

https://dspace.org/

Transforming opera ... from high art to people's art ...

De Jager, Salomon van Niekerk

2010-06-30T08:54:59Z
http://hdl.handle.net/10539/8245

Downloaded from a DSpace repository. https://dspace.org/

Transforming Opera

…from high art to people's art…

Research Report by:

Salomon v N de Jager
Student No. 9012977J

DECLARATION

I, Salomon van Niekerk de Jager hereby declare that this Research Report is the result of my own research and that I have not submitted it previously at any other university.

_____ _____

SVN de Jager Date

Research Report

Transforming Opera

…from high art to people's art…

Table of Contents

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 ABSTRACT AND POINTS OF REFERENCE 6

1.2 METHODOLOGY 16

1.3 LITERATURE REVIEW 21

CHAPTER 2

A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

2.1 MEDU 30

2.2 THE CULTURE AND RESISTANCE SYMPOSIUM 32

2.2.1 SONG AND STRUGGLE (Muff Anderson) 33

2.2.2 MUSICIANS ARE PART OF THE PEOPLE (Barry Gilder) 34

2.3 THE CULTURE IN ANOTHER SOUTH AFRICA (CASA) CONFERENCE 35

2.3.1 BARBARA MASEKELA: KEYNOTE ADDRESS ON BEHALF OF THE DEPARTMENT OF ARTS AND CULTURE OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (ANC) 38

2.3.2 DR. PALLO JORDAN: KEYNOTE ADDRESS ON BEHALF OF THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE ANC 39

2.4 THE PERFORMING ARTS COUNCIL OF THE ORANGE FREE STATE (PACOFS) 41

2.5 AN ASSESSMENT OF THE HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE 47

CHAPTER 3

THE PERIOD OF TRANSFORMATION AND BEYOND

3.1 THE ARTS AND CULTURE TASK GROUP (ACTAG) PROCESS AND THE PUBLICATION OF THE WHITE PAPER 51

3.2 THE TRANSFORMATION OF PACOFS (Performing Arts Council of the Orange Free State) 57

3.3 FREE STATE OPERA: A CASE STUDY WITH REFERENCE TO PEER INSTITUTIONS AND PUBLIC FUNDING 61

3.4 PEER INSTITUTIONS 69

3.5 NEW VOICES IN THE FREE STATE 73

3.6 NEW WORKS 77

3.7 CONCLUSION: IN WHAT WAY DID THE CURRENT WHITE PAPER IMPACT ON TRANSFORMATION OF ARTS INSTITUTIONS IN THE FREE STATE, SPECIFICALLY FREE STATE OPERA, AND WHAT COULD BE EXPECTED OF A FUTURE WHITE PAPER? 81

BIBLIOGRAPHY AND LIST OF INTERVIEWS 87

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 ABSTRACT AND POINTS OF REFERENCE

Aim

The aim of this research report will be to determine:

The repositioning of opera as a genre in the Free State to ensure its survival;

Intended and / or unintended consequences of The White Paper on Arts, Culture and Heritage, 4 June 1996, that sanctioned the survival of opera in the Free State.

Rationale

The rationale for this research is based on the following:

One:

With the arrival of South Africa's long awaited new dispensation in 1994, the landscape and frame of reference in which the creative arts industries operated until then, changed dramatically. The White Paper on Arts, Culture and Heritage was published on 4 June 1996. This document set in motion the wheels of transformation, ultimately aiming at the equal distribution of skills, resources and infrastructure in this industry.

The White Paper was drafted following the release of a report tabled by the Arts and Culture Task Group (ACTAG) on 15 June 1995. This voluminous report comprising 400 pages provided the basis "for a democratic arts and culture dispensation and proposes a

completely new approach to arts and culture with the emphasis on minimum bureaucracy and maximum art." (Sonnette Lombaard; Democratising arts and culture; RSA Review; 31 October 1995)

Two direct consequences of the White Paper were the demise of the four provincial arts councils and the establishment of the National Arts Council of South Africa (National Arts Council Act 56 of 1997) to ensure the equitable distribution of public financial resources. The termination of these generally inaccessible Eurocentric and racially prejudiced institutions was an extraordinary achievement and widely applauded. This process finally drew a line under a chapter of South African cultural history that had in the past made "high art" accessible only to a minority and evened out the playing field so that the landscape was avowedly transformed into one that was regarded to be suitable to a country with a democratically elected government.

At the time of its publication, the White Paper stated that:

"The four PAC's have been the primary recipients of national public funding for the performing arts, absorbing 46% of the Department's arts and culture budget. Within the new dispensation, this can no longer be the case as there are now nine provinces as opposed to four, so that the same resources now have to be distributed more widely. Moreover in their present form, given that they are urban-based, heavily resource-consuming structures, they will still be unable significantly to assist in realising the

RDP's[1] goals of access and redress. In 1995/96, the PACs operating income was R160m, of which box office receipts accounted for 18%. R112m was granted by the State, which represents a very high level of subsidy."

"Analysis of box office returns shows these do not even cover administrative costs. The inescapable conclusion is that government is subsidising expensive art forms and infrastructure for a small audience at an unaffordable level. The activity based costing exercise indicates that ballet and opera consume in the order of 30% of the total expenditure. These activities are exclusive to PACT and CAPAB. The community arts development function accounts for approximately 34% of the Playhouse Theatre budget and 25% for that of PACOFS, whilst the PACT and CAPAB outreach and development component of their ongoing repertoire absorbs about 5% of their budgets."

