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Ke mang ya ba ranthanyang? (Who is ripping them apart?) An Analysis of Township Community Art Centre Stakeholders in Democratic South Africa

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21st December 2021

Signature **Date**

Dedication

I dedicate this study to my late mother, grandmother and my uncle. I made it Makhoakhoa!

Acknowledgements

Motho ke motho ka batho

I wish to convey my deepest gratitude and appreciation to people who directly, and indirectly, supported and motivated me throughout this study. The very first massive thank you goes to my mentor and supervisor Mr. Chatikobo Munyaradzi, I am deeply indebted for his stewardship, patience and motivations throughout this study. Thank you for pushing me during my lazy and stressful times. You have made a significant contribution to my educational development, *k*e *ya leboha Ntate*.

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ACRONYM LIST

ACTAG- Arts and Culture Task Group

ANC-African National Congress

CACs- Community Art Centres/ Centers

CAP- Community Art Project

CAT- Create Africa Trading

CIC- Culture in Community program

CPF-Community Policing Forum

DAC-Department of Arts and Culture

DACST- Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology

DRHCAC-Daveyton Rhoo Hlatshwayo Community Art Centre

FUBA- Federated Union of Black Artists Art Centre

NGO-Non Governmental Organizations

RDP-Reconstruction Development Program

RWP- Revised White Paper

ABSTRACT

One of the conditions for community art centres to thrive in a democratic South African township is a need for stakeholders to come together. Instead, there is a rise in conflict around the usage of township community art centres. Roodt (2006) and Tapscott (2000) locate some of this conflict as residing between government roles and policies: thus, leaving community art centres in dire situations and failing to fulfil their purpose (Roodt 2006: Tapscott 2000). This study analyzes the conflict of stakeholder interests in using community art centres in South African townships through Daveyton Rhoo Hlatshwayo Community Art Centre as a case study. Using qualitative research methods, the study reveals that there are multiple stakeholders with varied interests. As a result of these various interests, community art centres face ineffective programming, tension and unhealthy competition between stakeholders eventually leading community art centres not to function to their best use. Recommendations made here include community arts as multifunctional activities, collaborations, partnerships, intergovernmental cooperation and participation through a bottom-up approach which suggest how best township community art centres can be used in meeting diverse interests of stakeholders in democratic South Africa.

Key Words: Stakeholder, community, interests, township community art centres, community arts, participation

CHAPTER ONE: AN OVERVIEW OF STAKEHOLDER RELATIONSHIPS IN TOWNSHIP COMMUNITY ART CENTRES

1. Introduction

One of the conditions for community art centres to thrive in democratic South African townships is a need for stakeholders to come together. Instead, there is a rise in conflict around the usage of township community art centres. That is, stakeholders with different intentions and expectations pull in different contradicting directions, creating boundaries for accessibility resulting in deterioration or vandalism of community art centres (Hagg & Selepe, 2002). Amongst others, Roodt (2006) and Tapscott (2000) identify some of the stakeholder conflicts emerging from contradictory government rules and regulations which eventually lead to community art centres deteriorating and not fulfilling their purposes within their communities. This study uses a qualitative approach to analyze stakeholders' conflicting interests within Daveyton Rhoo Hlatshwayo Community Art Centre (CAC). Using qualitative research methods and various local and international literature perspectives on community art centres, this study reveals stakeholders and their interests, and analyzes the ramifications of various stakeholder interests. The report suggests a need for a broader understanding of community, collaborations, partnerships, intergovernmental cooperation, inclusive community arts and participation through a bottom-up approach. These strategies help better understand stakeholders, their expectations and how different stakeholder expectations can be managed in South African township community art centres.

1.1 Background of the study and Statement of the problem

During the apartheid days, cultural facilities known as township community art centres were governed by different cultural policies, one which was from the white apartheid government advocating for limited activities such as dance and craft and another cultural policy from an opposition government that reflected alternative forms of expressions, such as political plays as a form of resistance against the white government (Hagg, 2010). For this reason, Hollyer and Luther (1985) state that the apartheid police intimidated, harassed and detained the artists that performed such political plays. In addition to this view, Solomon (as

cited in Peterson, 2009:231) raises, “One of the main difficulties has been that of rehearsing ... our greatest trouble has been the curfew. Rehearsals usually began at about 8 pm, but all the actors had to leave at 9.30 pm and what can one do in one-and-a-half hours?”(Solomon as cited in Peterson, 2009:231).

In line with this, Hagg (2010) highlights that the inability of most people in the apartheid era to access community art centres to their full use led to many users, particularly, artists to use their backyards, streets and churches (Hagg, 2010). Community art centres such as Community Arts Projects (CAP) emerged from a similar background, working against the apartheid government (Nolte, 2011). However, the author states that some artists during apartheid were passionate about using South African township community centres to express identities. This created a rift between township artists, in which the majority of artists emphasized culture in community art centres as only about creating arts that challenged apartheid government and not the former(Nolte, 2011). In addition, Lochner(2010) stipulates that within the apartheid era, some communities had no facilities of expression, therefore, the available township community art centres accommodated more users from different places such as housewives, township young adults, unemployed people and nurses (Lochner, 2010). From this, it is understood that in the apartheid days, the conflict in the usage of CACs was most informed by apartheid policies that were restrictive and oppressive. However, people found a way to dismantle the restrictions by allowing different people to access the township community art centres for their various needs.

After the demise of apartheid, the ANC government's Department of Art, Culture, Science and Technology (DACST) piloted 42 CACs through the Culture in Community program (CIC) through which the community art centres were funded by the National Reconstruction and Development Programme Fund hence they were later referred to as RDP art centres (Hagg, 2010). According to DACST (1996), the purpose of the RDP community art centres was to provide communities, art organizations, and individuals opportunities for participation in artistic, craft, and cultural activities. In addition, the centres were to train youth for purposes of recreation, cultural enrichment, social development, and income generation (DACST, 1996a). Based on this view, users in community art centres may range from individuals and organizations which, in the context of townships, can be identified as community members, artists, art organizations, individuals, politicians, churches, burial societies, youth clubs, non-governmental organizations and activists.

Further, Hagg (2010) points out that in the development of the CIC program, the three government tiers expressed various interests in which the national government provided policies and funding while the provincial and local governments joined forces for implementation (Hagg, 2010). Besides users with an interest in directly using the township community art centres, some users express an indirect interest in using the township community art centres. These interests can therefore be expressed in different ways by different people depending on what they need. This point, therefore, echoes Van Robbroek (1991) view that within communities, there are multi-ethnic communities who have various needs and therefore community art centres in communities become relevant spaces to respond to the desired needs of the community (Van Robbroek, 1991). Further, in some communities, community art centres have become the only facilities in their areas, therefore centre managers are compelled to attend public requests such as public gatherings, parties, and weddings (Macarov, 1978). Hagg and Selepe (2002), as well as CAT and Associates (2013), have also identified the above common requests in democratic South Africa highlighting that the democratic township community art centres are dominantly used for non-artistic purposes such as weddings, funerals, and parties. Community artists on the other hand use the township community art centres for their various artistic needs, however, a challenge arises when users cannot access the space due to conflicting interests. In my personal experience, this arises when the space is prioritized for a different user or a contradiction between governing policies and the interests of the users. The frustration of inaccessibility and participation may result in violent or careless actions. Amongst these, township CACs are left in a terrible state after use and are expected to be maintained by a caretaker because it is assumed that would be their responsibility. The roles of stakeholders in township community art centres are still unclear, instead, there is an assumption that these roles are clear which is not the case. As a result of this confusion, township community art centres are left to deteriorate eventually leading to shutting down. Using a case study, I'll be guided by several concepts, community, community arts, stakeholder analysis model, participation and conflict resolution which best explain the tension around the usage of community art centres in South Africa and internationally and further propose recommendations to enhance the better use of township community art centres.

1.2 Motivation for conducting the study

Across time and space, significant research has been done on community art centres, particularly addressing the complex issues of policies, lack of funding and mismanagement leading to the deterioration of community art centres in the South Africa context. Considering the above, Hagg (2010) addresses fragmented policies, ideological shifts, and inadequate capacity in the government and art sector as contributing factors resulting in the current deterioration of community art centres. Also, Zulu (2017) and Van Robbroek (2004) agree with Hagg and Selepe (2002) on the notion of mismanagement and poor leadership contributing to the collapse of community art centres. However, the research project proposes to explore and discuss the conflict on the use of community art centres due to conflicting interests from various stakeholders as possible reasons for causing community art centres to deteriorate.

The research also acknowledges that Hagg (2001) and Van Robbroek (1992) pay attention to different stakeholder interests in township community art centres and not the phenomenon of stakeholder conflict in using community art centres which is the gap I intend to fill with this research. Secondly, most reports have focused on activities in prominent community art centres such as Sibikwa and FUBA and not much is provided on township community art centres, therefore the research intends to document those activities happening in township community art centres. Thirdly, I suspect there is an assumption that stakeholders using community art centres are widely known, yet there is insufficient research of stakeholder analysis conducted on township community art centres, the study, therefore, wishes to make such contribution to academia, the field of cultural policy and management, cultural institutions, community organizations, arts managers and cultural policymakers.

Lastly, my role as a cultural leader in the community art centres has involved different stakeholders, however, the frustration has been the tension between various stakeholders involved with the community art centres, closing of the township community art centres, collapsing of community art centre programs and less participation of community organizations and individuals. It is through this study that community art centres will be acknowledged for their vitality in the community as expressed by Vulliamy (1974) that

community art centres are part of everyday life, however, taken for granted by those that use them and those that work for them (Vulliamy,1974). This study hopes to clear the conflict by proposing solutions on how community art centres can accommodate different stakeholders' interests.

1.3 Purpose of the analysis

This study intends to analyze the conflicting interests of the stakeholders involved in using the township community art centres in democratic South Africa, specifically in Gauteng. According to Oxford Learner's Dictionary (2020), analysis is defined as a detailed study of something to understand more about it. Firstly, this aim is achieved through identifying key stakeholders and their interests within the complex definition of community in township community art centres. Secondly, it critically analyzes the ramifications of different interests and how they impact the effective running of township community art centres. Upon fulfilling these aims, I give recommendations of how the diverse interests can be accommodated in township community art centres. It is hoped that the suggested objectives share some light on the conflict of stakeholder interests in using community art centres which have resulted in community artists being sent from pillar to post and poor upkeep of community art centres due to unclear stakeholder roles and expectations in the township community art centres. Furthermore, to achieve its aim, this study could have explored prominent CACs such as Sibikwa, however much research has been exhausted on these community art centres and only a few scholars have written about RDP community art centres also known as township community art centres. Even though Hagg (2010) declares that both prominent CACs and RDP CACs had suffered at the hands of the government, it is realized that prominent CACs such as Sibikwa have managed to find their feet while RDP CACs continue to suffer even after participation in using RDP CACs has increased. As a result of this, the research needed to use RDP CACs to understand the conflict from an informed view especially from the potential users that have long been sidelined from using community art centres in their townships.

1.4 Critical Questions on Township Community Art Centres

"Qualitative research questions initially grow from curiosity or ideas'' (Agee, 2009:433). As a researcher, my curiosity is in understanding the stakeholder conflict around the usage of community art centres. For me to achieve this aim, I am setting out to answer three questions

which Maxwell (cited in Agee, 2009) phrases research questions as explaining specifically what the study will be about. Besides, "research questions can point you to specific areas of theory that you can use as modules in developing and understanding what's going on and suggest ways to do the study" (Maxwell, 2005:67). Using research questions, I will be able to identify what it is that I am researching about, what methods will be used, and be guided towards a theory or concepts that will be useful in understanding the phenomenon better. Given the background above, the study answers the following questions:

1. Who are the stakeholders and their interests within the complex definition of community in township community art centres?
2. What are the ramifications of the different interests and to what extent do they impact the effective running of the township community art centres?
3. How can the township community art centres manage the diverse interests, of stakeholders involved?

The questions above are narrow enough that they can be answered thoroughly, specific to provide an understanding of the purpose of the study, answerable within the timeframe and practical constraints, relevant to the field of the study and require analysis and synthesis of ideas and sources before the composition of an answer. Besides, they are a direct response to the background I have outlined. The study enables me to explore other questions, however, due to the scope of the study, I only answered the above questions.

1.5 Existing concepts on stakeholder management and community art centres

To respond to research questions, the study drew concepts from various theories and findings which Lacey (2010) asserts as 'world views' delineating the researcher's assumptions and preconceptions about the studied area. The study, therefore, deployed a broader range of concepts such as the Stakeholder analysis model coined by Freeman (1984), Mitchel et al (1997), Crosby (1991) and Florea and Florea (2013) identifying sub-themes such as multiplicity of stakeholders and multiple interests popularized by Colakoglu et al (2016), Markiewicz (2005, Greenley et al (2004), Macarov (1978) and Hagg (1991) whom all identified different stakeholders and interests from different contexts. Secondly, the lack of clarity of roles, also emerged under the theme of multiple stakeholders and interests, popularized by scholars such as (konstant & Moshikaro, 2016) and Roodt (2006) highlighting the complexity of understanding stakeholder interests due to their contradictions. In

answering the study objective of ramifications in the community art centres and their impact, the study reviewed themes of tension popularized by Artemov et al (2017), Muknopadiyay (2002), compromise by Margalit (2010) and Bellamy et al (2012), lack of information sharing conceptualized by Sunstein (1989), Maxwell and Yang (2011), Opportunity loss by Sharafatpeima (2016), ACTAG (1995) and DACST (1996), competition popularized by Andrei (2019), Barbu (2011), Vickers (1995). Through these themes, the researcher was able to understand some of the factors causing the various conflicts in using the community art centres and how those can be avoided in future.

Lastly, in the quest to respond to objective three of the research, the study explored the themes of community participation through a bottom-up approach coined by Hjern et al(1982) and Arnstein (1969) popularized by Mikkelson (1995) and Hubley (1990). However, scholars such as Wilcox (2001), Hagg and Selepe (2002) highlighted community participation as a complex concept due to an association with community which itself is also complex, however, Poland and Mare (2005) shed some light on possible lenses to avoid this complexity. As a result, this informed most of the critical discussion in the study. In addition to answering objective three of management of different stakeholder interests, the study reviewed Hagg (2005) and Van Robbroek (1991) concept of community art centres and Kelly (1984)'s concept of community arts in which both concepts were identified to be associated with collaborations, partnerships and alliances. Through engaging the themes, the researcher was able to make connections with the study findings, therefore, raising these themes as possible solutions for managing diverse interests in community art centres.

1.**6 Existing knowledge about community art centres in South Africa and beyond**

To understand the phenomenon of conflicting interests in using community art centres, the study engages wide literature from different views unpacking the issue from various contexts. Some views are in conflict with each other; however, it is realized that most scholars agree with their discoveries from different contexts. Hagg (2010), Van Robbroek (1991:2004), Macarov (1978), Kawashima (1999), Vulliamy (1974), Hagg and Selepe (2002)and Kelly (1984) who through their engagement with community art centres from different perspectives shed some light identifying stakeholders, their interest and influence. Secondly, with literature revealing government tiers as possible stakeholders in community art centres, Roodt (2006) and Tapscott (2000) identify their poor coordination and contradicting policies

to be impacting negatively on community art centres and therefore revealing some insights on ramifications of diverse interests. Thirdly, after discussing various stakeholders and their interests as well as raising ramifications of various conflicting interests the White paper documents (1996,2018), Hjern et al (1982), World Bank Document (1996), Malan (2004), Kelly (1984), Kanyane (2016) and Van Robbroek(2004) share possibilities of how township community art centres can be used to meet various needs. These emerge from scholars proposing a broader use of community and community arts in township community art centres, bottom-up participation, partnerships and collaborations between stakeholders and government tiers.

