walk of life because of Funda. We worked with nothing and still produced the best.”*

The sense of innovation and working with nothing is expressed comprehensively by Tumelo Mokopakgosi – alumni and course co-ordinator of the Fine Arts who says:

Funda teaches you to rely on the Earth and not the shops and not to go and buy things all the time. Funda is designed for the black child who struggles with art material. Who struggles with recycling and up cycling and repurposing things? So if you come to Funda I am definitely sure you [are] going to dump the idea of relying on the materials that you buy. Funda teaches you to create your tools and to create your mediums that you work with and that is because if you don't do that you will not be unique, you will just join a line of people who are regular and who are doing regular art you know.

¹⁰⁹ isiZulu for father



Picture 7: Mokopakgosi teaches how to use the sun to create art. PHOTO by Busisiwe Mbatha

With the art centre being the surviving department from the old Funda, what relates to the value of Funda is indeed worth capturing for its longevity. Mokopakgosi went on to say that the current curriculum is being expanded to include such projects as gardening and forging a stronger relationship with the soil as they are custodians of the land where the campus is situated. Tumelo's take about how he suggests sustainability for Funda is in line with the inquiry of this research in getting the legitimacy of such an institution to be recognised for what it is. He brings in the very intrinsic and spiritual relations to capturing the value of culture as one way to do so.

So my wish actually, I wish that the government in this country can see what we are doing and understand what we are doing. There is something religious about seeing. I see you now but once I sit with you for like three days following, I don't see you with the eye anymore, I see you spiritually and even metaphysically and now I can see you.

Here he is alluding to the fact that perhaps paying attention and discerning non-conforming ways of judging the value of culture might be enriching and encouraging for such spaces to continue their work. I interpret this as also extending to the culture of uBuntu that Funda has always sought to demonstrate while I acknowledge that capturing this will not always be uniform, as this report is attempting to reveal. Moreover, in the space of policy "when culture is understood as having a mediating role, the policies extend to cover/share and shape the aims of other public policies,

like livelihoods, industries, social and environmental policies” (Dessein et al., 2015, p. 46).

Within the confluence of cultural value at Funda Centre; if the physical building and organisational governance strongly highlight its Institutional Value, and the education approach represents its Instrumental Value, then the vibrancy of Funda Art Centre illuminates its Intrinsic Value.

CHAPTER 6: DISCUSSION

In this section, I evaluate what key findings from this study suggest, within Holden’s (2006) Cultural Value Triangle¹¹⁰ (CVT) as a conceptual framework used to contextualise this research, and in relation to other scholars of cultural policy outlined in the literature review. The aim of this chapter is therefore to unpack this paper’s research questions around what affects the changing value of a community art centre over time. Having captured the narrative of the case study, I assess how Funda Centre has kept itself relevant in the context of contemporary societal needs against the backdrop of cultural policy in South Africa.

As elaborated in the research design section, the research applied interviews, document analysis and observation as methods to gather empirical data that inform the findings from which the cultural values were discerned and presented in the previous chapter. I focus on the three themes that emerged for discussion in this chapter. I have expressed throughout this paper that while Institutional, Instrumental, and Intrinsic cultural values can each be analysed within their respective merits, it is also useful to acknowledge the confluence of these values and assess them thus. This approach is in line with breaking silos associated with valuing culture and provides lenses that recognises the value of culture as “unlimited and infinitely expandable” (Holden, 2006, p. 10). Based on findings from the narrative, this discussion puts emphasis on the analysis of Instrumental Cultural Value because in Funda’s story, the other two values within CVT seem to hinge on the status of elements related to institutional value. Other scholars also hold this view that “the *intrinsic* value of an object may be based (in part) on its *instrumental* value” (Kagan, 2005, p. 281) while Holden connects the commonalities between institutional value and the intrinsic value

¹¹⁰ Comprising Institutional Value, Instrumental Value, Intrinsic Value.

“because these two things construct and reflect their [community] sense of who they are” (Holden, 2006, p. 24).