"As matters stand, the theatres of the PACs are all rented at zero cost from the Provinces where they are located. It is proposed that the physical infrastructure of these buildings, offices, theatres, etc., should be the joint financial responsibility of the central government, municipality/metropolitan area and Province in which they are located, as is the case with the Johannesburg Civic Theatre. Access to the use of this physical infrastructure should not therefore privilege any one institution of the national arts and culture community." (White Paper on Arts, Culture and Heritage, 4 June 1996 – Performing Arts Councils)

[1] Reconstruction and Development Programme initiated by President Mandela's government to correct the imbalances created by apartheid.

Founded in 1963, the Performing Arts Council of the Orange Free State, operating from its base at the Sand du Plessis Theatre Complex since 1985, presented more than 600 performances annually in different genres such as drama, opera, music and ballet at the Sand and various other venues around the Free State. (PACOFS Annual Report 1994/5). Of the total national Arts and Culture budget, PACOFS received 14%. (Jan Morgenrood, Volksblad, 5 March 1996).

This was now declared obsolete by the White Paper. The Provincial Arts Councils ceased to operate as production houses and artists, in this case opera singers on fixed contracts were suddenly made redundant. Yet, the White Paper did leave the back door open in declaring that it made provision for the establishment of the National Arts Council, and stating unequivocally: "The principal task of the NAC will be to distribute public funds to artists, cultural institutions, NGOs and CBOs. Criteria for this distribution, consistent with the goals of the RDP, will be developed to promote the creation, teaching and dissemination of literature, oral history and story telling, music, dance, theatre, musical theatre, opera**,** photography, design, visual art and craft which fully reflect our diversity." (White Paper on Arts, Culture and Heritage, 4 June 1996 – The National Arts Council)

From the White Paper it is clear that it was now expected from opera companies, in the same way that it was expected of all other state sponsored activities in the South African democratic sphere, to engage in the reconstruction and development programme (RDP). Thus, opera companies would be expected to recognize the impetus of poverty alleviation

through development, skills transfer, and employment opportunities as well as adhere to the very important alignment of projects that must match government approved objectives in order to receive any public funding at all. This was, however, counter-balanced by the "arms' length" principle[2], which in effect meant that government did not take direct control, but rather allowed opera companies to achieve these goals at their own pace. Furthermore, funding for opera companies' budgetary needs could no longer be guaranteed. Yet, opera did not die in South Africa. Several opera companies are currently operating successfully. These include *The Black Tie Ensemble*, *Cape Town Opera*, *Roodepoort City Opera*, *Opera Africa*, *Port Elizabeth Opera* and *Free State Opera.*

New works are commissioned, such as *Princess Magogo KaDinuzulu*, commissioned by Opera Africa and composed by Mzilikazi Khumalo (2002), *Valley Song the Opera*, created by composer Thomas Rajna and librettist Guy Willoughby, based on the play by Athol Fugard, commissioned by Spier (2006), and *Masque* by Hans Huyssen commissioned by the National Arts Council of SA and Pro Helvitia (2005). An existing opera like Bizet's *Carmen* has been arranged by Mark Dornford-Ray to become *U-Carmen eKhayelitsha* (also commissioned by Spier, 2004/5) and subsequently made into a film. All of these works have attained international recognition.

In the Free State, Free State Opera has embarked on a training programme and has entered into partnerships with different government departments. This company, a

[2] Arts institutions utilise public funding in the form of sponsorships and grants to achieve artistic goals, obtained from sources such as the Department of Arts and Culture (DAC) and NAC. DAC and NAC however, do not explicitly instruct how these organisations should be managed and how public funding must be spend, although it is expected and widely accepted that funding obtained within the sphere of government policy will be spend taking into consideration the broad policy framework.

Section 21 entity, was established on 4 December 1999 after the demise of PACOFS Opera. It now trains and develops its own singers for productions and the opera chorus is made up of community choirs. Public and private sector funding has been readily obtained. This study, with reference to the Free State opera company, examines the deracialisation and democratisation of opera in South Africa and considers both the intended and unintended consequences of post-apartheid cultural policy that facilitated this process. It also investigates whether opera in the Free State re-invented itself, re-positioned itself or simply redefined itself.

An interesting fact is that, although previously exclusively for whites and funded by the apartheid regime, Free State Opera now operates in much the same way as PACOFS operated in 1963. Back then local singers were developed and a community choir was used as opera chorus; and performance space and infrastructure were not a given and had to be hired as needed.

This research report focuses on the status quo of opera in the Free State prior to the publication of the White Paper, the transformation of PACOFS and the establishment of Free State Opera. At the same time the study will highlight peer companies and existing trends in South Africa and compare them to Free State Opera.

Attention will be given to documentation that originated in the build-up to the first democratic elections, such as The *Culture and Resistance Symposium* that was held in Gaborone from 2 – 9 July 1982. The symposium and the accompanying exhibition and festival of South African Arts were an initiative of a number of South African artists

living in Botswana. They felt a need to establish contacts and exchange ideas and experiences with other South African cultural workers. “The theme for the symposium (*Culture and Resistance*) arose out of their need to discuss the artists’ position within the milieu in which they found themselves.” (Conference papers provided courtesy of Judy Seidman).

Furthermore, this research report will be discussing the *Culture in Another South Africa* (CASA) Conference that took place in Amsterdam from 12 – 19 December 1987. The conference was held under the auspices of the ANC Department of Arts and Culture, the Dutch Anti-Apartheid Movement and the CASA Foundation.