In the South African context, Hagg (2003) and Van Robbroek (1991) state township community art centres as facilities existing in communities to provide artistic services, training of community at a minimum cost, and responsive to local needs. The services provided in community art centres are run by community-management committees, voluntary agencies, local government authorities delivering a wide range of group and individually focused activities (Jones et al as cited in Zulu, 2017). From an international perspective, Macarov (1978) claims that there is no generally accepted definition of community art centres due to no single pattern describing the program content in neighbourhood and community art centres.

Supporting his point further, he provides that community art centres serve the youth, children, artists, immigrants, working mothers and members of the unions who have shown interests in promoting indigenous cultures as well as recreational activities (Macarov, 1978). As a result, most researchers agreed upon concluding that community art centres are characterized by a physical building, engaging a variety of activities, open to anyone that wants to participate, and concerned with the geographic neighborhoods in which it is located (Macarov, 1978). In addition to this view, Grodach (2009) highlights that community art spaces are also used to generate income, especially attracting visitors that support local businesses and other cultural enterprises (Grodach, 2009). Kawashima (1999) echoes the similar view declaring that some community art centres' programs are influenced by the ability of the program to generate income for the centre hence many arts centres favour performances with intervals, relying on the income from catering and the bar booked by the performance (Kawashima, 1999). In the South African context, Hagg and Selepe (2002) point out that most community art centres are struggling financially and therefore, in my view,

community art centre managers may also be influenced to consider activities that may bring an income to the township community art centre. Such decision-making to engage one activity over the other may cause conflict around accessibility and participation and therefore may result in unpleasant consequences. This may include a protest on the organization's services due to stakeholders demanding attention for their interests or needs (Neville & Menguc, 2006).

The views above point out township community art centres as multi-service centres in which anyone is entitled to their use, either for social or economic purpose however the decision to prioritize stakeholders over others results in conflict because everyone feels they are equally important to the organization. However, the detailed literature of CACs follows in chapter 5 providing a deeper understanding of stakeholders and their interests in using South African township community art centres.

Furthermore, Roodt (1996) states that the South African constitution and other government documents aim to balance inequalities of the past, however, there are contradictions between the government by-laws adopted by the government and the regulations, therefore, affecting the implementation of culture in their areas (Roodt 2006). Presidential Review Commission on the reform of public services (1998) and Tapscott (2000) echo the same concern of misalignment of roles, and responsibilities of the government affecting the implementation of national programs and equal opportunities (Presidential Review Commission, 1998: Tapscott, 2000). The confusion highlighted above indicates that there are alternative interests of government spheres specifically in using township community art centres that need to be clarified and understood. Artists, including myself, have been moved from one office to another due to a lack of clarity of each government's role, especially in accessing financial support for projects. As a result, artists have missed out on opportunities to participate in international festivals. In my experience, this has raised frustration and a level of competitiveness amongst stakeholders due to the unavailability of funding to benefit everyone.

To resolve the above conflict, scholars such as Van Robbroek (2004), Tapscott (2000) and Kanyane (2016) propose intergovernmental cooperation within the three spheres of government. 'Intergovernmental' is an adjective meaning that which concerns or is conducted between two or more governments (Tulloch et al., 1993:796); cooperation is a noun

expressing the action or process of working together to the same end (Oxford Dictionary 2020). Intergovernmental Cooperation, therefore, suggests for 'each sphere of government and transversal state departments (such as line departments in the national sphere of government traversing that of provinces) to cooperate in mutual trust and good faith to avoid contradictions and quarrels in court' (Kanyane, 2016:94). Malan (2004) echoes the above by stating that 'cooperation between government spheres as well as values associated with it include national unity, peace, proper cooperation and coordination, effective communication and avoids conflict' (Malan, 2004: 98).

In addition, the Former South African Arts and Culture Minister (as cited in Hagg 2010: 61) encourages that the new democratic South Africa RDP art centres portray a culture that is no longer about song and dance but about economic growth and job creation (The former South African Arts and Culture Minister as cited in Hagg 2010: White paper draft 1 1996b). According to Phillips (2010), the multi-functional use of the community art centres is largely informed by communities that have been deprived of social thought within cultural organizations, hence the new community art centres are advised to meet this gap by integrating various activities (Phillips 2010). Based on these observations, the arts in township community art centres can coexist with other rhythms of life such as weddings, funerals and churches.

Moreover, Kelly (1984) and Van Robbroek (2004) identify partnerships and alliances as another strategy of managing different stakeholder interests particularly since each stakeholder is pulling towards a different direction. According to the scholars, the networks and alliances will be linking different practices with common purposes or vary according to what each practice needs, and groups will be able to share skills, resources, costs and in doing so, hierarchies between them are dismantled (Kelly, 1984: Van Robbroek, 2004). Apart from these suggestions, the reviewed literature suggests stakeholder participation in which stakeholders with different interests and power are reconciled (World Bank Document 1996). This could be through a bottom-up approach in which stakeholders are actively engaged in all stages of community initiatives (Hjern et al 1982). Unlike the top-down approach or passive participation often used by the government in which local people are mobilized in the task at first hand but participation disappears once the task is complete or only later informed about decisions taken on their behalf.

The provided preliminary literature review briefly reflects what is yet to unfold in the study, which is precisely the stakeholders, their interests, and the ramifications of various interests as well strategies to the accommodation of various interests which chapter five discusses in detail.

1.7 Study approach used for the analysis of stakeholder interests.

To analyze the conflict of stakeholder interests in more depth, suitable research methods are needed. The study employed a qualitative research method specifically using a case study approach. The method was used with other multiple sources of evidence such as personal observations, document analysis as well as interviews which served as strategies, processes or techniques in the collection of data. This is further echoed by Yin (1993:3) stating that through the use of case studies, there is reliance on multiple sources as opposed to a single data collection method hence the choice to engage other multiple sources of evidence which allows for engagement of various perspectives. In a case study method, 'a researcher is able to go beyond the quantitative statistical results and understand the behavioral conditions through the actor's perspective' (Zainal, 2007:1). It is therefore through the chosen case study that as a researcher I will be able to get a deeper understanding of the complex issues studied. Although the methods may be identified as suitable to the study, there are limitations as well as data analysis methods. These and the detailed account of the research method are provided in chapter two of this research report

1.8 Outline of the Research Report

This section outlines what each chapter entails. Chapter one presents an overview of the study to be investigated, consisting of introduction, background, problem statement, aim, research questions, rationale, conceptual framework as well as an outline of all chapters to be discussed in the study. Chapter two discusses the research methodology used in the study which consists of an introduction, the background context of the study, the rationale for the choice of qualitative approaches and methods, history of the case study as well as limitations to the approaches and methods used. Chapter three provides a detailed conceptual framework to understand the addressed phenomenon better. It consists of an introduction, relationship between the concepts, background and history of concepts such as community theories, community arts, stakeholder analysis model, stakeholder synergy, stakeholder multiplicity, and

participation as well as conflict resolution shared in different perspectives. Chapter four of the study presents research findings that answer the central research questions. Chapter five proceeds to critically discuss the findings answering the central research questions about stakeholder interests, ramifications of conflicting interests, and possible solutions. Chapter six presents the conclusion of the study, presenting a final evaluative overview of the study through reflecting on research questions, making conclusions from preliminary conclusions, and proposing recommendations which as a researcher I'm hoping reflects the objectives intended to be achieved by the study.

1.9 Concluding remarks

Existing research on community arts centres in South Africa provides lack of funding, dysfunctional policy frameworks, cronyism, poor management, and leadership as issues that have led to the deterioration of community art centres. However, the conflict of stakeholder interests is overlooked thus the study analyzes this from the literature of community art centres in the South African context as well as international perspectives to provide rich details of what CACs mean to the communities especially in the democratic South African townships. Drawing from their history has provided insights into the users and their interests in which the interests have not significantly changed, that is people still perceive township CACs as multi-service centres. However, in the background of the study, it was also raised by different scholars that regulations and policies of government spheres contradict the perceived narrative of township community art centres becoming multi-service centres. Additionally, the audits on CACs and literature highlight this contradiction as one of the most rising factors which has not only affected the CACs in townships but social services as well (Roodt, 2006).

It is therefore upon this view that the study finds ways in which such contradiction can be remedied employing concepts such as stakeholder analysis model, stakeholder multiplicity, stakeholder synergy, participation and conflict resolution. Some of these concepts are new in the field however identified as successful in levelling a playing ground for stakeholders with different interests and power and therefore their employability in the study is limited. Realizing that government spheres are stakeholders with the most power in the community art centres, the proposed strategies place a focus on them, thus overlooking other stakeholders which through sufficient research more strategies for other stakeholders could have been identified. In addition, a research method is developed which zooms into the phenomenon using

qualitative approaches. This required patience since one dealt with human beings who most of the time were unavailable for interviews or even worse could not afford data and airtime for online interviews. Luckily, due to being familiar with the case study for more than a decade, personal observations also came into place which could have clouded my judgement. Yin (2003) also criticizes this approach, pointing out that its findings are based on a single context and therefore generalization cannot be used in a larger context. Thus, this can be noted as a weakness of this approach for this research. As a result of this, and since contexts vary, future researchers need to employ large surveys of multiple township community art centres across all nine provinces.

CHAPTER TWO: A CASE STUDY APPROACH TO COMMUNITY ARTS CENTRES IN SA

2.1 Introduction

To achieve a critical analysis of conflicting interests of multiple township CAC stakeholders and explore possible solutions to managing the conflicting interests, I opted to use the case study approach given time and resources constraints in the context of Covid 19. Buckley and Chiang (1976) define research methodology as a strategy or architectural design through which the researcher maps out an approach to problem-finding or problem-solving. It is, therefore, through Buckley and Chiang's approach of methodology that clear consideration of research methods and research questions investigated will be answered. The study follows a qualitative approach seeking to interpret meaning from data that helps understand social life through targeted populations or places rather than numerical data (Crossman, 2020). Instead of discovering numerical figures within a sample of the population, the researcher in this approach interrogates the meaning of the phenomenon from the views of participants (Creswell, 2003). These participants include community artists, community members, and members of the political party, centre managers and government officials. The chapter firstly presents an overall rationale for chosen research design, introduces the chosen approach with its successes and limitations, and presents the case study, sources of information consulted to answer the study's critical questions, strategies used to extract information from sources, processes employed in organizing and analyzing the information as well as ethical principles applied in the research.

2.2 Rationale for qualitative research design within the context of a case study

Traditionally, case studies are considered qualitative, however, they can also be quantitative or contain a combination of qualitative and quantitative approaches (Starman 2013: Gerring 2007). Considering this point, Gerring (2007) raises that case studies within the quantitative field employ 'formal mathematical models that may help to elucidate the relevant parameters operating within the given case' (Gerring, 2007). It simply relies on numerical data, sampling, questionnaires as well as other instruments which Brannen (2016) confirm to discover how

many and what kinds of people in the general or parent population have a particular characteristic found to exist in the sample population (Brannen 2016). In response to these views, the quantitative design could have been considered, however, due to lack of experience and training in employing mathematical models, the qualitative approach seemed possible considering the period the research had to be done. Also, I realized that by utilizing this design, I would be giving sources opportunities to listen to their views and experiences with the studied phenomenon. Starman (2013) and Creswell (2016) share similar views by pointing out that qualitative approaches, particularly case studies, enable subjective views of respondents while researchers remain observers interpreting the extent to which respondents cope with the phenomenon (Starman, 2013: Creswell,2016).

Concurring with the above, Sagadin (cited in Starman 2013) states a case study as efficient in that it "analyzes and describes, for example, each person individually (his or her activity, special needs, life situation, life history, etc.), a group of people (a school department, a group of students with special needs, teaching staff, etc.), individual institutions or a problem (or several problems), process, phenomenon or event in a particular institution, etc. in detail."(Sagadin cited in Starman 2013:31). By observing and listening to the respondents in the field, as a researcher, I managed to understand the phenomenon in detail, particularly how they are affected by the conflict itself, and what possible solutions are desired in overcoming the problem of conflicting interests in using the township CAC. To understand this problem in detail, I interviewed the earlier mentioned respondents and consulted various documents such as local government by-laws, white paper drafts, the revised white paper (2020), township CAC audit reports as well as relied on my personal understandings informed by long term observations with the township community art centre. According to the above scholars, qualitative design through a case study approach may utilize other sources of evidence for validity, therefore the chosen qualitative design and triangulation methods were efficient in meeting the study objectives.

2.3 A Case Study Approach

According to Stake (1995), case study research analyses a single or collective case intending to capture the complexity of the phenomenon being studied. Reflecting this view above, Clardy (1997) posits that a case study provides a rich detailed story about a specific situation or event in the workplace, describing who, what, where when and how. Crowe et al (2011) share similar

sentiments highlighting that a case study offers additional insights on what gaps can be filled as well as choosing effective implementation strategies. The perspective raised by the scholars clearly points that through a case study, one can unpack the problem in detail and solutions in meeting the problem are bound to come out. This is undoubtedly reflected in research in which through a case study I was able to identify different stakeholders and their interests, the impact of conflicting interests as well as provided solutions of how township CACs can be used effectively.

Answering the above-mentioned study objectives was through the guidance of qualitative research methods employed such as interviews which Ruben and Ruben (2012) add to challenge long-held assumptions and help cast ineffective public policies (Ruben & Ruben 2012:3). Through interviews, the respondents were able to connect the township community art centres with the existing policies and provided solutions of how the two can complement each other. This was also realized from the documents used and through personal observations with the site validating Yin (2012)'s point of case studies benefiting from having multiple sources of evidence. Concurring and enlightening this point, Crowe et al (2011) highlights that approaching the same issue from different angles can help develop a holistic picture about the studied phenomenon (Crowe et al 2011:6). The study could have used sampling, surveys and questionnaires however it is argued by Starman (2019) that compared to the methods used, sampling, surveys and questionnaires are weaker (Starman 2013:36). Besides, the methods used were sufficient to the scope of the research and suitable for the researcher who has limited skills, unlike sampling and surveys which in my view are complex and require a skillful researcher.

Further, as a researcher, I would have selected several sites experiencing the phenomenon at hand. However, Crowe et al (2011) highlight that amongst others, selecting a site that is accessible is important, that is accessible to individuals, groups and processes constituting the analysis of the study. I have observed and participated in community art festivals and workshops in Daveyton Rhoo Hlatshwayo Community Art Centre for the past 10 years and established relationships with the centre manager and other community art centre users, therefore with such a long-established relationship, it was easier to access the community art centre. Secondly, it is also raised by Crowe et al (2011) that selected sites should not only be interesting but hospitable to the inquiry (Crowe et al 2011:8). The nature of the phenomenon has never been explored before and therefore the site provides insightful information,

responding honestly to the study's critical questions. Despite the mentioned merits of using a case study, the case study also has limitations. As mentioned earlier, it is not in all interviews that I had enough time to collect the required data, this was due to some respondents having prior commitments and therefore I was restricted in getting sufficient data. Also, due to COVID-19 Pandemic restrictions, some interviews happened telephonically which most of them were cut in the middle of interviews due to insufficient and unaffordability of airtime thus compelling the researcher to skip some of the questions. Crowe et al (2011) clearly point out that such restrictions impact the depth of analysis. To avoid this implication, in the following interviews in which I was granted sufficient time, I collected large data and only realized later that most of the data collected was not useful to the study.