The CVT framework suggests that “Institutional Value is evidenced in feedback from the public, partners and people working closely with the organisation” (Holden, 2006, p. 18). All twenty-four interview participants and document sources indicate that Funda Centre had a high institutional value as a public good especially between 1984 and 1994 following the socio-political instability in South Africa as a result of Apartheid laws. What the data show is that Funda Centre provided an accessible and safe space of education for the marginalised majority when the rest of the schooling system was highly volatile. In addition, and because of the oppressive Apartheid policy, Funda Centre became a platform for political and cultural activism determined to empower the Afro-centric voice that Apartheid wanted silenced. A key element in creating this value according to Holden is that it is the organisation itself that must proactively generate institutional value through, amongst other things “processes and techniques that organisations adopt” (Holden, 2006, p. 17). These can present in big or small ways such as how clean and welcoming the place is, to pioneering an innovative festival that shifts ideologies¹¹¹. This can be seen from the findings in the way that Funda Centre programmes were geared towards self-determination as evidenced in the narrative section above. The literature in this report confirm the significant cultural role that CACs like Funda Centre played in the era of Apartheid as demonstrated by scholars like Hagg (2010), Peterson (2014), and Nawa (2021).

What came as a surprise relating to institutional value in this research however, is the decline in value that coincided with the era of a new democratic government. On the one hand, the people I interviewed that held leadership positions at Funda all agreed and promoted the idea that Funda was always on a quest to transform from “just a Centre” to a Community College. Stan Kahn was director of Funda Centre from its establishment and he spoke about going to the United States of America to do some benchmarking. Motsumi Makhene was the head of Madimba Institute of African Music at Funda Art Centre in the 1980s and CEO of Funda Community College when I spoke to him in 2020. He spoke to me about extensive research and consultation that built

¹¹¹ This is my interpretation based on indepth analysis of the Institutional value. Holden’s (2006) specific examples emanating from this quote are “a commitment to showing the whole of a collection in a fine building at one end of the scale, to serving hot drinks at the other.”

on Es'kia Mphahlele's ideas about alternative education as an approach to formulating a Community College. Steven Sack who was instrumental in establishing the African Institute of Art at the Funda Art Centre referred to the energy he put in driving the transformation of Funda into a Community College. The idea was to unify all Funda Centre programmes and activities under one institutional identity as opposed to the various independent organisations that used to occupy Funda as official tenants or on an adhoc basis that the shared buildings offered¹¹². This thinking about a single unit of organisation is qualified by Hagg's findings that with the new government there was an expectation that CACs would embrace a single centralised approach with political leaders setting the agenda (Hagg, 2010, p. 167). Other people interviewed such as students, teachers, and Tatane Ngobeni who had an overview of the institution as head of security also allude to the decline in value following the FCC establishment, but with an air of mystery as they expressed that they could not put a finger on where things went wrong. A closer look at the interview data reveals the theme of cultural governance which is closely linked to Institutional Value and is supported by Holden's view that institutional value is "administrative" (Holden, 2006, p. 19). The particular realms of cultural governance I look at in this section are leadership and funding.

At the centre of what has always plagued Funda since its establishment was the contestation of leadership as evidenced in the findings by instances such as the Mabogoane "coup" episodes, highly-charged meetings that Auerbach (2002) and Sack (2021) mention which questioned the lack of Black representation. These dialogues, debates and contestations about leadership happened during the Chairmanship of Prof Mphahlele, with Kahn as Director, but there is no evidence of overt violence or decline in value as this is the period when diversity and self-expression were encouraged¹¹³. All the people that were interviewed who interacted with Mphahlele spoke highly of him and regarded him as a visionary they respected. More recently, however, the frictions between the Community College and the Community Training Centre embody the contestation of who should be leading Funda as related in previous section.

My interpretation here is that because none of the people that held leadership roles at Funda Centre were part of the negotiations between the Urban Foundation,

¹¹² Details of these are in the Instrumental Value sections as well as in the Governance Table Annexure.