As far as this researcher could ascertain, research to evaluate the impact of the White Paper on opera as a specific genre in South Africa, specifically at provincial level, has never been undertaken before. In this regard, whether the impact is positive or negative, the fact remains that this genre, once deemed to be “Eurocentric” and “elitist”, has not disappeared with the demise of the four apartheid arts councils and enjoys wide appeal amongst many South Africans and international enthusiasts alike. To quote Sibongile Khumalo, famous South African opera diva: "Opera can be African, too." (Anne Midgette, New York Times, 30 May 2004).

Two

From 27 - 29 October 2006 Free State Opera staged a production of Mascagni’s *Cavalleria Rusticana.* The 5 soloists and 60-member chorus were all black. Although not

physically counted by race, the audience during the three nights was predominantly black on 27 and 29 October, while it was predominantly white on 28 October. A total audience of 70% of the theatre's seating capacity was obtained. More recently, on 13 and 14 February 2009, Free State Opera staged the premiere of a new South African work, *Requiem for the Children of Lebone*, composed by Leon Snyman. The work emphasises the plight of Aids orphans and children living with HIV and Aids. *Requiem for the Children of Lebone* was choreographed by Reggy Danster for the newly established Free State Dance Company. On the same programme was a traditional Eurocentric work by Charles Gounod. Once again a headcount showed that the majority of patrons at the sold out performances was predominantly black.

Surely from this one can conclude that opera can be transformed to meet the political and cultural aims of post-White Paper South Africa. In this instance singers and performers from an artistically previously disadvantaged background were ably developed and trained in line with government policy and employed to competently demonstrate the skills and abilities they were taught. This commitment to training and development is in line with government policy on affirmative action. Free State Opera was funded by the Department of Arts and Culture as well as the National Arts Council to stage these productions, a statement that emphasises the fact that Free State Opera is operating in line with current government policy on arts and culture as set out in the White Paper. Audience attendance figures also show that there is a demographic shift away from the

traditional majority white opera audience members to a more balanced racially representative audience.

Three

The South African Schools Choral Eisteddfod (formerly known as Tirisano) is presented annually by the national Department of Education. In the Free State alone, more than 600 schools take part in this competition that takes place during the first two terms of the school year. (Source: Andri Heydenrych, Coordinator, Motheo School District). A sizeable portion of the prescribed music for primary to secondary level is derived from the opera genre, comprising choruses and solos; the allotted repertoire is arranged to make it more accessible for younger soloists and choirs, to opera arias and ensembles for senior secondary learners. The 2007, 2008 and 2009 Choral Eisteddfods prescribed several Mozart arias and ensembles and arranged a number of well-known pieces by classical composers for choirs of different age groups. Judging by the confident manner in which young singers and their teachers take on these challenges suggests nothing of the fact that opera was allegedly once viewed in a negative way by the current regime; in fact, the inclusion of this genre in prescribed music for mainstream education and training is being sanctioned by the post-apartheid Department of Education. Through this initiative, opera is being introduced to young audiences and their interest in this genre is being ably cultivated. The same principle can also be applied to the national competition of the South African Choral Music Association (SACMA). In this competition for community choirs, there is just as much emphasis placed on classic masterpieces as there

is on indigenous compositions. Through several workshops held each year, to assist in the training of singers for the National Schools Choral Eisteddfod and SACMA, Free State Opera identified a number of very talented individuals now being coached by highly competent staff members of Free State Opera currently performing in Free State Opera productions.

Opera in the Free State has been surviving, albeit on a much smaller scale than the majestic and well-funded productions mounted by the then Provincial Arts Council of the Orange Free State. Free State Opera also receives the bulk of its funding from the National Arts Council and the National Department of Arts and Culture. In order to investigate the aim of this research report, namely:

- the repositioning of opera as a genre in the Free State to ensure its survival and continued existence;
- Intended and / or unintended consequences of the White Paper that sanctioned the survival of opera in the Free State;
- to answer the research question namely: "Did opera in the Free State re-invent itself, re-position itself or simply re-define itself?" through an investigative process of democratisation of the arts, with opera as a representative genre with emphasis on its existence in the Free State Province,

the main objective will be to meet the research aims of this study and to answer significant questions in a practical way, based on recent history and current phenomena that previously and still exercise influence over this genre, especially in the Free State.

Secondary to meeting and validating the relevant research aims, this researcher will make some suggestions for the way forward; input will also include suggestions for minimum criteria to be met for public funding relevant to the White Paper and other government policies which impact on public funding for opera in the Free State.

Although the situation with regard to opera in the Free State represents only a micro-cosmos of the total picture, the local situation can be superimposed on many other cases and peer companies in this field, both nationally and abroad. In the end, opera (in the Free State primarily, but also in the broader South African context) must be seen as a potential vehicle of cultural and social development as well as empowerment of communities in which opera productions or development programmes are presented. The cost of an opera production must be warranted in such a way that the local community benefits both directly and indirectly from such an investment. This criterion, which is indeed being met in the Free State, will be accounted for and verified.

1.2 METHODOLOGY

For my research, I made use of a combination of Qualitative and Quantitative research methodologies. The process comprised the use of interviews with current role players in opera, in particular peer companies, as well as documents obtained from archives regarding the prior situation of opera in the Free State. According to *A Judge's Deskbook*

on the Basic Philosophies and Methods of Science, it is important to understand the difference between qualitative and quantitative research.