This is further pointed out by Crowe et al (2011) stating that qualitative researchers in case studies eventually end up collecting large volumes of data that may not be relevant to the case or too little to be of any value. A challenging moment that arose in the research field was the notion of my assumptions being validated by the findings in the case study. Starman (2013) strongly identifies verification of biases which is a tendency to confirm the researcher's preconceived notions as a pitfall for most researchers in a case study. Moreover, Yin (1984) and Crowe et al (2011) put across that case studies provide little basis for scientific generalization since they use a small number of subjects, some conducted with only one subject. The question commonly raised is "how can you generalize from a single case?" (Yin, 1984:21). The views raised by the scholars above speak back to the study which employs a single case and therefore the findings produced to be transferred to other sites can be questioned. To address the above concern, the study employed Crowe et al (2011) suggestion of respondent validation whereby interviewees checked emerging findings and the researcher's interpretation, providing their opinion as to whether the information provided is accurate. Secondly, data triangulation was used to increase internal validity (Crowe et al., 2011). However, Simon (2001) argues that subjectivity is needed to generate knowledge.

2.4. Introducing Daveyton Rhoo Hlatshwayo Community Art Centre

To describe Daveyton Rhoo Hlatshwayo Community Art Centre (DRHCAC), I had to consult some of the stakeholders whose responses are not answers but what the description is**.** According to the centre manager (2020), Daveyton Rhoo Hlatshwayo Community Art Centre (DRHCAC) is a Municipal facility in Daveyton, operating on Mondays to Fridays between 9

am and 4 pm, however, sometimes it is opened on weekends for private function activities (Centre Manager, 2020). Daveyton Rhoo Hlatshwayo Community Art Centre was named after a veteran actor Aaron Fanyana Hlatshwayo, honoured for his contribution to the arts both locally and internationally (Centre Manager, 2020). Mdlalose (2020) one of the co-founders of Daveyton Arts Forum and was present during the early days of the community art centre, adds "Before Rhoo became an art centre, it was first a brewery. People from different townships will come to drink and dance in this place" (Mdlalose, 2020). The centre manager (2020) affirmed this view, providing that the community art centre was initially a brewery which was later converted to a multipurpose including activities such as art, karate, boxing, hairdressing to name a few (Centre Manager, 2020). Furthermore, the centre manager (2020) adds "Because of the different activities happening at the centre, every department using the centre felt a sense of ownership, however arts and culture came into place and identified the centre as a suitable space to promote arts and culture activities...people were asked to vacate for renovations and when it reopened only arts and culture activities were prioritized" (Centre Manager, 2020). Maqungo (2021), a visual artist at DRHCAC agrees with the above, adding that there was a period the community art centre closed down for renovations that affected artists because they had no spaces to create. As a result, most artists left to other townships while only a few remained trying means to survive from what they could create in their groups (Maqungo, 2021). As far as arts and culture activities are concerned, the centre manager(2020) identifies these activities as drama, theatre, music, dance, poetry, visual arts and crafts, mainly created and facilitated by Daveyton community art groups such as Flowers of the nation, Ons Tuka Productions, The Ngomas, Imbumba Art Room G. Face, artists from other east corridors namely, Kwa-Thema, Tsakane and Duduza also known as KwaTsaDuza, Ekurhuleni arts and culture municipality and provincial arts and culture government (Centre Manager, 2020). It is further expressed by the centre manager (2020) that all users of DRHCAC and other interested parties secure the rehearsal rooms at the community art centre with a booking fee of R60.00 a month. After much emphasis on prioritization of arts and culture activities at DRHCAC, monthly rental fees and artists moving to alternative townships, an assumption would be to have few people interested in using DRHCAC, however, the Centre Manager (2020) shares that more people are still drawn into using DRHCAC, especially in using the theatre space which accommodates a seating of 300 to 400 people for events such as traditional and hip-hop music (Centre Manager, 2020). Within Ekurhuleni, there are many other community art centres that operate like Daveyton Rhoo Hlatshwayo Community Art Centre; however, they have been further developed and successful in their developments, these include township community art

centres such as Moses Molelekwa Art centre, Katlehong Art Centre and Sibikwa Art Centre (Centre Manager, 2020).

2.5 Sources of information about Stakeholders, their interests, the ramification of conflicting interests and possible solutions to conflicting interests

For me to understand stakeholder relationships within township CACs, I needed to collect information from different sources. These include interviews, personal observations and documents such as the White Paper on Arts and Culture (1976), White Paper Draft (1996) , Revised White Paper (2020), Ekurhuleni Municipality by-laws on arts, culture and heritage facilities as well as 2002 and 2013 audit reports on community art centres which reflected clearly on what township community art centres are, their different uses, the challenges and their consequences as well as highlighting the different government roles and responsibilities towards ensuring that community art centres are inclusive. With this provided, stakeholders and their interests were identified, the ramifications of conflicting interests and solutions were also shared which contributed to answering the research questions and the objectives of the study. The interviewees of the study were selected based on their relationship with DRHCAC. These include the Daveyton Rhoo Hlatshwayo Community Art centre manager who is also employed as the Ekurhuleni local government official, Sibusiso Mtshali, a government official in the provincial office of arts and culture, Mduduzi Mdlalose, Nsizwa Mahlangu, Mr Lee and Michael Maqungo who are community artists as well as Mzwakhe Jiyane, the Anonymous and Steven Thekiso who represented the voice of members of the community in Daveyton.

The interview with the centre manager contributed insights on the history of the Daveyton Rhoo Hlatshwayo Community Art Centre, the community art centre manager's role, the current stakeholders of DRHCAC and challenges encountered in Daveyton Rhoo Hlatshwayo Community Art Centre. The centre manager further pointed out possible solutions that could be explored in remedying the faced challenges. Through this information, stakeholders or users of the township community art centres and their interests were identified. Additionally, it was recognized from the centre managers' perspective that there were available solutions that could be implemented in ensuring township CACs are effectively used thus answering the study's critical questions.

After a long struggle to find Sibusiso Mtshali, a government official in the provincial office of arts and culture, he availed himself mentioning the roles, interests and challenges of the provincial arts and culture government in using DRHCAC. In the interview, he indicated that some of the challenges of using Daveyton Rhoo Hlatshwayo Community Art Centre could be remedied by the cooperation of both local and provincial governments. Based on this view, local and provincial governments emerged as possible stakeholders with conflicting interests which could be managed thus answering critical questions investigated by the study.

Secondly, interviewee respondents such as Mduduzi Mdlalose, and Nsizwa Mahlangu were identified as active artists of DRHCAC. The respondents expressed different activities and roles their organizations contribute to the centre as well as relationships they have with other users in Daveyton Rhoo Hlatshwayo Community Art Centre. The points strongly emphasized by informants include competition residing between users around the use of the community art centre and opportunities in the community art centre as well as limitations to the full use of DRHCAC informed by the Centre Manager and Ekurhuleni Municipality. However, solutions were raised by the respondents which could significantly aid in managing the conflict of interests at DRHCAC thus responding critically to the study objectives.

Thirdly, engaging community members such as Anonymous, Mzakhe Jiyane and Steven Thekiso also contributed crucial knowledge in answering the study questions. It was pointed out by the mentioned members of the community that Daveyton Community Art Centre is associated as a community place, however, the Ekurhuleni Municipality and community artists neglect them from activities happening at the community art centre. It was therefore proposed by the mentioned community members that the Ekurhuleni municipality and artists need to build a relationship with the community. These perspectives were important to the study, for they contributed insights on stakeholder identification and recommendations of management of different stakeholders, therefore completely responding to the study objectives and questions. Lastly, the researcher consulted Mr Lee Mhlongo and Michael Maqungo whose viewpoints shed some light on the ramifications of conflicting interests in using township community art centres. According to the respondents, they used the community art centre for more than a decade. However, after a long struggle of failing to convince the Ekurhuleni Municipality to adjust the bylaws that contradicted their interests as artists, they eventually left the community art centre to use other alternative spaces. All sources used for this study were necessary for they provided critical insights into the studied problem

2.6 Extracting information from the sources

During interviews, I had a diary in which I had a heading, date, place, name of the interviewer and interviewee, followed by handwritten notes emerging from the interview. Creswell (2013) also encourages this approach of interviewing followed by ice breaker questions and sub-questions. However, in my case, I had no option of ice breaker questions due to the limited time I had with the interviewees, as a result, I was compelled to jump straight into prepared questions which were open-ended to aid in answering the main study questions. Fontana and Frey (2000) advocate for this approach of open-ended questions to allow for negotiation text between the respondent and interviewer. Additionally, I realized that in some questions the respondents provided short and unclear answers, I, therefore, probed for follow-up questions, asking interviewees to explain their ideas in detail or elaborate on what they had said. According to Creswell (2013), such unclear answers during interviews arise due to some people feeling uncomfortable, lacking confidence or unable to speak fluently.

Realizing this, I made a conversation about the current state of community art centres in which the respondents became comfortable, unpacking their concerns with the art centre. This, therefore, echoes Perry (1998) and Dick's (1990) views on creating questions that are inviting the interviewees to share their experiences in which the answers come directly from them and not necessarily the questions that create a self-fulfilling prophecy (Perry,1998). I ensured spaces between questions to record responses. The recording of answers using a cellphone played a crucial part in ensuring that no information is missed from the respondents. Lastly, I presented a statement acknowledging the time the respondents spent on the interview and finally making them aware that the report will be printed, and copies will be made available should they want one.

2.7 Data organization and analysis

In the organization of data, I created different files for different sources of data using Microsoft word. This included the names of the sources, the time of the interview and the answers to the questions asked. This alone was not enough to make conclusions, as Neuman (1997) encourages, patterns had to be identified from a social theory to a more general interpretation. To achieve this, I firstly engaged word and phrase repetitions, scanning primary data for words

and phrases most used by respondents, as well as words and phrases used with unusual emotions. Creswell (2013) echoes this approach in his step-by-step guide emphasizing that the underlying meanings of utterances can be captured from the tone of ideas creating an impression of the overall depth. Bailey (2008) concurs with the above statement that meanings are informed by the way ideas are communicated in addition to what is said (Bailey, 2008). The general thoughts interpreted from the meanings of the sources were recorded.

Secondly, as mentioned that the study used a cell phone device and a daily diary, these recorded interviews, observations and transcribed verbatim. From this, themes emerged which were bounced against the prior themes of participation, stakeholder analysis model, community, community arts and conflict resolution. By using information from the documents as well as retrospective ethnography observations, new themes emerged which were used as major findings critically discussed in the study. Realizing this, I made a conversation about the current state of community art centres in which the respondents became comfortable, unpacking their concerns with the art centre. This therefore echoes Perry (1998) and Dick's (1990) views on creating questions that are inviting the interviewees to share their experiences in which the answers come directly from them and not necessarily the questions that create a self -fulfilling prophecy (Perry,1998). I ensured spaces between questions to record responses. The recording of answers using a cellphone played a crucial part in ensuring that no information is missed from the respondents. Lastly, i presented a statement acknowledging the time the respondents spent on the interview and finally making them aware that the report will be printed, and copies will be made available should they want one.

2.8 Ethical Consideration

Choosing to utilize interviews had the potential to expose respondents to minimal risks. Firstly, the community art centre users by agreeing to be interviewed were exposing themselves to be alienated from using the centre, secondly, government officials participating in the study were putting themselves and their jobs at risks and thirdly as a researcher whom the respondents were trusting to protect their information was putting everyone including themselves at the risk especially when the information would end up on the wrong hands. As a result of this, serious ethical principles had to be considered to avoid the above-mentioned risks. Orb et al (2001) also affirm the above pointing out that most qualitative research in which people participate requires an awareness of ethical issues. Therefore, it was crucial that as a researcher, I become

mindful and aware of what respondents' participation in the study exposed them to. However, I realized that respondents also needed to be aware of the mentioned potential risks, hence after receiving an ethics clearance certificate from the Human Research Ethics Committee of the University of Witwatersrand, I organized a meeting with the interviewees, briefing them about the study, asked permission to interview them and pointed out some potential risks that may emerge from them agreeing on participating in the research. After receiving verbal agreements to participate I encouraged a record of their agreement to participate through consent forms and participant sheets.

The participant information sheets were a reminder, providing a brief explanation of the nature of the study and what being a participant in the study entailed. These were emailed to participants beforehand ensuring they fully understood what they were being asked to do. Hardcopies were also issued to participants without emails under compliance with COVID-19 rules and regulations before interviews took place. Consent forms were issued with an understanding that some participants wanted to be guaranteed confidentiality. For such respondents, the study preferred not to use their real names. Cohen et al (2007) echo this view by stating that when dealing with human participants, especially in interviews, a researcher is intruding in the respondents' private lives, thus high standards of ethical consideration need to be maintained. On the other hand, I realized that some interviewees were comfortable in using their real names, therefore these were followed in the study. Also, the collected data was saved up using a strong password to protect some of the respondents' identities and anyone that may want to access the participants' information.

2.9 Concluding remarks

Given the nature of the studied problem, the case study approach was efficient because it unpacked detailed information on the phenomenon of conflicting interests thus meeting the research's objectives. This was achievable through its flexibility of use with qualitative methods. However due to the COVID-19 pandemic that enforced strict regulations, I was tempted to use questionnaires hoping to elicit responses from the participants, however, I realized the method would limit me from receiving information sufficient for analysis. Strauss & Corbin (1998) concur with this point highlighting those statistics may be interesting however the most crucial process is learning more about human experiences. Elaborating on this point,

the scholars put across that researchers immerse themselves in the field exploring participants' inner experiences to transform meanings (Strauss & Corbin 1998).

Looking at the study questions, there was a need for deeper views to understand what certain realities the respondents had about the centre. These were used along with personal observations and documents which were easy to access on the internet. Despite this, challenges came into place. These were postponement of meetings, insufficient time and biases resulting from a long-established relationship with the art centre. For this reason, the research findings might have slightly been informed by my subjective views. However, it is advised by Creswell (2013) that data triangulation can address this concern hence the study employed interviews and documents for validation. These in my view could validate to a limited extent, therefore if I had to redo this study in future, I would select a site without any personal attachments to it. Despite my subjective views arising in the study, the history of Daveyton Rhoo Hlatshwayo Community Art Centre has provided insights on the community art centre's users and uses, therefore answering the study's research questions. In all essence, I was satisfied with the findings, although in future there is also an opportunity to expand the study by employing more than a single case study.

CHAPTER THREE: DEFINITION OF KEY CONCEPTS AND REVIEW OF EXISTING KNOWLEDGE ABOUT COMMUNITY ARTS CENTRES

3.1 Introduction

The study aimed for an analysis of stakeholder interests which through the guidance of the key concepts I was able to meet and answer the study's critical questions. This unfolded through the critical engagement of the stakeholder analysis model from Florea and Florea (2013)'s lens which unpacked stakeholders, their interests, their influences and how they can all be managed. The concept was seen to work efficiently with Tantalo and Priem (2006)'s concept of stakeholder synergy and Neville and Menguc (2006)'s concept of multiplicity especially since the findings in the case study have shown interests to be competing and stakeholders with unequal power, therefore these concepts have shown how stakeholders can work together and increase their influence and power within the organization.

In addition, concepts such as community by Poland and Mare (2005), community arts by Kelly (1984) and community art centres by Hagg (1991:2005) and Van Robbroek (1991:2004) have also raised critical arguments on what defines a stakeholder and interests, particularly in the new democratic South African township community art centres Additionally, the theory has shown that the different aspirations vary causing a conflict affecting the centre's functionality. However, through Hjern et al (1982) Arnstein (1969) and Sabatier (1980)'s concept of participation as well as Davidson's and Wood (2004)concept of conflict resolution, it is realized that some of these conflicts can be remedied particularly through negotiating power balances between stakeholders and creating a win for all stakeholders involved. Having provided this view, the chapter firstly looks into the model of stakeholder analysis, its relationship with the concept of synergy and multiplicity, discusses the theories around the community, community arts and relationships with their community art centres, participation approaches in township community art centres and ends with conflict resolution model.