¹¹³ Details in the Instrumental Value

representing the private sector, and the government which represented the interests of the minority white population, the details of the strategic and sustainable structure of Funda Centre were not inclusive to begin with. When Judge Steyn states that the birth of Funda Centre followed extensive consultation, he only mentions the then Department of Education, donors, Bantu Affairs administration, and associates all represented by Whites. There is no evidence of engagement with civil society that represented other races that the Apartheid government oppressed. Political parties were all still banned at the time so there would not have been that consultation that would have legitimised the process. So while the picture shows multiple stakeholders, there is still a big, significant constituency in the form of the community members that would end up as beneficiaries who are missing from the origins of the governance structure. That said, the findings regarding the education value of Funda reveal it as a strong pillar of cultural value based on the Afro-centric content, methodologies and activities that Es'kia Mphahlele and Matsemela Manaka applied and which the data suggest was powerful and perhaps takes focus away from the seemingly weak frame of engagement before that.

The second significant shift which also contributed to the decline in institutional value is funding. Again, none of the people in leadership positions could account for any official talks or documentation about the change in focus in funding Funda Centre in particular. However, it is sufficiently covered in the literature that philanthropic and development funding from the private sector and from international development agencies was now routed differently via the democratic government so as to serve the public within the framework of National Development Plan. While this seems ideal, it did not work in Funda's favour. As Stan Kahn put it during our interview: *"The Urban Foundation one day folded and left. And now you're not yet an adult and the parent who used to feed you no longer feeds you. What chance have you got?"* According to Motsumi, there was some weaning that prepared Funda Centre for the transition. Regardless, my analysis here is that without securing funding for operations, the institutional value is compromised. This is a reminder of why Holden devised the CVT in the first place. He did so in order to encourage the State to fund cultural organisations and to do so with an understanding of how the totality of their value could be captured and assessed, and for funders to understand the legitimacy of such

institutions as they do not only serve the measurable outputs that other sectors do relatively easier.

So in efforts for Funda to keep its relevance by transforming into a community college, it could not eventually satisfy the demands of post-school education policy, as South Africa now only has nine recognised community colleges (ETDP SETA, 2023).

Having shown the cultural value that the Art Centre had for the entire campus, it was a surprise for this research that the FAC programmes and institutions were not central to the FCC formation. Alumni and students of the Art Centre encompassing the music, art, dance and drama express that something was lost in the value of Funda when demands for formal accreditation also meant abandoning the African-focused curriculum. While there is no evidence of this correlation from the literature it does seem to have affected public perceptions of what made Funda Centre unique.

Some interviewees point to the local municipal government as the responsible actor in the decline of Funda. They base this on the lease agreement that the City of Joburg municipality granted to an organisation that was not part of the legacy of the Funda Centre of 1984-1994. If we analyse this against the RWP (2017) there might be some legitimacy to this claim as the policy suggests that local government integrate community art centres and related programmes into their service delivery plan. The policy further recommends that they should “provide ongoing maintenance, developing and leasing of infrastructure to community arts and culture centres whether provincially managed or independently managed” (The Department of Arts and Culture, 2017, p. 32). There is no evidence from the narratives in this report about this happening and instead interviewees talk about vandalism of the campus by the group/s to which the City leased out the campus. I have seen the dilapidating state myself. A policy consideration that might elevate this value back is the recommendation that national government constantly monitor and evaluate cultural art centres (Bakhshi *et al.*, 2015). However, as we have seen from document analysis, the government has not been able to report on achieving this milestone, owing to lack of evidence. An analysis of factors in this section point to the importance of Institutional Cultural Value which, if strong, would elevate the Instrumental and the Intrinsic. With a declining Institutional Value however, other cultural values remain in the shadows.

CONCLUSION: Sankofa phenomenon

It is one thing to look back at the past with its glory and gory moments but we do so within the authenticity of the present and intention of the future becoming. There is great need in cultural value discourse to acknowledge narratives as a way of deepening conversations and taking “full account of the experiences of those directly involved in cultural activities and practices” (Kaszynska, 2015, p. 256). The manifestation of the problems that CACs face in South Africa is evidenced by a range of issues including: dilapidation of infrastructure, lack of institutional support from government, weak cultural governance structures, lack of programme coherence, and inconsistent (if any) flow of funds.

This research report presented a narrative that chronicles the various ways in which culture can be valued based on the history of Funda¹¹⁴ Centre - a Community Art Centre (CAC) in Soweto, South Africa. The report used the concept of the Cultural Value Triangle¹¹⁵ (CVT) as a lens through which the value of culture and related themes can be discerned for a dynamic understanding of the role of CACs in South Africa’s cultural policy landscape. The narrative is drawn from empirical data gathered using a qualitative mixed method approach, combining; interviews, a focus group, documentation, and observation to capture the memories and experiences encapsulated in the cultural value/s of Funda Centre.