Dobbin et al argue that **Quantitative research** focuses on an identified problem "based on testing a theory". The theory is tested by means of numbers and statistical techniques and measured against the outcome, i.e. whether the predictive generalizations set out in a theory can be certified as truth.

Methods include:

True Experiments: The random assignment of subjects to experimental conditions and the use of experimental controls;

Quasi Experiments: The non-randomized assignment of subjects to experimental conditions;

Surveys: Studies using questionnaires or interviews for data collection "with the intent of estimating the characteristics of a large population of interest based on a smaller sample from that population."

Certain assumptions also underlie the principles of quantitative research. These assumptions maintain that:

Reality is independent of the researcher and can thus be studied in an objective manner;

The researcher must remain distant from the research and not allow personal values to interfere with the research;

The researcher uses this study to develop general focus points that can contribute to the researcher's theory, and ultimately enable him to predict, explain, and understand occurrences in his field of research.

Qualitative research on the other hand, wants to investigate phenomena of interest by building a holistic picture of the research topic. This research takes place in a natural setting and includes multiple perspectives to enable the researcher to form this picture. Methods to conduct this kind of research are mostly related to case studies. The researcher studies a specific research topic that is bounded by time and activity, i.e. the transformation of opera in the Free State. The researcher makes use of a variety of data capturing methods to gauge personal experiences of individuals, groups, institutions etc. These can include questionnaires, personal interviews or even electronic interviews via email.

Assumptions that underlie qualitative research include the following:

Research is context bound.

The researcher communicates with different individuals and therefore comes into contact with different "value sets". It is important that the researcher works towards minimizing the distance between his perspective and that of his "informants".

The researcher must be aware of the fact that categories of interest will emerge from his informants or subjects used in the research, and that the researcher will not necessarily be able to control or pre-prioritize fields of interest related to the research topic. It is the duty of the researcher to verify all data for its truthfulness, mainly through a process of "triangulation". This involves cross-checking of data captured from different sources relating to the same theory. The goal of the researcher must be to uncover and discover patterns or theories that will help him to explain the argument of his research.

Methods of research by this researcher include:

Documented Narratives

Existing policy papers with reference to this genre, as well as historical events and papers related to these events have been researched. These include papers delivered at the *Culture and Resistance Symposium* and *Culture in Another South Africa (CASA).* Annual reports of the Performing Arts Council of the Orange Free State and its successor, the Performing Arts Centre of the Free State, were investigated to establish how opera was managed under the previous dispensation. The data contained in these Annual Reports made it possible to track transformation of opera to the current situation, which encompassed measuring the influence of the White Paper on the transformation process and its ultimate consequences, intended or unintended on this sector, especially in the Free State. Another important documented source that this researcher investigated is an M Mus dissertation by Ivan Meredith[3] who interviewed several South African composers about their work. The aim of my investigation into this source was to establish the

[3] Meredith. 2006.

amount of new opera works that were composed after the publication of the White Paper and to determine the composers' attitude (if any) towards prevailing government policy for the arts. Finally this researcher made use of several newspaper articles listed in the bibliography at the end of this research report, highlighting the whole process of transformation in this genre.

Interviews were held with the following individuals:

Judy Seidman who has first hand knowledge about MEDU and the *Culture and Resistance Symposium* that was held in Gaborone from 2 – 9 July 1982. Seidman was able to provide a historical perspective of the activities that the government in exile were engaged in and identify the key role players at the time. Seidman was also able to provide valuable information with regard to the *Culture and Resistance Symposium* due to the fact that she was involved with the organizing of that event.[4]

Ivan Meredith interviewed several South African composers about their work. The interview with Meredith was conducted to determine the general sentiment of these composers (as observed by Meredith) towards government policy on arts and culture.[5]

Sandra de Villiers of Opera Africa was interviewed to determine her experiences in light of previous and current government policy in this sector.[6]

Malefetsane Mofokeng, Nontozakhe Nqangisa and **Dorothy Phiri** who are both young and upcoming local practitioners in this genre were interviewed to determine their experiences and expectations in light of government policy in this sector.[7]

[4] Interview. 2006
[5] Interview. 2007
[6] Interview. 2006
[7] Group Interview, 8 January 2007

1.3 LITERATURE REVIEW

It is important to note that the South African arts sector is not the only of its kind to have experienced transformation in recent times. Several comparative case studies exist to illustrate this phenomenon. As in the case of South Africa, transformation is usually implemented as a result of political and fiscal change. Anderson et al describe transformation as a process wherein the status quo is altered without knowing the future state. (Anderson & Anderson Ackerman. 2005). The future state is so radically different from the current state that people and culture must change fundamentally to be able to adapt to the new situation and to ultimately guarantee its successful implementation. Although a transformation strategy may be in place prior to commencement, the actual process of transformation will emerge during implementation, steered by a process of trial and error. It is thus not possible to manage transformation with predetermined, time-bound and linear project plans. Emphasis is placed on the importance of behavioural change and a general shift in mindset. Depending on the required transformational outcome, it is often necessary to shift personal global views and perceptions to allow for the invention of the new future. Anderson also mentions the importance of dissemination of information throughout the transformation process; without vertical and horizontal distribution of relevant information, transformation cannot be set in motion, momentum cannot be sustained and the desired outcome cannot be attained.