3.2 Stakeholder Analysis Model Tool

What mainly rose from the case study is that different people have developed an interest in using township community art centres, however, some of these interests contradict or conflict with each other therefore the model becomes imperative in that it helps us first identify these interested people, find out their interests and ways on how the different interests can be managed in the township community art centre. Based on Freeman's (1984) perspective, the stakeholder theory includes anyone that is affected by the company and its everyday operations. Further, Florea and Florea (2013) highlight that stakeholders can be classified as either internal stakeholders which include shareholders, employees, managers and board of directors or external stakeholders who can influence company decisions, individuals, groups and companies outside the company (Florea & Florea 2013:131).

It is further expressed by the scholars that the stakeholders' interests vary which can be assessed by the stakeholder analysis model (Florea & Florea 2013). Based on these views, the first step of using the model introduces an understanding of the stakeholder which in the case of Daveyton Rhoo Hlatshwayo Community Art Centre is crucial to establish this understanding so that nobody is left out. To also avoid excluding anyone, it is understood that the interested parties or stakeholders' interests are different, and these can be identified from people within the township community art centre as well as outside the community. Realizing this, the case study has pointed out some of these users and interests which through the model, I will get to find out more about these stakeholders and their interests.

The model was coined by Freeman (1984) and popularized by Carroll (1989), Jepson et al (2009), Mitchell et al (1997), and Crosby (1991) developed as crucial in firms helping them how best they can communicate with each stakeholder group. The model is most popular in business analysis by corporate companies, conflict resolution, project management fields by profit-making, and non-profit making organizations and firms in industrial management and data systems (Mayers, 2005). Based on this, the model seems to be popular and successful in most organizations particularly in handling conflicts, therefore the model becomes suitable in analyzing the conflict of interests in township community art centres. An assumption discussed in this concept is that only key stakeholders need to be prioritized and scholars such as Stone

(1997) Lewis (1991), Cooper (1998), and Vickers and Vickers (1998) argue by stating that choices of making stakeholders key is political with ethical consequences and involves judgement. However, through the stakeholder analysis model, Mayers (2005) states that there is room for positive outcomes since the model helps with balancing stakeholders and their competing interests. To achieve this, different stakeholders and their interests are identified and plotted according to their influence and power and reflected through a stakeholder quadrant or matrix (Sharma, 2010)

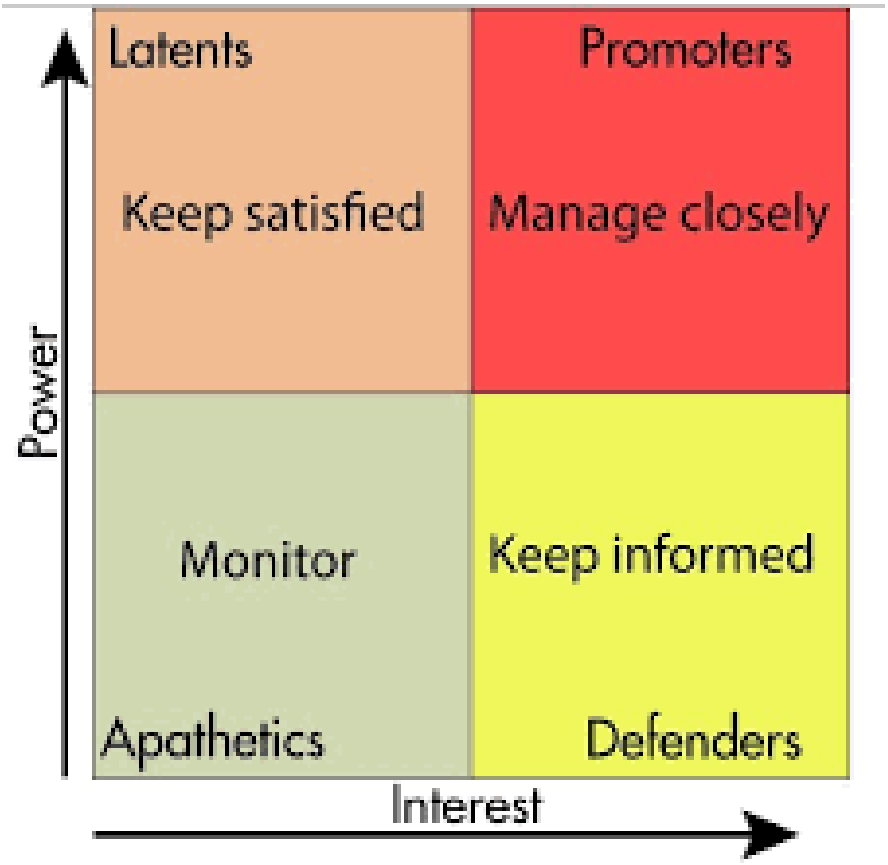

Fig. 1 Stakeholder analysis quadrant (Florea & Florea, 2013)

Florea and Florea (2013) refer promoters to stakeholders that have high influence or power and high interest in the organization which could either make the organization succeed or fail. The scholars (2013) express to pay attention to their needs and 'accede' to them where possible and need to be updated on alternative decisions made by the organization, if not their power may influence the organization to be unsuccessful. The latents on the other hand may not have an

interest in decisions but may have the power to influence it if they become interested (Florea & Florea 2013). The scholars further state that the latents are approached by companies or organizations, informing and keeping contact to offer them opportunities on their interest and if this succeeds, they become valuable like promoters, however, if they show any disinterest chances for them to interfere are slim, although if they display any disapproval companies or organizations are expected to 'neutralize rather than perpetuate any battle (Florea & Florea 2013). Furthermore, defenders' interests are high and can voice support in the community, despite that, they have little power to influence any decision making (Florea & Florea 2013).

They are kept informed although not worried about involving them too much like apathetics whose interests and influence are low, although they need to be 'sporadically 'informed by newsletters or similar devices due to their position in the community or membership in the company or organization (Florea & Florea 2013). Realizing that some stakeholders within the township community art centre are prioritized due to their influence and power, the model is suggested to help balance these powers, though this can be determined by firstly grouping stakeholders according to their interests and power and therefore identifying which stakeholders need close attention and which ones need the least. Stakeholders unsatisfied with their positioning can therefore be encouraged to join forces with other stakeholders to increase their power. Daveyton Rhoo Hlatshwayo Community Art Centre has revealed these dynamics; hence the model proves to be efficient in creating a balance of power dynamics and meeting various stakeholder interests.

3.3 Stakeholder Multiplicity Tool

Similarly, to the analysis model, the stakeholder multiplicity concept acknowledges that within organizations there are multiple stakeholders with various interests whose relationship with the organization becomes complex due to each stakeholder demanding individual attention from the organization. Instead of such competition of attention, the model proposes a way forward of how different interests of stakeholders can be managed. According to Neville and Menguc (2006), complex interactions are arising within the organization and its stakeholders due to several issues which amongst them includes competitive interests. These competing interests when not attended compel stakeholders to form alliances which may result in violence (Neville & Menguc 2006). Similar sentiments are echoed by Freeman (1999) stating that most stakeholder alliances are encountered in protests in which potential stakeholders are influenced

to withdraw their interests from engaging organizations. From the case study, it was revealed that stakeholders have also grouped themselves as seen with the forum to find a collective voice in which they have used to confront the centre manager addressing their grievances. However, this model finds ways of avoiding such confrontations which according to the scholars includes, fit as matching, fit as moderating and fit as gestalt (Neville & Menguc 2006). Fit as matching provides means to assess if stakeholder claims are competing or complementary, secondly fit as moderating helps identify the degree of competition or complementary between two or more stakeholders, additionally helping recognize the role of each stakeholder and the hierarchy of stakeholders 'interactive influence and last phase provides means to assess the extent of cooperativeness between two or more stakeholders (Neville & Menguc 2006).

An assumption is that due to hierarchies in the organization, managers are forced to prioritize individual beliefs, however, this model encourages relationships among stakeholders and interaction with one another which organizations can focus on (Wasserman & Galaskiewicz, 1994). The theory responds to the complex relationship of the centre manager and the township community art centre users whose interests are conflicting. The model analyzes conflict by firstly identifying stakeholders with competing interests, followed by those whose interests converge and finally finding ways for the stakeholders with converging interests can be brought together. Similarly, to the analysis model, hierarchies are identified in this model however they are not prioritized, rather the model promotes relationships between the powerful and the not so powerful stakeholders. Realizing that the three government tiers (local, provincial and national) hold a certain power in the township community art centre, it is realized that through this model such power is negotiated with the least influential stakeholders for the benefit of everyone.

3.4 Stakeholder Synergy tool

The case study has shown some of the challenges that have led to the conflict in the township community art centre. Instead of encouraging competition, this model advocates for township community art centre users to work together. To clarify this, Conscious Revolution (2020) notes, "The basic principle of stakeholder synergy is the idea that the effect produced by all stakeholders working together produces a more profound outcome than an individual effort" (Conscious Revolution, 2020). The concept of stakeholder synergy, coined, and popularized by Tantalo and Priem (2006) acknowledges that stakeholders in a firm have competing

desires which require top managers to balance. Therefore, it addresses ways in which value can be created for multiple stakeholders simultaneously without subtracting value from any other stakeholder. A perception is that each stakeholder plays a crucial part in the firm and therefore instead of perpetuating a culture of prioritizing other shareholders' interests above those of others, Tantalo and Priem (2006) framework of stakeholder synergy realizes a broader value creation for multiple stakeholders.

Concurring with Tantalo and Priem (2006)'s perspective, Conscious Revolution Article (2020) suggests that the productivity and prosperity of an entity may also derive from each stakeholder valued as a crucial part of the whole. According to research, the concept of stakeholder synergy is widely used in economics and management assisting managers to deal with competing goals and interests of stakeholders. Top managers are presented with opportunities to create new values for stakeholders; however, those are often ignored (Tantalo & Priem, 2006:315). Further, competing interests of stakeholders depend on top managers to balance while also building a good relationship with each stakeholder in the firm (Priem & Tantalo 2006). However, this may be challenging as it involves rotation of attention (and resources) fairly to every stakeholder (Tantalo & Priem, 2006:316). From the theory provided above, stakeholders of Daveyton Rhoo Hlatshwayo Community Art Centre are affected by the hierarchies, particularly the local government. Instead of completely taking away the power from the local government, the power of the least influential is increased. This model acknowledges everyone to be as equally as important in the township community art centre.

3.5 Community theories

From the literature, it is proven that the township community art centre is mainly used to benefit the community, yet what rises from most township community art centres is confusion about who community is referred to, that is different township community art centres have different communities, therefore through a critical discussion of theories on community, we get to understand the broader sense of individuals and single them out as users or stakeholders as the study intends to achieve. Research notes that the concept of community is predominantly used in the fields of anthropology, psychology, and sociology. According to Smith (1941), the term community was first coined by Galpin with the "…intention of uniting villagers and farmers from the surrounding area into a functional

social group" (Smith, 1941: 390). This demonstrates the concept of community arising to get people together which according to Somerville (2016) results from common attachments, construction, maintenance, and recognition of those attachments. On the other hand, Marschall (2002) raises community as a fluid concept, neither homogeneous nor a static body which its fluidity makes it problematic particularly when attempting to empower a community as there will be people who will always dissent, others who may not care and those who may be disadvantaged by the venture (Marschall 2002:17).

The arguments above relate to some of the perceptions around the community in the township community art centre, some users understand it from a narrow perspective such as singling out the township community art centre as used by the artists themselves. Others are inclusive by simply identifying everyone having a right to use the township community art centre. With these divergent views, people are pulling in different directions causing tension. According to Harrington (1997), the connotations to community are usually positive, however, this is not the case, instead, communities create insiders and outsiders, those who belong and those who do not (Harington, 1997:29). On the other hand, Simon (2016) shares a different lens of a community to that which belongs to a group of people with something in common, a bunch of people who are alike in some way and feel some sense of belonging or interpersonal connection. Concurring with Simon (2016)'s view, Poland and Mare (2005) share that a community exists due to familiar features identified with. As per Poland and Mare (2005)'s understanding, these include common location, common tiers, experiences, attitudes, culture or beliefs, social interactions, bonds, virtual communities, interdependence and access to common resources and institutions (Poland & Mare 2005).

Based on the above scholars' points of view, Daveyton Rhoo Hlatshwayo Community Art Centre portrays a perception of being inclusive, yet in practicality, it is exclusive. Be that as it may, the concept of community and its theories shares some light on looking at the concept beyond just the current users but by identifying other connections people have with DRHCAC. Subsequently, this concept is crucial in the study to understand these connections and simply single out stakeholders from the identified connections.

3.6 Community arts and community art centres in townships

The perception raised from the study is that the centre primarily values art forms. Similarly, to the concept of community, this concept has also raised confusion around what constitutes community arts and what does not. However, the various scholars in this concept shed some light particularly in understanding different interests of stakeholders in using the township community art centres. According to Van Robbroek (1991), there are no drawn conclusions to the definition of community arts due to the concept attached to 'community' which on its own is a complex terminology (Van Robbroek, 1991). However, Kelly (1984) highlights that community arts embrace a wide range of activities rather than a specific activity or group of activities. This indicates that community arts may not be limited to a single activity, instead, there are various forms of activities (Kelly, 1984). These include theatre, performance, music, dance, the visual arts, exhibitions, literary workshops, calligraphy, sewing classes, gymnastics, martial arts, community festivals, video and newsletter (Kelly, 1984: Hagg, 1991).

Normally, in community arts projects, an approach is on a collective basis, in which community artists and local people find a collective voice using art forms to communicate for social change, however, individual expression is also encouraged (Kelly 1984:13). Usually, Daveyton Rhoo Hlatshwayo Community Art Centre accommodates various art forms from individual artists, however the concept of community arts shares to value more collectiveness than individual expression using various forms and not just the available art form in the centre for social and economic change. DACST (1996) shares similar views by highlighting that community art centres should not be limited to a culture of song and dance, instead economic growth and job creation should be encouraged in township community art centres. The general perspective arising from this concept brings us to understand various interests of the stakeholders and further proposes collective expression as another way of managing various interests.

3.7 Participation in township community art centres

The Revised White Paper (RWP) on Arts, Culture and Heritage draft (2020) note that the ideology of CACs in townships was to promote participation and this from most scholarly views suggests multiple people and multiple activities. However, in the case study, participation is understood differently. This echoes Claridge (2014)'s view where the author points out that different people have given different meanings to participation hence there are even different pioneers of the concept of participation (Claridge, 2004). Arnstein (1969) defines participation as "redistribution of enabling the have-not citizens, presently excluded from the political and economic processes to be deliberately included in the future" (Arnstein 1969:216). This definition typifies the bottom-up approach developed and popularized by Hjern and Porter (1978) in which actors and their goals and activities within local service deliveries are identified as well as a network of other actors in the regional and national areas. (Cerna, 2013). Approaches normally used in this form include interactive and self-mobilization (Pretty, 1995).

An interactive approach is that people participate in joint analysis, developing an action, planning and forming or strengthening local institutions (Pretty, 1995). Self-mobilization involves people participating by taking initiatives independently of external institutions to change systems (Pretty, 1995). Realizing the above views, participation is encouraged to be viewed as enabling power to those that have long been denied. The different government tiers discussed in chapter one have shown a level of power they possess in the community art centres, therefore such power through a bottom-up approach is negotiated to the local community members. In doing so, the township community art centre will be able to identify its stakeholders and their networks to pull out more stakeholders. Different approaches such as interactive and self-mobilization are used to reflect bottom-up approaches and these per bottom-up theorists normally include active participation (Hjern et al., 1982: Arnstein, 1969). However, Pretty (1995) notes that approaches such as manipulation, passive, participation by consultation, participation for material incentives and functional participation are used, creating an impression that they are being inclusive while decisions have long been taken on their behalf (Pretty, 1995).