What the research revealed is an organisation that might not fit into an already created box, yet presents an undeniable value that requires policy that affords room for flexible designs of community arts as a movement and as physical spaces. This is important more so because we live in a world where innovation and proactive responses are at the centre of finding solutions to a vast array of problems for which the value of culture is necessary. To offer a dynamic lens, the framework of the cultural value triangle presenting the findings in this paper has revealed a way that we can appreciate and honour the various interdependent yet singular ways in which we can articulate cultural value through a framework that give these values a voice.

From the research, one can observe that Funda Centre was a product of its socio-political time. It continues to ride on an identity that is challenging the status quo

¹¹⁴ IsiZulu word meaning, to learn.

¹¹⁵ The Cultural Value Triangle as devised by Holden (2006) consists of Institutional Cultural Value; Instrumental Cultural Value; and Intrinsic Cultural Value

whether this was back in the period of the 80's state of emergency or the current challenges faced by South Africa in the new dispensation. In probing how culture is located and used, I'm encourage to conclude by meditating on the words of activist for radical transformation, Franz Fanon, who wrote that "A frequent mistake and one which is moreover hardly justifiable is to give new values to native culture within the framework of colonial domination" (Fanon, 2001, p. 196) . The research has shown that the separation of culture and education ministries does not work for CACs whose common mission is that of offering education. CACs find themselves homeless and misunderstood as the Municipal Government is not directly mandated to implement culture and might prioritise their service delivery mandate. This state of uncertainty compromises the pillar of institutional value that CACs like Funda had during the Apartheid years.

In the current dispensation, the backing and resources do not really encourage a platform for cultural entrepreneurship in the way that the old funding model works. The current ownership battle experienced at Funda reveals a case of "it is either you are with us or against us" as opposed to a healthy debate and constructive talks that should be serving community and cultural needs rather than an individualist approach. Furthermore, if there was ever a recorded or unrecorded clarity about the common mission of Funda users of the 1980s, there is even more ambiguity in the current leadership of the campus. Without a policy framework that supports CACs the terrain is difficult to navigate and certainly much harder to legitimise activities at the campus whether the actual programmes are in fact necessary or not.

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LIST OF INTERVIEW PARTICIPANTS

List of Participants			
#	Name	Surname	Affiliation to Funda Centre
1	Ali	Hlongwane	Teacher and Co-ordinator
2	Eddie Mbalo	Mbalo	Teacher and political activist
3	Jeanette	Mokhela	Student and Tutor
4	Kgafela	Oa Magogodi	Friends of Funda Movement
5	Maakomele	Manaka	Student
6	Mabeleng	Moholo	Student and Tutor
7	Mhlanganisi	Masoga	Student, tutor, teacher, head of department
8	Motsumi	Makhene	Teacher, head of department, CEO
9	Mphonyana	Taulela	Student and Tutor
10	Nomsa	Manaka	Teacher and Co-ordinator
11	Ntepana	Mokhela	Student and Tutor
12	Ntokozo	Mkhalipi	Student and Tutor
13	Oupa	Nkosi	Friends of Funda Movement
14	Pfunzo	Sidogi	Tutor and academic
15	Sibusiso 'the General'	Nxumalo	Friends of Funda Movement
16	Simangaliso	Sibiya	Student and Tutor
17	Sokhaya	Nkosi	Teacher and Co-ordinator
18	Stan	Kahn	CEO of Funda Centre
19	Steven	Sack	Teacher and Co-ordinator
20	Sydney	Selepe	Student, Teacher, head of AIA
21	Tatana	Ngobeni	security guard
22	Thebe	Motlhakeng	Student and tutor
23	Tumelo	Mokopakgosi	student, teacher and Co-ordinator
24	Tumi	Moloi	Friends of Funda Movement

PICTURES

Some captured photographs from the events that I attended while doing this study.







Enjoying Heritage Day 2022 with family;
and Funda Dance class of 1988 attending
the event