Le conducted research which mapped out the transformation process of the Vietnamese arts sector during the "doi moi"[8] process. (Le. 2005) As was the case in South Africa during the Apartheid dispensation, the Vietnamese economy, including the arts, were heavily subsidised by government, making it easy for performing arts organisations to mount productions and obtain audiences through a subsidised access policy. After "doi moi", arts managers in Vietnam had to become entrepreneurs, while at the same time diversifying the funding base of their respective arts organisations. The Vietnamese government decided to invest more funding in certain art forms in its pursuit to fast track economic development and growth in certain popular art forms, trying to bring socio-economic progress to the underprivileged sector of the population. This strategy, according to Le, resulted in the fact that arts managers had to significantly improve the economic viability of arts products, coupled to the needs of consumers, while maintaining artistic integrity. This approach to boost economic viability, and growth and development of certain art forms was also followed by the post-apartheid South African government. Van Graan (2007) argues that this approach had a twofold negative impact. Firstly, it shifted national policy from a human rights approach - whereby all shall have access to a market-oriented approach – to a move towards supporting only arts organisations that can generate an income and create employment. As a result, certain sectors like dance, visual art and theatre were not deemed to be priority areas, and suffered from a degree of official neglect, including lack of investment. (Van Graan: 4) Le made a comparative study of two symphony orchestras, namely the Vietnamese National Orchestra (in the context of a developing country) and the Sydney Symphony

[8] Maintaining the principles of Socialism as defined by the Vietnamese Communist Party, while pursuing an open market policy.

Orchestra (in the context of a developed country). Both these orchestras weathered the effects of transformation and subsequent official neglect to become self sustaining for-profit business entities. In comparison with the South African context, it must be noted, however, that the Vietnamese government still maintains a funding policy towards art forms that are less popular amongst its population. The Vietnamese National Orchestra, although a for-profit organisation, is one of these recipients; although public funding only covers about 50% of the orchestra's total budget. The budget of the Sydney Symphony Orchestra is derived from support by federal, state and local government, as well as a considerable box office income. Both orchestras maintain audience development and cadet programmes.

Lebethe (2003) investigated the impact of promotion of the culture sector on job creation and small enterprise development in the Southern African Development Community (SADC)[9], with emphasis on performing arts and dance. Lebethe compares the performing arts sector in nine SADC countries[10] and provides both a short background description of the situation in each country and detailed broad government policy. According to Lebethe, South Africa is (after the fact of its cultural transformation) a leader in the region in terms of development, technical expertise and funding. Compared to other countries in the region, the performing arts in South Africa are thriving. Although more funding is needed, the industry has recreated itself in terms of new genres that are developing. (Lebethe: 3) Lebethe also investigated the impact of globalization on

[9] Angola, Botswana, Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), Lesotho, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, Seychelles, South Africa, Swaziland, United Republic of Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe

[10] Botswana, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, Lesotho, South Africa, Swaziland, United Republic of Tanzania, and Zimbabwe.

the arts and the influence of modern technology such as the World Wide Web. Other important aspects are sponsorships, networking, audience development and the importance of local exposure versus international exposure. Although Lebethe's research is defined within the sphere of the SADC, it demonstrates the fact that arts organisations cannot exist in a vacuum, but must interact locally, nationally, regionally and internationally with other arts organisations as well as government agencies to guarantee sustainability and longevity. In the SADC, the arts industry is faced with the additional predicament that due to the focus of policymakers on achieving economic growth via support to the major employment generating industries, little or no recognition has been given to the performing arts and its potential role in contributing to the creation of employment opportunities. "As a result, little has been done to develop the performing arts and the consequence of that inaction is that the performing arts function in an unregulated environment, with no social benefits, no recognition, and, in some countries, no guiding policy." (Lebethe: 37) Lebethe concludes by identifying several focus points that could contribute to the growth of the arts sector in SADC countries, in particular government participation; viable strategies to boost progress include proper legislation and policy development, financial support and funding, development and training, audience development, modernised infrastructure, regional cooperation and cultural entrepreneurship.

In the South African context, transformation in the arts sector is primarily associated with and facilitated by a shift in political philosophies, set off by a change in government along with transformation in philosophy. The financial consequences of transformation

on the arts sector must not be underestimated, as survival of the arts and financial sustainability go hand in hand. In 1999, the Australian government undertook a study to determine a course for financial transformation of the performing arts industry in that country. (Commonwealth of Australia. 1999). While transformation in this instance was prompted by economic viability of Australia's arts sector the prospect of ultimate sustainability proved inconclusive. This investigation, appropriately named "The Major Performing Arts Enquiry" in essence determined that the Australian funding model at the time did not recognise demographic and geographic diversity of performing arts companies and audiences. This resulted in 31 performing arts institutions deemed "major performing arts companies" receiving 49% of all government funding while representing only 17% of institutions in the Australian performing arts sector. These 31 companies employed 86% of all artists, generated 79% of all non-subsidised income and reached 71% of all paying audiences. The policy to provide funding to only 17% of all performing arts institutions endangered the ultimate sustainability and survival of other institutions in this sector which constituted a distorted picture of the Australian performing arts sector.