According to Pretty (1995), manipulative participation is a pretence in which people are on official boards but do not have power. Such lack of power is also expressed in passive participation in which the author states that people participate by being told what has been decided upon them or has already happened (Pretty, 1995). Participation by consultation involves people by consulting them or by asking them to answer questions, if not people are involved in participation for material incentives in which they participate through the contribution of resources, for instance, labour in return for food, cash or other material incentives and yet people have no stake in prolonging technologies or practices when the incentives end (Pretty, 1995). The author continues, stating that functional participation may be interactive and involve shared decision making which tends to rise only after major decisions have been made by external agents (Pretty, 1995). In this approach of participation, people participate by forming groups to meet predetermined objectives related to the project (Pretty, 1995).

These approaches typify the concept of the top-down approach popularized by Sabatier (1980) who argues for decision making manipulated at the central or top-level without considering local actors. Having engaged the above approaches as well as the conflicting interests of stakeholders at Daveyton Rhoo Hlatshwayo Community Art Centre, it is realized that the Daveyton Rhoo Hlatshwayo Community Art Centre has adopted either one of the top-down approaches. However, through the concept of participation, one can critically question the approaches and implications they have on the township community art centre.

3.8 Conflict Resolution Model

The conflict of stakeholder interests at Daveyton Rhoo Hlatshwayo Community Art Centre shows to result in various consequences especially when stakeholders are compelled to compromise, giving the other party a win while they remain with the loss. However, by employing the conflict resolution model, each stakeholder at the township community art centre gets to be satisfied without compromising any value from their side. This model also known as (CRM-A) is ‘framed in a view of arriving at a mutually satisfactory conclusion’(Davidson & Wood 2004:7) It is a model popularized by Davidson and Wood (2004) used in anthropology, psychology, computer and chemical engineering studies exploring underlying needs, interests, concerns and able to generate creative alternatives of multi-stakeholders. The model is however effective in its four main stages in which the first

stage involves developing expectations for a win-win situation, second stage defines the issue in terms of underlying concerns, needs, and interests, thirdly, brainstorming creative options, and lastly combining options into win-win solutions (Davidson & Wood, 2004). The main stages of the above-mentioned model are inclusive of features such as active listening, problem-solving and win-win, therefore countering older approaches in which one party benefits through compromise (Davidson & Wood, 2004) The conflict of different stakeholder interests at Daveyton Rhoo Hlatshwayo Community Art Centre can be remedied through satisfying different interests, to achieve this, the model of conflict resolution proposes we follow different stages which in the end a resolution is developed.

The broader intention of this model reflects that of the stakeholder analysis model, stakeholder synergy, stakeholder multiplicity, and participation however what makes this model stand out is that it challenges one's values, attitudes towards the other and offers parties a chance to evaluate their initial agreement later in the process. Additionally, the model encourages conflicting parties to acknowledge their disagreement by finding a solution that will benefit them and evaluate it over time. Realizing that Roodt (2006) has provided that some governments have adopted bylaws that contradict the interests of the national and provincial programs, most of the decisions made on the bylaws reflected the interests of the previous community, therefore this concept proposes for evaluation of such bylaws and decisions made before ensuring they still represent the interests of the democratic community in township community art centres.

3.9 Concluding remarks

In this chapter, the explored concepts attend to the studied phenomenon however in different contexts, that is, scholars within this chapter have provided the various concepts to have been efficient in dealing with conflict of interests in various contexts. Therefore, the concepts have also been adopted in analyzing the conflict of stakeholder interests residing in South African township community art centres. The possibility of the analysis relied on the theory of stakeholder analysis as well as community which highlighted a perspective of inclusion that is, including everyone affected by the organization. This, therefore, responds to the research question of stakeholder identification within the township community art centres.

However, the theories do not provide sufficient answers hence community arts, stakeholder multiplicity and synergy were used contributing not only stakeholder identification but an understanding that stakeholder conflicting and complementing interests can be identified and how stakeholder relationships can be formed to accommodate every stakeholder interest. The choice to engage the above-mentioned concepts challenge the narrative of stakeholder theory in which those that hold power are prioritized, instead, the concepts use a strategy of alliances between stakeholders enabling each stakeholder interest to be accommodated. The balancing of various stakeholder interests reflects Davidson and Wood's (2004) approach to conflict resolution in which the broader idea is in creating a win-win solution for everyone hence the study has also adopted this concept with the understanding that all stakeholders matter.

Additionally, the concepts described above may have been sufficient to respond to the study objectives, however, the study considered participation especially using the bottom-up approach as another possible remedy to the studied problem. As stated earlier, the concept of hierarchy is a challenge and participation in this regard is perceived as a tool to dismantle the hierarchy issue and enable power to be shared amongst the stakeholders. Therefore, adopting this approach provides a deeper insight into stakeholders, their needs, how the different needs can be managed, taking part in decision making and influencing policies to represent their interests as a broader community.

CHAPTER FOUR: COMMUNITY ARTS CENTRES STAKEHOLDERS: INTERESTS, RAMIFICATIONS & WAY FORWARD

4.1 Introduction

The phenomenon of conflict of stakeholder interests in using township community art centres was explored through a case study. As discussed in the previous chapter, the study utilized interviews, interviewing the centre manager that has worked in the administration of the township community art centre for more than a decade, an artist and chairperson of Daveyton Arts Forum Nsizwa Mahlangu who has been with the forum for a few years, community artists such as Mduduzi Mdlalose, Linda Mhlongo and Michael Maqungo who have used the township community art centre for more than a decade and community members such as Mzakhe Jiyane, the Anonymous and Steven Thekiso who have also expressed to have witnessed programs at the township community art centre since inception. Parents residing around the community art centre have also come forward in the interviews declaring their relationship with the township community art centre.

Also, I interviewed Mr Sibusiso Mtshali, the provincial official of the department of sports, arts and culture. According to Mr Mtshali(2020), the provincial office of the department of sports, arts and culture has implemented several programs at the Daveyton Rhoo Hlatshwayo Community Art Centre. Furthermore, the study has been shown to have utilized documents, these include White Paper Draft (1996), Revised White Paper (2020), Community Art Centre Audit Reports (2002:2013), Ekurhuleni Municipality by-laws of arts, culture and heritage facilities (2007:2021) and Department of Arts and Culture Conferences (2007). Thirdly, observations used in this study drawback from 2010 and this in the study is referred to as retrospective ethnographic observations. According to Murto et al (2020), this method can "reveal different and greater detail and new patterns of real-time socio-technical phenomena that tend to remain invisible in interview studies" (Murto et al 2020:408). Therefore, in the study, this method unearths some of the details and issues that may be hidden and not emerging from interviews and documents. Lastly, in presenting the study findings, this section will start by providing information around stakeholders, their interests and influence.

Also, it will look at the ramifications of conflicting interests and ends the section by pulling suggestions about a way forward as recommended by sources.

4.2 Findings from Multiple Sources

4.2.1 Daveyton Rhoo Hlatshwayo Community Art Centre Stakeholders and their interests

Most of the interview respondents identified artists as one of the primary users of Daveyton Rhoo Hlatshwayo Community Art Centre. This view was constantly emphasized throughout the interview by the Centre Manager (2020) pointing out that DRHCAC prioritizes artists for rehearsals and performances. A similar view also came out from Hagg and Selepe (2002) audit report on community art centres, identifying that artists and students have become direct beneficiaries in community art centres (Hagg & Selepe, 2002). Also, when reading the Revised White Paper (2020), artists surface from the document, although identified as 'community art professionals 'using the community art centre to develop skills and ideas through active participation (Revised White Paper, 2020). My observations also agree with the above because when visiting Daveyton Rhoo Hlatshwayo Community Art Centre, I have witnessed artists or community art professionals rehearsing drama plays, dancing, singing, drawing and painting. However, I realized that the artists work together with students.

Interviews have also confirmed this observation, especially Maqungo (2021) who emphasized that most groups in DRHCAC work with students. Based on the above various sources, it is clear that artists and students use DRHCAC and their interests lie in artistic or cultural deliverance. Also, it was mentioned by most respondents in the interview that the DRHCAC is used for other purposes. Mdlalose (2020) highlighted this view by stating that the office of the Youth Development Centre situated in the premises of DRHCAC is not limited to providing artistic opportunities, but it also provides social service programs, skills development, fundraising for the township community art centres as well as outsourcing job opportunities for members of the community. This view was also strongly identified by Jiyane (2021), a community member and a political party member, emphasizing, "people need to understand that an art centre is a community place, and it is used by the community, that is why it is a community art centre" (Jiyane 2021). On the other hand, some interview respondents pointed out that Daveyton Rhoo Hlatshwayo Community Art Centre is only for

artists. This point was mainly argued by the Centre Manager (2020), who in her interview kept emphasizing that Daveyton Rhoo Hlatshwayo Community Art Centre is meant for arts and culture activities by artists (Centre Manager 2020).Even so, when engaging documents such as the Revised White Paper (2020), it stipulates that activities and programs within CACs may not be limited to arts activities, however, members of the community are encouraged to participate in programs in CACs. My observations correspond with the documents and some of the interview respondents' views because when passing by DRHCAC, I noticed people coming in and out of the community art centre with documents. Also, I have seen members of the community belonging to political parties in a meeting at DRHCAC. Additionally, I have seen parents waiting at the gate and asking questions about activities happening in the township community art centre. Interview respondents have also shared similar views especially a parent whom in the interview raised,

> I always pass by this place and see people dance; others say they act but no one tells us anything. Even on Facebook...people are not saying anything about it. The only people that know what is happening are parents of the children dancing in the centre, what about us. ...We are also parents in this community, but we do not know what is happening in this hall. We have children running in the streets, yet we have the community art centre that can help them with homework ... (Anonymous, 2021)

Supporting the interests of a parent above, Thekiso (2021) a former member of the CPF in the interview mentioned, “In the CPF, we had patrollers who loved the arts and wanted to come to Rhoo art centre but due to the centre closing off early, they could not, let alone coming earlier because some of them are parents while others are working during the day” (Thekiso, 2021). Cultural policy and government legislations do not highlight parents as possible stakeholders with an interest in community art centres, however, (Hagg and Selepe (2002) note the possible involvement of children in programs happening in township community art centres to help them address their problems. Based on the above findings, community members are interested in using Daveyton Rhoo Hlatshwayo Community Art Centre, most importantly, community members range from the youth, the old, parents, patrollers, and children with social, economic and educational interests in Daveyton Rhoo Hlatshwayo Community Art Centre. Furthermore, the majority of interview respondents expressed the

centre to be used by members of other structural organizations. To support this, Mahlangu (2021) mentioned that the centre is used by members of the Daveyton Arts Forum to create events and workshops to benefit artists. Further, he provided his role in the centre not only within the forum but also representing Daveyton in Ekurhuleni Arts and Culture Recreation forum (Mahlangu, 2021). Additionally, Mdlalose (2020) mentioned another structure working within the township CAC as Rhoo Hlatshwayo Art Centre (RHAC) providing that it works together with the Daveyton Art Forum in creating job opportunities for artists. More respondents further added, particularly Thekiso (2021) a former member of Community Policing Forum (CPF) stating“ The structures at Rhoo Community Art Centre have organized events such as youth day, awareness campaigns of human rights to workshop community members and artists about their rights``(Thekiso, 2021).

Documents also note the presence of community structures in township community art centres particularly the DAC (2007) and Hagg and Selepe (2002) reporting that forums and community organizations are present structures in township community art centres. My observations correspond with the information above especially with interviewees because I have participated in events at the DRHCAC organized by the Daveyton Arts Forum and witnessed the Forum take an initiative to represent Daveyton artists in addressing the artists' grievances to the centre manager and the local government officials. From these observations, organizational structures such as the Daveyton Arts Forum emerge as stakeholders in DRHCAC, whose interests are artistic and political. Moreover, through interviews, it was revealed that the centre manager also uses the township community art centre. The Centre Manager (2020) affirmed this point by highlighting that her responsibility at Daveyton Rhoo Hlatshwayo Community Art Centre is representing the municipality by collecting revenue. Be that as it may, the centre manager (2020) pointed out that she has an artistic background and therefore her priority in DRHCAC lies in giving artists opportunities to create artistic work(Centre Manager,2020). Similarly, reports such as Hagg and Selepe (2002) and CAT and Associates (2013) demonstrate that township CAC centre managers are employees of local government whose responsibilities vary from managing ongoing projects, marketing, community participation to liaising with funders and stakeholders, however, these may create tension especially when the centre manager has a different background (Hagg & Selepe, 2002: CAT & Associates, 2013). My observations affirm these views because I have seen some artists without money booking the township community art centre for rehearsals and offering rehearsal rooms to create artistic work. It is therefore demonstrated by the above

findings that the centre manager is also a stakeholder within the township community art centre whose interest is in the administration and offering artistic opportunities to artists. Cultural policy documents and government legislations also demonstrated that the different government tiers have roles in the township community art centre. The Revised White Paper (2020) stipulates this by stating, “Each government tier has different competencies concerning community arts at the community level” (Revised White Paper, 2020:40). According to most documents, especially the white paper documents and audit reports on township community art centres, it is first emphasized by the documents that the national government has the responsibility of ensuring that the policy is implemented, the different departments realize their mandates, provide financial support as well as conducting monitoring and evaluation (Hagg & Selepe, 2002: CAT & Associates, 2013: Revised White Paper, 2020). However, these did not surface from the interviews as well as my observations with Daveyton Rhoo Hlatshwayo Community Art Centre. Instead, interview respondents such as the centre manager (2020) confirmed the local and provincial governments as the only government tiers that have shown interest in using Daveyton Rhoo Hlatshwayo Community Art Centre. In my years of engaging Daveyton Rhoo Hlatshwayo Community Art Centre, I do not call upon seeing the national government officials in the township community art centre. Instead, the provincial and the local government officials have shown more presence and action at Daveyton Rhoo Hlatshwayo Community Art Centre. Based on this, documents identify the national government as a stakeholder in township community art centres, however, interviews and my observations do not agree with this which could indicate that the national government has different interests which are yet still unknown in DRHCAC. Taking the Revised White Paper (2020) document to be precise, the provincial government’s responsibility is located in coordination and resourcing programs for community art centres responding to community needs (Revised White Paper 2020). This corresponds with findings from Mtshali (2020), the government official of arts and culture in the provincial office. According to Mtshali (2020), the provincial government of the department of sports, arts and culture uses DRHCAC to implement programs through the permission of the Ekurhuleni municipality (Mtshali, 2020). The views above tally with my experience because, each time when there is an artistic event at Daveyton Rhoo Hlatshwayo Community Art Centre, the provincial arts and culture and Ekurhuleni banners are displayed inside and outside the gate of the township community art centre. Based on the information above, it is clearly shown that the provincial government is a stakeholder at Daveyton Rhoo Hlatshwayo Community Art Centre whose interest is in implementing artistic programs. As

provided above, the Ekurhuleni municipality also emerges as a stakeholder with an interest in using Daveyton Rhoo Hlatshwayo Community Art Centre. Many of the documents consulted validate this view specifically the Revised White Paper (2020) which emphasizes the local government as responsible for "coordinating, maintaining infrastructure and ensuring that community arts, culture centres and programs are integrated into an overall plan of service delivery at the local level and in the planning processes that shape this delivery" (Revised White Paper 2020:41). This correlates with interviews, particularly from the centre manager (2020), who constantly mentioned that the Ekurhuleni municipality is responsible for the Daveyton Rhoo Hlatshwayo Community Art Centre's by-laws as well as maintaining and leasing the building (Centre Manager, 2020). My observations concur with these findings because I have seen the municipality involved in issues related to the township community art centre. These range from creating programs, renovations at the township community art centre and booking fees made directly to Ekurhuleni municipality offices. Therefore, this information demonstrates Ekurhuleni Municipality as a stakeholder with cultural and economic interests at Daveyton Rhoo Hlatshwayo Community Art Centre.

4.2.2 Ramifications of the different interests and to what extent do they impact the effective running of the township community art centres?

Earlier, the findings revealed that amongst others, the Ekurhuleni Municipality's interest lies in economic purposes, which is in collecting revenue. To support this view, during the interview the centre manager (2020) highlighted, "As an employee of municipality I need to make sure money comes in, but the problem is that artists also need space to make money but since they cannot afford it, they go and use other spaces like backyards. It is unfortunate for them because they miss on opportunities to perform nationally" (Centre Manager 2020). However, when consulting documents particularly the community art centre audit report (2002) and (2013), the challenge of artists not affording the rental fees in township community art centres and its implications does not emerge. Instead, the reports show that township community art centres are rented out to the users for an affordable fee (Hagg & Selepe, 2002: CAT & Associates, 2013). However, my observations at the Daveyton Rhoo Hlatswayo Community Art Centre correspond with the centre manager, because every time I passed by the township community art centre, I always noticed the same, few individuals but when making my way home, I see more art groups rehearsing in their yards, churches and people holding meetings at the parks. Based on these findings, it is evident that the economic interests

of the local municipality and non-economic, cultural and social development interests of the users has resulted in most users securing alternative spaces which sadly affects them due to missing out on opportunities provided when using DRHCAC.

In addition, most interviewees revealed the above consequence to also result from unclear government roles. Mdlalose (2020) expressed this during the interview stating, “The reason we (artists) also struggle is due to no clarity on direct funding for programs. When you go to Ekurhuleni, they send you to the provincial office and then lottery and eventually you give up on them and the projects ” (Mdlalose 2020). Community art centre audit reports (2002) and (2013) also identify the same problem, highlighting that the implementation of culture in township community art centres is affected by a lack of clarity on each government role (Hagg & Selepe, 2002: CAT & Associates, 2013). Similar to the challenges above, I have witnessed community art groups and individuals sent from pillar to post, with no clarity of who the relevant government stakeholder is responsible for financial support and therefore, community art projects came to a halt. Based on the above, artists have shown to have economic interests, however, this is challenged due to not knowing which government tier provides financial support. As a result, artists' programs and the functionality of a township community art centre is affected.

Again, the lack of unclear roles and interests of leadership in the township community art centre also emerged from the interviews. The Centre Manager demonstrated this by saying “The current existing forum is not formalized...there’s too many of them with different agendas in using the art centre. Currently, I don't even know who I am dealing with.” (Centre Manager, 2020). The DAC report (2007) on community art centres also identifies the same challenge, pointing out that there is a lack of proper leadership structures in community art centres making it difficult to implement effective programs (DAC, 2007). My observations concur with the findings above because I have seen members of the Daveyton Arts Forum leave and come back, making it difficult to know who the exact leaders are, as a result, information is easily not made available. Based on the above findings, it is realized that the leadership, within the township community art centres, the Daveyton Arts Forum in this case consists of individuals with their political interests that contradict the interests of the Centre Manager, therefore information is not easily made available for them affecting the implementation of programs that could be benefitting the artists and the community.

Besides the unclear roles and conflicting interests of governance and leadership in the township community art centre, it came out from most interviews that the community art groups using DRHCAC are divided thus affecting the distribution of funds to artists using Daveyton Rhoo Hlatswayo Community Art Centre. In light of this view, the centre manager (2020) mentioned, “Artists fail to work together which also becomes difficult on my side with the funds on who to give and not to give …because it is a competition …” (Centre Manager, 2020). Maqungo (2021) also affirmed this by saying, "There are other visual artists like me at the centre. Some of them are seniors who always get opportunities for big platforms like Springs Art Gallery. But we never get them. It is always the same people and besides, we don't want to work together (Maqungo 2020). When reading the DAC report (2007), similar sentiments come up stating that there is unhealthy competition amongst artists in community art centres. My observations also complement the findings above because I had noticed that community art groups are creating the same form of art and competing for opportunities in the township community art centres. Based on this, it is realized that within the community artists using the Daveyton Rhoo Hlatshwayo Community Art Centre, there are various interests. Some artists have artistic interests while others value economic interests, creating competition amongst themselves, therefore, affecting how opportunities and funds are distributed.

In addition to the above, most respondents in the interviews identified insufficient funding allocated in township community art centres as a constraint, affecting programming in the township community art centre. The centre manager (2020) verifies this by stating, "Artists have expectations, demand more money which we don't have. As a centre manager, I have to program for all four east corridors which is not possible and therefore I have to cut some programs…” (Centre Manager, 2020). When consulting documents, such information does not come up, instead, my observations with the township community art centre affirm what came out from the interviews because I have seen how limited programs are at the township community art centre and in most of those programs, artists performed for free. Based on the information above, artists and the centre manager value economic interests, however, the limited budget allocated to the township community art centre causes tension and the functionality of the township community art centre.

Further, most interviewees continued to reveal that the times (9 am- 4 pm) and days (Monday to Friday)set by the Ekurhuleni Municipality in using DRHCAC contradicts the interests of the artists thus affecting the township community art centre from being used effectively. This was

emphasized by the centre manager (2020) in the interview saying, “The government does not understand, and I am caught between because I understand. Still, their bylaws don’t go hand in hand with what is on the ground” (Centre Manager, 2020). Mhlongo (2021) further added, “The issue of time for using the centre is a challenge because most of the students are at school and by the time they come back we need to leave. On Saturdays, you cannot do programs that are effective, which is the reason why I left the centre" (Mhlongo, 2021). When reading the documents, the views above are not mentioned, instead, there is a correlation of the interviews with my encounter with the township community art centre because I have noticed the gates locked on weekdays especially after 4 pm and on weekends. However, on some weekends I noticed that the centre is operating. According to most respondents of the interviews such occurs on special events. Mdlalose (2020) also identifies with this by saying, “It is sad because when you pass here on weekends there are events but when you want to use it you cannot access it ...it actually depends on who you are " (Mdlalose, 2020). The findings indicate that the centre manager and the local government prioritize their administration interest over the artistic interests of the artists, at the same time their administration interests may also shift depending on who the stakeholder is, thus affecting the functionality of the township community art centre.

Conflict around ownership of space due to diverse interests also emerged from respondents thus preventing the township community art centre from functioning optimally. Maqungo (2021) in his interview pointed out, “We are expected to take our print-works home...travelling with artworks home is not safe, you might get mugged on your way home...instead of their many rooms where we can save these artworks but they are all locked, so it is better to just work from home but the problem is people only take you seriously when work from the centre” (Maqungo, 2021). Other interview respondents disagreed with Maqungo (2021), pointing out “The major problem is on arts practitioners...they do not understand that this is a community centre for everyone, not an industry expecting favours” (Jiyane, 2021). Agreeing with Jiyane, the centre manager (2020) raises, “The space is meant to develop, and people move but people want to own this place. For example, some artists keep their props and artworks in the rooms ...what about other users?” (Centre Manager, 2020). When reading through the documents, neither of these conflicts around ownership come up, instead, the community art centre audit report (2013) reflects the local government as the responsible owner of the governmentally managed community art centres. Based on these views, artists with artistic interests feel a need to use the township community art centre for more than just creating artistic work. However,

this contradicts with other stakeholder interests, therefore, artists resort to using other alternative spaces due to being prevented from using the township community art centre to its full potential.

4.2.3 Managing interests of stakeholders in Daveyton Rhoo Hlatshwayo CAC

According to the information collected from various sources, there are possible strategies to remedy the phenomenon of conflict of stakeholder interests. Firstly, most interview respondents have raised collaborations and partnerships as a way forward in using the Daveyton Rhoo Hlatshwayo Community Art Centre. Maqungo (2021) emphasized, "Artists are not together, look at artists at Moses Molelekwa Art Centre, those guys are together. We can also do the same. If we meet as artists and work together, we can recommend each other to other people that will be interested in what we do (Maqungo 2021). A former member of the Community Policing Forum also added,

> There was an event at Nigel where every police station was tasked to come up with activities resembling the new South Africa, more like Sophiatown...it was a struggle for them but if theatre practitioners had an input it would have been something else but maybe in future we can look at that possibility especially when they have an interest in the arts, one way or the other they would want to get involved (Thekiso, 2021).

This tallies with Hagg and Selepe(2002)'s report in which the findings identify joint projects as the best way of establishing collaborations in which both parties benefit by sharing resources and providing mutual support (Hagg & Selepe, 2002). Also, from what I have observed, artists using DRHCAC have different experiences, some have long been in the industry while some are quite new, and I have seen the old and the new artists work in a project together in which skills were shared. Based on the above findings, it is realized that collaborations and partnerships can be explored in meeting different stakeholder interests at DRHCAC

Additionally, from the interviews, it was responded that more programs can be implemented at DRHCAC.This was raised by Mhlongo (2021) an artist who in the interview emphasized "We need more constant programs to keep the art centre and the artists alive" (Mhlongo, 2021). This

was further highlighted by Jiyane (2021) a community member stating “It is a community centre for the community...we can have more showcases for the programs (Jiyane, 2021). Parents have also raised similar views, especially Anonymous (2021) who added, “The people I usually see here are older people, but there are no children ...the hall can create programs for these children who are between the ages of 7 to 8” (Anonymous, 2021). In line with this, I picked up from the white paper of art and culture (1976) proposing that township community art centres can be developed into multi-functional or multidisciplinary centres through pilot projects creating opportunities and generating income for local community members and artists (White Paper on arts and culture,1976). My observations concur with interviews because I have realized that DRHCAC is mainly used by the youth, but few programs have engaged children who most of the time I see staring and waiting at the gate of the township community art centre. The observations above clearly suggest that there are more people interested in the township community art centre, therefore more diverse programs can be implemented at DRHCAC.

Thirdly, the interviews pointed out a need for artists and community inclusivity in matters and programs related to the DRHCAC. Jiyane (2021) highlighted this, stating “Some officials think they can run the centre for their private interests. For example, shows happen at the centre without the awareness of the community” (Jiyane 2021). Parents have also expressed the same concern in the interview, Anonymous (2021) sharing, “That building needs to engage the community more. They need to promote it so that people know what it does and what activities are happening there. They need to talk to us more because people in this community still do not know what is happening in that building” (Anonymous, 2021). Concurring with this point, most artists especially Mr Mhlongo (2021) who said, “As artists, we need to be included in the meetings related to the art centres to influence the by-laws' ' (Mhlongo, 2021). The views above correspond with the audit report (2013) on community art centres identifying that there is a lack of community participation within CACs, as a result of this, the audit report (2013) encouraged more active community participation in the governance of community art centres which provides community art centres with the ability to attract and manage new sources of external or self-generated revenue or funding in support of both their operations and programming (Audit as cited in Revised White Paper 2018: 39).

In my experience with DRHCAC, I have seen government officials host meetings regarding impending events at the township community art centre, however, the artists, the Daveyton Arts Forum as well other community structures were not invited to participate in such meetings. Even so, I have witnessed an occasion where artists, the forum, members of the community and the

centre manager organized an event in which everyone took part to become a success. It is therefore suggested by the above findings that the possibility of involving community and artists in meetings and programs can influence how the township community art centre can be effectively used.

Most interview respondents have raised that the phenomenon of conflict of interests in using DRHCAC can be explored through government easing restrictions on the use of the township community art centre. Thekiso (2021) highlights this view by stating, “As a veteran in the field, I would like to see artists free from using Rhoo Community Art Centre as much as they want but that will happen if the municipality revisits its bylaws…some people are working and cannot use the centre on weekends" (Thekiso, 2021). More respondents further added on this view especially Mdlalose (2020) in his interview stating, “I'm extremely unhappy...the municipality needs to open up the centre on holidays and weekends because that is when most people are available to attend shows and artists can generate more income” (Mdlalose, 2020). Documents, on the other hand, do not mention this view, instead, the information that surfaced from the interviews corresponds with my observations in which I have seen that most people request to use the centre on weekends and holidays more than weekdays. Based on this, it is realized that with the revision of the municipal bylaws, more diverse interests can be accommodated.

From the interviews, it was mentioned that DRHCAC needs sufficient funding to implement programs that can benefit most of its users. The centre manager (2020) emphasized this point in the interview, stating that the budget she receives does not equally meet the programs of the four corridors she is responsible for (Centre Manager, 2020). Further, she highlighted that every time she receives funding, she is forced to cut down costs yet with more budget, the township community art centre can implement programs that can accommodate the four corridors, namely Kwa-Thema, Duduza, Tsakane and Daveyton (Centre Manager, 2020). When reading Hagg and Selepe (2002), it is mentioned that the community art centres are working with an inadequate budget expected to meet the centres' operational and programming costs, resulting in projects being scaled down (Hagg & Selepe, 2002). As a result of this, the scholars suggest that the department of arts and culture needs to negotiate with provinces to allocate more funding to community art centres. My observations agree with these findings in which I noticed that during competitions with money prizes, more people participate in such programs. Also, I noticed that on such days when the township community art centre is flocked with people, the township CAC closes late. However, on its normal operating days without events, only a few people use the

township CAC. Based on the mentioned findings, with more budgets allocated to Daveyton Rhoo Hlatshwayo Community Art Centre, centre managers can implement more programs to accommodate more user interests.

In the interviews, it was emphasized that the DRHCAC needs an art centre manager that has a deep understanding and knowledge of the arts to enable effective use of the township community art centre. Mahlangu (2021) in his interview mentioned, “Government employs people with no understanding of the arts but now to be more progressive at Rhoo Hlatshwayo, we need an art centre manager that understands art... what art is” (Mahlangu 2021). The documents, particularly the audit report (2002), also mentions that there are no art people within the local government thus encouraging that centre managers need to have passion, dedication, discipline and orderliness (Hagg & Selepe, 2002). My observations concur with what came out from the interviews and documents precisely on the desire for community art centres to have local officials that understand the arts. In a meeting called by the members of the National Arts Forum to meet Daveyton artists, I noticed that most of the artists had a problem with the centre manager and other government officials of Ekurhuleni. Also, I noticed that when the chairperson of the National Art Forum mentioned that the Ekurhuleni community art centres need people that understand the arts and their value in a community, a lot of artists agreed with this view. It is therefore suggested by the perspectives above that a township community art centre can easily manage different stakeholder needs through an art centre manager that has an understanding and passion for the arts as well as their value in the community.

4.3 Concluding remarks

The findings above have indicated that Daveyton Rhoo Hlatshwayo Community Art Centre is used by multiple users such as artists, students, unemployed youth, community organizations, the forum, community members, parents, centre manager, Ekurhuleni Municipality and the provincial government of sports, arts and culture whose interests all vary from social, economic, administrative, cultural, political and artistic. Even though community members have been identified as users of the DRHCAC, there is still no clarity of whom the referred community is within the township community art centre.

Additionally, the findings also revealed that people are pulling in different directions due to different interests and the major consequence as outlined in the study is that DRHCAC does not function to its optimal use. As a way of moving forward, people are suggesting collaborations, community participation from the bottom-up approach, allocation of enough funding, implementation of more programs, easing restrictions on the municipality bylaws and competent management but the major proposition made by most people is community participation.