The recommendations made by "The Major Performing Arts Enquiry" have many similarities to the issues addressed in the South African context as outlined in the current White Paper. These issues included the necessity for the delivery of cost effective broad based access to the arts while at the same time taking into consideration diversity in ethnicity, educational levels, income, age and gender. The study sets out the funding responsibilities of different government tiers and calls for the establishment of a national

arts council to oversee transparent government funding. A broad range of fiscal responsibilities are also suggested for arts institutions to ensure proper financial management and accountability. Vehicles to facilitate a transparent overview of broad range fiscal liability include annual reports with financial statements and performance indicators as well as implementing mechanisms of monitoring. Much emphasis is placed on the product generated by a performing arts institution and its artistic and financial impact on a local, regional, national and global scale. Pertaining to opera it is suggested that there should be "an appropriate balance between the high cost of opera as an art form, the need for economies of scale in staging opera productions and the distinct needs of regional audiences." (Commonwealth of Australia: 60). Emphasis is placed on the sharing of resources between opera companies and development of opera as an art form in a manner that expresses the need of communities in which these opera companies exist.

Another case study that revealed similarities to the South African situation is that of transformation in Eastern Europe. Suteu (2002) investigated transformation of cultural institutions and culture policy in Eastern Europe, twelve years after the end of communism. Similar to South Africa, cultural institutions were forced to deal with political as well as economic transformation, recognising for the first time cultural diversity amongst its cultural consumers. This process was complicated even further due to the fact that eastern European governments, now obligated to recognise differentiation in the region, were seeking to introduce harmonisation in line with European community requirements. Mistaken belief that the cultural dimension is an important aspect to

achieve social and economic development--not as an instrument to promote ideology but as a force for cohesion and a fountain of creativity for newly designed democracies--led to the rapid implementation of legislation to privatise the sector. This approach impacted negatively on cultural consumers and practitioners. Failure to recognise cultural diversity left impoverished young democracies struggling to cope with the demands of (previously unrecognised) cultural minorities.

Four major trends emerged from this fast-paced transformation process. Firstly, Eastern European countries started to look at Western Europe for approval and legitimacy of their cultural projects, instead of exploring viable practices from within the region. Secondly, Western European policies and managerial models that did not take the local situation into consideration were implemented with dire consequences. Thirdly, the discovery of the artistic product that could be sold led to a chaotic shift from cultural existence towards cultural production. Lastly, there was no managerial competency in place or capacity to respond to the new marketing and cost efficient approaches; subsequently today more than eighty percent of privately owned cultural institutions that emerged after 1990 no longer exist. Governments started to realise the importance of a market driven cultural economy and found that it was easier to establish new arts institutions rather than to try and transform ones that were inherited from the previous political dispensation. However, solutions had to be devised to deal with an unneeded quota of human resources.

Currently, arts institutions in Eastern Europe are faced with several challenges, most notably that of obtaining sufficient funding. Several funding models have been implemented by Eastern European governments. Suteu notes that the most successful funding models were implemented by Slovenia, Croatia and the Baltic countries, based on the Finnish model. This approach comprises the establishment of national funds for arts and culture by means of culture specific taxation models. (Suteu: 9). Privatisation of arts institutions is another big transformation challenge. Suteu mentions the case of the Timisoara state opera house in Romania. Transformation through privatisation collapsed due to lack of concern and a general fearfulness of imminent decline by Romanian authorities towards this approach. (Suteu: 11). The decentralisation of arts institutions also poses big challenges. Eastern European regional and local governments are mostly financially weak and lack political strength to push through transformation agendas.

Suteu concludes that the major challenges facing Eastern European arts administrators are strategic and managerial. At managerial level, partnerships must be established between independent and state sectors committed to sustain awareness and timeliness so that arts institutions can implement long-term strategies instead of engaging in emergency planning and crisis control. Capacity must be developed to allow cultural institutions to accept innovation as part of ensuring sustainability. Management of power must evolve into management of trust. In order to achieve this, several strategic principals must be factored into management reorientation. Most important is the creation of solid, transparent public-private partnerships with the capability to facilitate continuity when transformation in government occurs. Continuous dialogue between arts

administrators, policy makers and legislators at all levels of government is paramount to facilitate sustainability of arts institutions. This will ensure that there is a strong presence of culture on government agendas to facilitate (in the case of the Eastern European countries) accession to the European community and factor in social rebuilding.

CHAPTER 2

A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

2.1 MEDU

"Medu was jokingly referred to by Lusaka as the ANC's Arts and Culture wing." (Judy Seidman. Interview on 7 December 2006, South African History Archives.) Medu was formed in 1979 by a group of exiled artists in Gaborone, capital of Botswana. In many ways Medu constituted the artistic conscience of the struggle against Apartheid.

According to Ms Seidman, the historical background against which the Medu Cultural Ensemble was founded had its roots in the 1976 Soweto uprising. This event was one of the single most significant occurrences in the process of mobilising artists as activists against apartheid and its restrictions on the arts. Most anti-apartheid activists had to leave the country and Medu provided them with an artistic home away from home. From here they were able to make themselves heard during the struggle. A new vision was developing amongst the black artist community; artists would act as catalysts in mobilising the people through their different art forms.

Initially, only black artists were allowed to join Medu, but after consultation within the ranks of the African National Congress (ANC) during September and October 1979, Medu policy was aligned with general ANC policy and it was decided that persons from all races would be allowed to join. Key issues within Medu at the time concentrated on the fact that it was predominantly black artists who were resisting the apartheid regime,

and that Medu was founded especially to accommodate these artists in exile. The ANC leadership however noted that there were also white South Africans who resisted that regime in a variety of ways and that some of them might also need to flee the country in due course and that these artists would need support in exile. The ANC was in fact also anticipating the demography of the South African artist community in a post-apartheid scenario.