CHAPTER FIVE: CRITICAL DISCUSSION OF CONFLICTING STAKEHOLDER INTERESTS AND POSSIBLE SOLUTIONS

5.1 Introduction

The critical analysis of findings in the previous chapter was achieved through Florea and Florea (2013)'s concept of stakeholder analysis management, Hjern et al (1982), Arnstein (1969)'s and Sabatier (1970)'s theory of participation as well as Poland and Mare (2005)'s concept of community. Existing knowledge on CACs by Hagg (2005) and Van Robbroek (1991), as well as Kelly (1984)'s theory of community arts also helped me to build my argument about different stakeholders pulling in different directions due to conflicting interests. Having provided the above, the outline of this chapter discusses this analysis starting with a stakeholder analysis model accompanied by stakeholder multiplicity, synergy and conflict resolution model, followed by community theories, community arts and community centres and ends with community participation.

5.2 Application of Stakeholder Analysis Model in Understanding CACs Stakeholders

Based on the different sources I have consulted; it has been shown that the Daveyton Rhoo Hlatshwayo Community Art Centre is used by multiple stakeholders with multiple interests. The multiplicity of stakeholders and interests is reflected in the stakeholder analysis model. According to Florea and Florea (2013, stakeholders in this model are identified and classified as defenders, promoters, latents and apathetics. From the findings, the identified stakeholders feature in these classifications. Furthermore, Florea and Florea (2013) highlight that the different classifications indicate different stakeholder power, influence and interests normally shown in the stakeholder quadrant. Mitchel et al (1997) concur with this view, providing that the different stakeholders are reflected through a stakeholder salience which is a different terminology, but the same concept used by Florea and Florea (2013) used to classify different stakeholders based on their power/influence and interest. Parsons (1963) identifies power deriving from positive and negative quotations whereas influence denotes a way of having an effect on others (Parsons, 1963). Interest or urgency per Mitchel et al (997)'s views is defined as a claim calling for attention depending on its criticality and sensitivity (Mitchel et al., 1997). Having shared this,

the findings and theories have shown that artists are primary users of Daveyton Rhoo Hlatshwayo Community Art Centre in which their interest has also been identified to be high. On the other hand, it emerged that artists have low power in influencing any decisions in the township community art centre, as a result of the high interest and low influence/power they have, they are referred to as defenders in the township community art centre. Also, findings have shown community members (including members of the political party) as highly interested people in the township community art centre who struggle to get the attention of the government officials. Van Robbroek (1991)'s concept of community art centres and Kelly's (1984) theory of community arts identifies members of the community as equally important as artists in community art centres. It is therefore realized from these perspectives that community members take the same position of defenders as artists. However, the unemployed youth, patrollers and students have been indicated with no interest in decision making but with an interest in using Daveyton Rhoo Hlatshwayo Community Art Centre. Therefore, they are identified as latent stakeholders within the township community centre.

The Daveyton Arts Forum has been revealed by findings to have high interests and limited power in influencing decisions at Daveyton Rhoo Hlatshwayo Community Art Centre. Similarly, to artists and members of the community, they become defenders of the township community art centre. Further, the stakeholder theory introduces apathetics as stakeholders with low interests but want to be informed about the organization and its activities (Florea & Florea, 2013). In the findings, these are identified to be parents who expressed an interest in being informed about activities happening at Daveyton Rhoo Hlatshwayo Community Art Centre.

Further, the Ekurhuleni Municipality was identified to be the most influential and powerful stakeholder. This high influence is also reflected in section 156(1) (a) of the Constitution of South Africa that the municipality has the most authority in local structures (National Legislative Bodies, 1996). As a result of such high power and influence, the local government is referred to as the promoter within the stakeholder quadrant. Additionally, the findings demonstrated the provincial government to have high power and interest in the township community art centre, therefore, similar to the local municipality, the provincial government becomes the promoter in the stakeholder analysis model. Both the local and provincial governments are classified within the analysis model, an expectation would be to do the same with the national government but based on the findings ,the national government's role at Daveyton Rhoo Hlatshwayo Community Art Centre is undefined, thus making it difficult to analyze its positionality concerning the

township community art centre. Roodt (2006) and Tapscott (2000) theories of intergovernmental relations correlates with this, identifying that the lack of governments' roles and intentions affects the implementation of policies and programs(Roodt 2006: Tapscott 2000). The failure to implement programs came out from the study findings, particularly from artists who were revealed to be victims of opportunity losses due to not knowing which relevant government sphere to approach for financial assistance.

According to Roodt (2006), the constitution and policies show the intentions of government structures as distinctive, however, the bylaws and regulations adopted do not correlate with the initial policies (Roodt 2006). In clarification of this, Roodt (2006), CAT and Associates (2012) as well as the Revised White Paper (2020) note amongst others that the primary role of the national government is to ensure that policies are implemented appropriately. However, Hagg and Selepe (2002) declare the national government to have neglected policies related to community art centres in the hands of other national and provincial departments responsible for service delivery (Hagg & Selepe 2002). Based on this, an assumption could be made that the national government's interests at Daveyton Rhoo Hlatshwayo Community Art Centre are reflected along with either local or provincial government.

Be that as it may, Konstant and Moshikaro (2016) disagree with this idea, stating that it leads to loss of accountability (Konstant & Moshikaro, 2016). On the other side, Roodt (2006) acknowledges that governments interlink, however, he emphasizes that each government tier is unique. Based on this view, the national government has its unique roles which in this particular case study are still unclear. It may therefore be assumed that with such lack of clarity, the national government's interest is minimal, and their influence is high, therefore the national government may be classified as latent in the stakeholder analysis model. In terms of a way forward, the theoretical perspective of this model suggests that different stakeholders can be managed. Florea and Florea (2013) note the stakeholder management theory as deciding whom to spend most of the energy on based on their power and influence (Florea & Florea, 2013). Since the discussion identified stakeholders as promoters, these stakeholders need to be managed very closely; paying attention to their opinions, addressing their needs without any compromise and are recommended to be made important members of the team (Florea & Florea,2013). Latents can be managed by keeping them satisfied through informing them, keeping in contact with them and offering them opportunities to increase their interests (Florea & Florea, 2013).Apathetics may need to be monitored either through newsletters, or any other devices,

requiring little management whereas defenders need to be kept informed and not involved too much (Florea & Florea,2013).

Another way of managing stakeholders, the model proposes stakeholders build relationships with each other to increase different stakeholder power. According to Mitchel et al (1997), "A gets another social actor to do something which B would not otherwise have done "(Mitchel et al, 1997:55). This approach is similarly echoed in stakeholder synergy and multiplicity. The perspective placed by the concepts is encouraging stakeholders with the same interests to work together (Neville & Menguc, 2006: Tantalo & Priem, 2006: Florea and Florea, 2013, Mitchel et al., 1997). Since artists, community members, students and the Daveyton Arts Forum share similar interests, they can work together to increase their power and influence in the Daveyton Rhoo Hlatshwayo Community Art Centre. Alternatively, the stakeholder analysis model encourages stakeholders with low power to work together with stakeholders that have high influence and power (Mitchel et al, 1997). Seeing that the findings have established the Ekurhuleni Municipality as the stakeholder with the most power and influence, artists, community members students, community organizations, Daveyton Arts Forum, parents and unemployed youth can form partnerships with Ekurhuleni Municipality to grab the attention of the Centre Manager unlike when they work individually.

As per findings, the interests of the artists are artistic or cultural and educational. The government officials have shown cultural and economic interests with the centre manager demonstrating administrative interests. Community members' interests including parents have social interests while the Daveyton Art Forum and other community organizations have political interests in DRHCAC. All these diverse interests have caused conflict especially the interests of both Daveyton Art Forum and the centre manager which have caused tension between the stakeholders. Hagg (2017) writes "Tension often emerges around decisions made by management that are not acceptable to artists or educators and perceived as corruption...Many art centres have lost support or ended in conflict e.g., Katlehong and Alex art centre. The conflicts can be managed but in many cases artists and managers' personalities increase the tension and people leave the organizations" (Hagg, 2017:61). Alternatively, Muknopadhyay (2002) realizes tension in social institutions as caused by economic and political factors. Amongst the factors causing tension, the findings revealed economic factors as one of the factors that have caused tension at Daveyton Rhoo Hlatshwayo Community Art Centre.

According to the findings, stakeholders such as artists and the Daveyton Arts Forum expressed to have been denied available funding support from the township community art centre hence the centre manager felt attacked when questioned by the Daveyton Arts Forum. Secondly, most artists reported their dissatisfaction with the community art centre manager highlighting the centre manager to be having attitudes towards the current and potential users of Daveyton Rhoo Hlatshwayo Community Art Centre. According to Davidson and Woods (2004), amongst many others, attitudes and tension are forms of conflict that can be analyzed in a six-step guide. In the view of the above experts, the first step includes one party defining the issue while the other party actively listens to the addressed concerns. Secondly, the parties brainstorm options addressing their concerns, thirdly, parties evaluate the options, select the best possible solutions, if no agreement is reached, the area of disagreement is identified but if consensus is reached, stakeholders, implement the solution and lastly, evaluate the solution at a later date (Davidson & Wood, 2004). Following this, the Daveyton Arts Forum and the centre manager can be brought together to discuss their conflicting interests. Each one of them should be allowed to express themselves without putting blame or threat on anyone especially when no consensus is reached.

Further, the conflict resolution approach encourages empathetic listening which according to the scholars' opinion may bring satisfactory outcomes, since stakeholders feel valued from being listened to. (Davidson & Wood, 2004). As stated by the findings, the centre manager is revealed to lack empathy for people that want to use Daveyton Rhoo Hlatshwayo Community Art Centre. In addition, artists are reported to be having attitudes towards each other, therefore preventing themselves from coming up with solutions for their challenges. Considering the conflict resolution approach, the centre manager and artists need to listen more with empathy especially when resolving issues that could benefit the township community art centre in functioning effectively. Parks (2015), agrees with this point by stating that listening with empathy leads to a better understanding of challenges facing the organization (Parks, 2015). For these reasons, the centre manager gets to identify other underlying issues affecting the township community art centre. Following the third step of the conflict resolution model which encourages an evaluation of options until an agreement is reached between stakeholders, the centre manager and the Forum may come up with possible solutions that they can agree with to satisfy their interests. However, when the agreement is not reached, they repeat the process of brainstorming until they eventually land on the one that works for everyone.

If not, Avruch and Black (1990) suggest that a third party can be involved to enable this process from an objective view. In a case of satisfying both the Forum and the Centre Manager's interests, a member of a community intervenes to help them agree on the solution which they will commit to and evaluate over time. Evaluation of the solution raises the notion of revisiting if the solution still works for the concerned stakeholders and if not, this may be changed. Changing the initial solution may be informed by various factors. Amongst others, findings have shown that the DRHCAC is a development space in which people leave after being developed. The agreement made by the Forum and the centre manager before their term ends may not apply to the new Forum or current artists. Similarly, the agreement that was reached by the previous stakeholders on community art centre bylaws does not compliment the current interests of the artists at DRHCAC hence findings revealed that they need to be revisited. This further echoes Hagg (1991) and Marschall (2002)'s theories of communities, in which the scholars identify that communities and identities change over time. As a result, individuals and interests in the township community art centre also change. On the basis of these views, bylaws need to change reflecting the new communities' needs and identities to manage emerging different stakeholder interests.

5.3 Community Theories in Community Art Centres

In accordance with the findings, there is a misunderstanding of the referred community in DRHCAC. Hagg and Selepe (2002) theories of community art centres also identify this confusion in most community art centres, stating that community within township community art centres is complex. According to Van Robbroek (1991), community in community art centres normally refers to 'a population of limited geographical area' or both artists and local people within various areas using art forms in community art centres to express themselves (Van Robbroek, 1991). On the other hand, Hagg and Selepe (2002) note artists and students as the entitled community in community art centres. Hagg and Selepe(2002)'s view correlates with the findings which revealed that artists at the DRHCAC keep the rehearsal venues to themselves without considering other users that may want to use the same space.

Enlightening this view further, Poland and Mare (2005) concept of community identifies that people understand community from different associations, these include the same location also known as geographic community, common experiences, access to common resources, social interactions and virtual communities. The scholars' views suggest that a geographic community

is defined by geographic space and some type of a bond or common interest is usually found in this community, however, it creates boundaries (Poland & Mare, 2005). Realizing this, as per findings, people in Daveyton use DRHCAC and some have shown an interest in using the township community art centre, therefore due to them being located within the same area and having the same interests, they become a community. However, the findings demonstrated that geographical communities create boundaries, and this surfaced in the interviews in which it was highlighted that the artists want to keep their properties in the rehearsal rooms preventing other users from using the space.

Since artists are in the same location and most share similar interests in the township, they become a community who sorely belong in DRHCAC, however, Poland and Mare (2005) theory of the community challenges this view highlighting that community exists beyond the physical space (Poland & Mare, 2005). Findings on the history of DRHCAC affirmed the above view by providing that during the time DRHCAC was closed down for renovations, artists were affected and as result, they formed relationships with each other to keep themselves going. Later, when DRHCAC reopened, artists with the new relationships they have formed became a new community. This per the scholars' opinion suggests community through shared experiences.

Also, during the renovation period when DRHCAC was closed down, findings indicated that some artists went to use alternative spaces while others relocated to other townships. According to Poland and Mare (2005), people leave their society to pursue their ways of life elsewhere and therefore become a community associating themselves with attitudes, culture and beliefs (Poland & Mare, 2005). In this manner, artists that left DRHCAC in search of the arts elsewhere and later returned are also referred to as a community.

Additionally, it was realized from the findings that artists, community members, the DAF, government tiers, unemployed youth, the centre manager and students use DRHCAC, however, they do not easily get along due to conflicting interests in using DRHCAC. Poland and Mare (2005) reflect this by stating that a community usually has positive connotations however this is not always the case. Douglas (2010) agrees with the above scholars, pointing out, “Not all community interactions are friendly; yet strong communities can exist even if relations are not amicable, or the aim is not to benefit others, or the motivation for interaction is not moral” (Poland & Mare, 2005). Lastly, scholars continue to stipulate that within the types of communities, there are virtual communities (Poland & Mare, 2005). According to the findings,

people in Daveyton have shown an interest in DRHCAC through social media platforms such as Facebook. The theoretical perspective suggests such people as virtual communities. Moving forward, it surfaced from the findings that these communities can be managed through implementing more community programs in DRHCAC.

5.4 Community Arts and Township Community Art Centres

The proposition to have more programs responding to the various communities is reflected by Kelly (1984), Van Robbroek (1991) and Hagg (2005) theories of community arts and community art centre. According to Kelly (1984), community arts in the township community are centres embrace a variety of services rather than specific activities (Kelly, 1984). Hagg (2005) concurs with this view by pointing out that community arts are arts created at a community level, offering opportunities to those that exclusion has affected the most (Hagg, 2005).In line with this, the ACTAG (1995) asserts the objective of community art centres in democratic South Africa as, "To promote and develop a tolerant democratic and multi-cultural society...to nurture artistic and cultural pluralism. To make the arts and culture more accessible to all and redress past imbalances in the arts and culture, including the affirmation, promotion and development of artistic practices and cultural manifestations which have been historically marginalized (ACTAG, 1995:5).

Similarly, the 1996 White Paper on Arts, Culture and Heritage confirms this diversity by emphasizing the community arts in community art centres to reflect diversity rather than an expression of song and dance (White Paper, 1996). From the case study, it was shown that the moment the arts and culture department took over the DRHCAC, non-art related activities were forced to vacate. This exclusion still reflects in the current use of DRHCAC in which it is revealed that it only accommodates arts and culture activities. However, the above-named scholars and policy documents challenge this exclusion by encouraging that the township community art centre should reflect the diversity of the community.

Additionally, the theoretical perspective provided by Kelly (1984) and Hagg (2005), shows community arts as drivers of social and economic change. From the social change perspective, it rose from chapter one that community arts brought people together especially in community halls and township CACs to resist the white apartheid government. In post-democratic South

Africa, parents' educational interest and proposition to engage more children programs between the ages of 7 and 8 years indicate a process to implement social change at DRHCAC. For economic purposes, Hagg (2005) and Kelly (1984) suggest that township community art centres should be able to create income especially since most of them in the township struggle with securing enough funding (Hagg, 2005: Kelly, 1984).

This was reflected from the findings in which it was reported by the centre manager that the budget she receives is not sufficient to accommodate the four Ekurhuleni regions she has to develop programs for. Further, Kelly (1984) and Hagg (2005) view of community arts as a collective expression links the arts with the idea of alliances and partnerships to meet the economic benefit. Similarly, the findings revealed that artists are not working together and therefore it becomes difficult for the centre manager to distribute funds. As a result, it was proposed by most respondents that the artists need to work together. The theoretical perspective suggested by the experts above is that partnerships in community arts help parties achieve something together which they failed to achieve individually. Findings revealed a similar motive by offering that groups creating visual arts can collaborate to increase their chances as a collective of finding potential buyers. Hagg (1991) concurs with this view, providing that through partnerships, the artworks can easily penetrate the informal markets.

Alternatively, Hagg (2017) concept of partnerships proposes that cultural groups can form alliances with awareness groups from the local to draw in potential stakeholders that can fund the organizations and help pay maintenance fees. Realizing this, the findings have revealed that most artists cannot afford to pay the booking fee at DRHCAC, hence they use the backyards and parks as alternative spaces. Also, the findings revealed that DRHCAC has implemented human rights programs in which they engaged the community and artists.

Based on the information above, there is a possibility of DRHCAC partnering with more welfare programs to raise funds for the artists working outside DRHCAC to afford the rental fees required by the Ekurhuleni municipality for use. Moreover, Kelly91984) and Hagg (2017) add that collaborations in community arts vary, that is they can either be permanent or temporary, however, the emphasis is that partnerships and alliances need to be genuine to benefit all parties involved (Kelly, 1984: Hagg, 2017). Findings also agree with this, by revealing that the Ekurhuleni police stations once held an arts event that required members of the force to perform art activities, due to their lack of experience in the arts, the program had no impact. As a result,

it was revealed by the findings that in future, artists can form partnerships with members of the force. However, based on the nature of the program, these may require temporary partnerships. Additionally, the partnership and alliances theory in community arts proposes a three-step guide. According to Kelly (1984), these include enabling access to resources and equipment, enabling groups to bring in what they know and creating strategies collectively (Kelly, 1984). Following these steps, the first step will include artists identifying artists working outside DRHCAC and giving them access to use the township community art centre.

Secondly, the groups need to agree upon what their aims are, and a structure will be devised collectively to achieve the different groups' aims. The third step will involve a way forward of developing new networks. This can be explored through creating a show or festival in which more people will be drawn to collaborate.

Literature and findings have also shown that the conflicting roles of government tiers can also be managed through the three tiers of government working together. This is proved in Roodt (2006) theory of intergovernmental cooperation in which she highlights that each government tier is distinct but interrelated (Roodt, 2006). The scholarly perspective suggests that the different government tiers need to work together rather than create conflict. A proposition further raised by the author is that local authorities can work together with local authorities in the same location (Roodt, 2006). However, in the findings it was revealed that the provincial and local governments work together, therefore this suggests the possibility of DRHCAC exploring relationships with other local departments.

Again, findings revealed that DRHCAC can be managed effectively by a competent centre manager who above all has a passion for the arts. Hagg (2005:2017) theory of community arts and community art centres acknowledge the efficiency of the management in community art centres. According to the scholar, the conflict between the centre manager and the artists exists due to a lack of understanding between what centre managers are trained for and the issues of a broader community (Hagg, 2005). Findings revealed this misunderstanding between members of the community who expressed the centre as a facility for community purposes and the centre manager (2020) stating DRHCAC as a facility for arts and cultural purposes.

Through the divergent views of both parties, it is realized that the centre manager has a different stance from what the community expects. Hagg (2005:2017) perspective on community art

centres raises the ideal centre managers as multi-skilled with the ability to manage relationships with governments, audiences, organizational systems, facilities, lead artists and educators with the available resources (Hagg, 2005). Further, the author's theory provides that managing the township community art centre demands sacrifices which can be accepted by people that have passion for the arts and professional attitudes to attract people to use and support the arts (Hagg, 2005).

However, from the findings, it was shown that people have an interest in using DRHCAC, but the attitude from the management pushes them away from engaging it. In handling this, the scholar's views on the theme propose training for management in which competence, individual attitudes and values will be assessed. The training is proposed to enable centre managers to deliver appropriate services (Hagg, 2005). As a result, the competence of the centre manager in the community centre will be evaluated upon undergoing this training. In addition to this view, the theory of community art centres proposes a systems approach highly recommended for art centres used by national, provincial and local stakeholders especially on township CACs where managers focus on single stakeholders and neglect others. From the study, it is shown that the municipality's economic and political interests are valued more than the others. However, from the theoretical lens, the approach raises awareness of the relationship between stakeholders without changing their structures, identifying their internal and external networks and clarity of each stakeholder's responsibility through signed contracts. Similarly, to the analysis concept, the approach when implemented can help centre managers look beyond the municipality's interest but understand that there are other stakeholders the DRHCAC has relationships with whose interests need to be valued. In this approach, the Forum is also formalized through means of binding themselves to a signed agreement with the centre manager until their contract lapses.

5.5 Participation of Stakeholders in Cultural Policy Implementations

In the findings, it surfaced that some programs happen without the knowledge of the community and bylaws set by the municipality lead to ineffective programming, as a result, it was proposed by the people that the community and artists need to be involved in DRHCAC programs and meetings to influence the bylaws. The broader community's interest in participating is reflected in Sabatier and Hjern et al (1982) theories of participation. According to Sebatier (1980), the top-down approach of participation, decision making starts from government officials neglecting

other stakeholders (Sabatier, 1980). In findings, this approach was associated with the Ekurhuleni bylaws of arts, culture and heritage facilities which artists and the centre manager identified to be not responding to the interests of the artists, indicating that the bylaws were decided on behalf of the artists and all other users of DRHCAC.

The top-down approach also reflects in the history of township community art centres, in which it was identified that the policies of the apartheid government were restrictive to the activities in Black township spaces hence after 1994, the 1996 White Paper and the Revised White Paper (2020) emphasized on the active and negotiated form of participation of the community in township community art centres. This approach also came out from the findings in which the community can contribute to the making of programs and bylaws or policies of DRHCAC. Active and negotiated approaches of participation are reflected in Hjern et al (1982) as a bottom-up in which decisions start from the local stakeholders to the government officials at the top (Hjern et al., 1982). In implementing the bottom-up approach, Hjern et al (1982) propose interviews with key officials in each firm to assess their problems and strategies developed to address each person's problem and through each person's contacts, techniques will be identified for implementation(Hjern et al, 1982). Findings have shown that meetings are usually held at the DRHCAC, therefore different stakeholder representatives may be invited to share their interests and propose strategies of how those interests will be reflected in the bylaws or policies. Through this network of representatives of groups or stakeholders, a solution will emerge in which different stakeholder interests will be managed at DRHCAC.

Further, Arnstein (1969) approach of delegated power in bottom-up shares similar views through which the author proposes negotiation of power between citizens and the government officials over particular legislation or program. According to the scholar, this level of power negotiation gives citizens responsibility to account for programs (Arnstein, 1969). Regarding insufficient funding affecting the township community art centre's programming, Hjern et al (1982) bottom-up approach proposes partnerships with local or regional banks, officials in financial assistance programs and officials with extensive contacts that the firm can be recommended to. Since sufficient funding emerged as a proposition for DRHCAC to function at its best, the township community art centre can explore the possibility of forming partnerships with these structures.

5.6 Concluding remarks.

After critically engaging the findings and theories from the conceptual framework it is provided that stakeholders within DRHCAC vary and these can be identified from different connections they have with each other, which is from sharing common interests, experiences, the township community art centre as the only resource as well as social media platforms. From these communities, it is argued that their interests and power vary, that is some stakeholders are more important and some are less important, and therefore they cannot be managed the same way, however, those feeling unhappy with how they are managed can form partnerships with other stakeholders to increase their chances of being listened to at DRHCAC.

In addition, the discussion indicated that tension, competition, withdrawal of information and funding have affected DRHCAC. However, these can be remedied through adopting a new perspective of community arts and participation which are more inclusive especially in democratic South African townships. With the inclusivity of these concepts, collaborations and partnerships develop in which economic, social and political challenges of stakeholders and the township community art centre can be addressed and managed. Furthermore, cooperation between governments tiers is also advised particularly coordination between local spheres to avoid any contradictions. Besides the proposed strategies, it is realized that multi-skilled and management passionate about the arts can influence the optimization of the township community art centre.

CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 Introduction

In this study, I set out to do an analysis of stakeholders and their conflicting interests in using township community art centres with reference to DRHCAC.In doing this analysis I was answering three study questions which looked at identifying stakeholders and their interests within the complex definition of community in community art centres, ramifications of different interests and to what extent they impact the effective running of the township community art centre and lastly identifying strategies the township community art centres can use to manage diverse stakeholder interests. By using the case study, I was able to achieve the intended analysis, however, I feel that I could have done more. The main argument I am making in this research report is that the different stakeholder interests can be accommodated to overcome the challenges faced by community art centres in townships provided there is an inclusive understanding, collaborations and community participation by the stakeholders involved. In concluding this report, the chapter will start by presenting summative arguments on stakeholder identification and interests, followed by ramifications of stakeholder interests, ways of managing conflicting interests in the township community art centres and then end with a final comment and a call for action in future research.

6.2 Township Community Art Centre Stakeholders and their Interests

The argument raised about stakeholders is that there is no single stakeholder within the township community art centre, instead, they are used by artists, students, members of the community, the forum, local government, the centre manager, provincial government and national government whose interests also vary from social, artistic, political, cultural, economic, administrative to educational. The misconception highlighted by the scholars is that stakeholders are usually identified from people residing in the same physical location (Poland & Mare, 2005: Douglas, 2010). The artists in the case study were reflected as resistant to vacating the room after use and being confrontational about the inaccessibility of funding. From this, it was analyzed that the artists have a perception that they are the only stakeholders at the township community art centre, however, it is realized that the township community art

centre manages the interests of artists from other surrounding areas such as Duduza, Tsakane and Kwa-Thema who all have different expectations with DRHCAC. From this, stakeholders are identified in different communities, and these are provided from sharing common experiences, common interests, common resources and virtual communities (Poland & Mare, 2005). Consequently, it was agreed upon by findings, theory and concepts such as stakeholder analysis model, community, community arts, White Paper (1996) and Revised White Paper (2020) that the township community art centre is mainly used by artists for cultural interests. Agreeing with these sources, township community art centres have multiple stakeholders whose interests also differ, however, artists emerge as the dominant stakeholders.

6.3 Ramifications of different Stakeholder Interests on Effectiveness of CACs

The conflict of stakeholder interests has shown to result in tension, competition, opportunity losses, ineffective programming, withdrawal of funding and information. Major contributions causing these consequences are argued to be misalignment or confusion of different government roles and responsibilities and limited budget. Theories have argued that the confusion on different government roles is mostly caused by local governments adopting rules and regulations that do not correlate with other provincial and national regulations. To support this, the national government's role and responsibility demonstrate that of facilitation which however does not happen in practice (Hagg, 2010: Revised White Paper: 2020: CAT & Associate, 2013). The study discussion has also reflected a similar concern with other government tiers particularly when funding is concerned. According to the theory, no government tier provides sufficient information on which government tier is responsible for funding, as a result, artists eventually give up on their dreams. Similarly, to the contradictory interests, the theory has argued that policies used in the township community art centre contradict the interests of most stakeholders, resulting in programs not becoming effective. The notion of contradictory or restrictive bylaws emerged to have been a constraint even in apartheid days in which people were forced to use the township community art centre before curfew, similarly to a democratic era, users are still restrained to using the township community art centre, as a result after school programs are affected. The notion of a withdrawal of information, tension and competition have been emphasized to result from limited budget and informality of structures representing artists at the township community art centre. Most scholars identified these challenges emphasizing that township community art centre programs are affected due to most of them operating on a shoestring budget as well as inconsistent

structures (Hagg, 2003:2005: Van Robbroek, 1991). With that said, ramifications of different stakeholder interests was informed from engaging the community art centre audit reports (2002) and (2013), Revised White Paper (2020), interviews, personal observations and theoretical perspectives on South African Community Art Centres in which the major ramification argued to affect most of the township community art centre users surfaced to be the restrictive Ekurhuleni municipality bylaws of arts, culture and heritage facilities in which the township community art centre is unable to function to its best use.

6.4 Ways of managing different Stakeholder Interests in Township CACs.

Stakeholder scholars have expressed that different stakeholder interests can be managed through classifying stakeholders according to their interests and influence. That is stakeholders can be latents which means they will need to be informed over time, apathetics need little management through newsletters and should not be offended at any time (Florea & Florea, 2013). Promoters need to be proactively managed by paying attention to their opinions whereas defenders also need to be kept informed however not all the time (Florea & Florea, 2013). Alternatively, it is argued in this theory that stakeholders with less influence can increase their influence by collaborating with other stakeholders. Similarly, models such as synergy, multiplicity and conflict resolution identified collaborations, particularly the conflict resolution model emphasizing that stakeholders need to collaborate to come with solutions that can benefit all parties involved.

However, the proposed solutions need to change over time due to an understanding that communities are not constant and so are their interests (Hagg, 2003). Secondly, it was argued that the different stakeholder interests can be managed by adopting a current inclusive definition of community arts in which the arts and community programs coexist with each other. In this, it expressed that collaborations and partnerships are developed in which the township community art centre, as well as users, can benefit financially. In line with this view, it has been shown that amongst other reasons the users see fit to outsource other means of funding is due to poor clarity on the relevant governments' tiers responsible for funding, as a result, the collaboration theory proposes that the government tiers need to work cooperatively to avoid this confusion. Thirdly, it was argued by the findings that for township CACs to function to their best use, the centre managers also need to be multi-skilled and above all have passion for the arts. Finally, community participation through a bottom-up approach emerged

as a strategy in managing different stakeholder interests. In this approach, it is emphasized that a negotiation approach is used to involve stakeholders in decisions that affect them. Most importantly this approach is noted as distributing power to the local people which in the study it was most resonated with. For this study, the management of different stakeholder interests was mainly informed by concepts such as stakeholder analysis model, stakeholder synergy, stakeholder multiplicity, conflict resolution, bottom-up participation, interviews, personal observations, revised white paper(2020) and theoretical perspectives on community, community arts and community art centres both locally and internationally.

6.5 Final Concluding Statement

Based on the case study, the situation of township community art centres in democratic South Africa is made complex because there are multiple stakeholders with multiple interests, as a result, they are all pulling in different directions. Realizing that arts and culture activities are mostly identified within community art centres, it is suggested in this report that the arts and cultural activities, as well as community programs, can exist together to help manage different interests and overcome the challenges faced by community art centres in townships. Since the argument is based on a single case study, this could be problematic especially when Yin (1984) critiques a single case study as providing little information for generalization, therefore the future research of township community art centres might require a large survey of multiple township community art centres across the nine provinces because the context in each province is different. By doing so, one will be able to make better conclusions.

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