A Medu policy declaration in 1982 stated that Medu provided training for artists in a broad spectrum of genres, such as theatre, music, dance, photography, film, graphic arts and research. The institution was also committed to the democratisation of the arts and supported the contribution of artists and the arts in society. On an ideological level, Medu committed itself to activism for freedom, peace and progress and to "unearth, preserve, develop and promote our culture as non-ethnic, non-racial, national and progressive." (Medu Policy Declaration, Gaborone, 1982).

Medu also aligned itself politically and affiliated with the Botswana National Cultural Council, "all other African cultural bodies and cultural bodies within liberation movements acknowledged by the Organisation for African Unity (OAU) and its member states, as well as non-African bodies, organs and people committed to the eradication of the cultural domination inherent in colonialism, imperialism and racism." (Medu Policy Declaration, Gaborone, 1982).

Apart from Judy Seidman, herself a member of Medu, other illustrious figures included Wally Serote, Hugh Masekela and Jonas Gwangwa. From the relative safety of their base at Gaborone, the artists at Medu were able to work without the restrictions enforced upon them by the apartheid government. They were able to speak out against the atrocities of this oppressive regime and assisted in the exiled ANC's formulation of general policy on arts and culture by means of a publication "MEDU" that appeared regularly.

After hosting the Culture and Resistance Symposium (see 2.2) Medu was viewed by the apartheid government as a threat to national security. On 14 June 1985 the South African Defence Force executed a raid on Gaborone, effectively closing Medu down. During this raid, 12 people were killed, including Thamsanqa (Thami) kaMnyele, a leading graphic artist and chairperson of the Culture and Resistance Symposium, and Mike Hamlyn, the Medu Treasurer, who was at the time a draft resister and student at the Botswana University. The residences of musicians Hugh Masekela and Jonas Gwangwa were both attacked, destroying the house of Jonas Gwangwa. Photographer Tim Williams, who stayed in the back rooms at the time, narrowly escaped with his life.

2.2 THE CULTURE AND RESISTANCE SYMPOSIUM

Medu hosted the Culture and Resistance Symposium from 2 - 9 July 1982. The purpose of the symposium was to assemble as many artists as possible and to mobilise them into resistance against the South African regime. Several noteworthy individuals such as Dikobe Martens, Muff Anderson, Keorapetse Kgositsile and Barry Gilder delivered papers. The Medu artists performed several concerts and exhibitions of works by graphic

artists were held. A special concert was also given by Abdullah Ibrahim who was brought to the symposium by Heinz Klug, currently Assistant Professor of Law at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. According to Judy Seidman, approximately 1000 to 1500 people attended the lectures; the Great Hall at Botswana University was packed to capacity and up to 5000 people attended the performances. (Interview on 7 December 2006, South African History Archives.) For the purpose of this research report, I shall shortly summarise the papers given by Muff Anderson and Barry Gilder; both speak about the musical context in the South African situation during the period of struggle.

2.2.1 SONG AND STRUGGLE (Muff Anderson)

Unpublished paper delivered at the Culture and Resistance Symposium, 2 – 9 July 1982, Gaborone, Botswana.

In this paper, Muff Anderson examined the (lyric) content and context of music in the milieu of the struggle against Apartheid. She posed the question, "What is progressive song?"

In brief, she argued that the content of music must inspire, strengthen, unite, and influence a community. The musical context is that which a community must be able relate to. During the struggle, the machinery of the Apartheid regime ignored the majority of the people. Music that was allowed and broadcasted by the SABC for instance did not relate to the oppression and misery of people in the squatter camps, or people that were banned, exiled, jailed or murdered. Music must be progressive in the sense that it must embrace the culture of a holistic nation as opposed to the agenda of a

marginalized group. This progressive use of music has to transcend the exclusive use of traditional music forms to also include other forms of music.

Anderson used the examples of jazz, fusion and rock and roll and stated that any music can be valid if used in the right context. The vocal style of traditional (African) music and the way it was used to expound freedom songs during the period of the struggle was not, as was seen by many at the time, the only way to get rid of "cultural imperialism". Any form of music is valid in the context of the society it is performed in when it has the support of said society. As far as content is concerned, any form of music is valid when its content speaks to the underlying circumstances of the society that supports it.

The content (in this instance referred to as the text) of music could also be used with traditional western compositions as long as it conforms to the above mentioned. To illustrate this, Anderson mentioned Pete Seeger's "Little Boxes" and another western folk tune "Donna, Donna" of which the texts were changed to conform to the aims of the struggle.

2.2.2 MUSICIANS ARE PART OF THE PEOPLE (Barry Gilder)

Unpublished paper delivered at the Culture and Resistance Symposium, 2 – 9 July 1982, Gaborone, Botswana.

A musician himself at the time, Barry Gilder's paper focussed on the role of musicians within the revolutionary setting of Apartheid South Africa. Gilder validated the cultural

boycott action against the regime, and challenged musicians and other cultural workers to become involved in the struggle by one of two means:

1) To become revolutionaries who make music instead of being mere musicians in the midst of a struggle;

2) To place their music at the service of the people "and the struggles they are waging."

In practice, he argued, this would mean that musicians must cultivate an awareness of the many struggles in South Africa at the time and align themselves with these struggles. Secondly, musicians should form strategic alliances and guard against their own exploitation, while at the same time create an accepted (popular) music culture for South Africa. By forming alliances with regards to infrastructure, (recording studios, own distribution of recorded material and performance and rehearsal venues) and performing at large political gatherings, people would assist in strengthening the cultural boycott action against the apartheid regime, while at the same time introducing their art to the masses. In this way, musicians would also align themselves with and ensure unity with other cultural workers, thus increasing pressure for the demolition of apartheid. Gilder also predicted that a process such as this would change the nature of music in South Africa. Music would truly become national, popular and progressive.

2.3 THE CULTURE IN ANOTHER SOUTH AFRICA (CASA) CONFERENCE

Amsterdam and the Netherlands were traditionally seen as the cultural and colonial origin of the apartheid regime. During 1976 a historic meeting was held between Wally Serote

and colleagues, initiating the breaking of the Cultural Treaty that existed between the Netherlands and apartheid South Africa (CASA: 209). Judy Seidman recalled that after the Culture and Resistance Symposium there was a distinct sentiment amongst the Medu leadership to carry on with the discussions that started during the 1976 meeting and symposium and that it should involve the international community, especially Europe with which the apartheid government had distinct cultural ties. This would ensure continuing discussion and pave the way for future forums such as the Culture and Resistance Symposium. In "Culture in Another South Africa" (1989) Joost Divendal and Willem Campschreur described a meeting that was held in December 1983 in Amsterdam called the "Cultural Voice of Resistance Conference". At that occasion, 50 South African artists in exile, under the leadership of Thami kaMnyele, met with their Dutch colleagues. The aim was to redefine cultural ties between Europe and anti-apartheid South Africa. From this, the idea for CASA was initiated. (CASA: 209). The Culture in Another South Africa (CASA) Conference was held in Amsterdam from 12 – 19 December 1987. The event was organised by the Culture in Another South Africa Foundation who was at the time chaired by Connie Braam, under the auspices of the Dutch Anti-Apartheid Movement. Joost Divendal and Willem Campschreur describe the aims of the conference as a process to become familiar with the "other" culture in South Africa, i.e. the culture that was not promoted by the apartheid government. It was also important for CASA to give support to the "other" cultural workers, those who were oppressed in their promotion of the "other" culture that "existed only in secret or in exile." (CASA: 206/213).

CASA facilitated a meeting of artists and cultural workers from within and outside of South Africa, including the leadership of the African National Congress. According to Mandla Langa, the African National Congress (ANC) was present "from the highest council to the membership"[11] Issues that were discussed included the "triple" oppression of women, the social responsibility of cultural workers (see keynote address by Barbara Masekela), the question of language and the issue of the cultural boycott against South Africa. Several resolutions were passed at CASA which, at the time, were seen as guidelines to the culture of a democratic and non-racial South Africa, in which culture will be accessible to all. An interesting feature of CASA is that people were free to put forward different and opposing (dissenting) opinions, something that was not allowed in South Africa at the time. For instance, the view of the ANC at the time was that culture should serve the struggle. An opposing view was however that culture should define its own objectives. According to Divendal and Campschreur, these objectives should be without self denial and that "artists should be free to translate these objects into militant politics." (CASA: 210).

What emerged most clearly at CASA, as far as the documentary record is concerned, was the emphasis the ANC leadership at the time placed on culture and cultural workers to achieve its political objectives within the milieu of the struggle. It seemed that culture, in terms of the struggle, was seen as a vehicle through which transformation and democracy was going to be achieved in South Africa. Could it be that the ANC (deliberately or not) redefined culture in terms of the struggle for political freedom, thus reacting against the

[11] Langa, M. 1988. www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/history/solidarity/conferences/casa.html.

(more) visible restrictions on artistic freedom because of restrictions that were placed on artistic freedom in apartheid South Africa? Another question, and certainly important for this research report, is how this issue translated into the White Paper of 1996.

I would like to investigate two of the keynote addresses at CASA which related, in my opinion, directly to the question of arts and culture in a new dispensation for South Africa: Those by Barbara Masekela on behalf of the ANC's Department of Arts and Culture, and Dr. Pallo Jordan (subsequent Minister of Arts and Culture) on behalf of the Executive Committee of the ANC. Both Barbara Masekela and Pallo Jordan argued on behalf of the importance of an inclusive and diverse art and culture model for post-apartheid South Africa rather than the segregated model followed under the apartheid regime.

2.3.1 BARBARA MASEKELA: KEYNOTE ADDRESS ON BEHALF OF THE DEPARTMENT OF ARTS AND CULTURE OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (ANC)[12]

Like so many of the (political) speeches made by individuals during the struggle, the keynote address by Barbara Masekela was no different in its general call to resistance and mobilisation of the masses, in this case cultural workers and artists. Great emphasis is placed on the role and social responsibility of cultural workers, as well as the formation

[12] CASA. 1989. Page 250.

of a people's culture that is "born of cross-pollination among the artists and the people themselves in the democratic mainstream of socio-political and economic change." (CASA: 255). What makes Masekela's address interesting for my purposes in this research report is her reference to several music genres that have been given their rightful place in the mentioned peoples' culture due to "the development of the struggle and the involvements of the masses…" (CASA: 255). Masakela argued that genres such as mbaqanga, marabi and kwela are universally accepted as authentic South African peoples' art forms. The practitioners of these art forms were once shunned and despised but due to the involvement and support of the masses these art forms were given their rightful place in society. Masekela also warned against relegating to irrelevance the contribution of white Afrikaner cultural workers who wanted to align themselves with the aims of the struggle.

2.3.2 DR. PALLO JORDAN: KEYNOTE ADDRESS ON BEHALF OF THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE ANC[13]

Pallo Jordan's address centered on the views held by the ANC and its allies that, because of the country's history, South Africa is a multi-ethnic and multi-cultural nation and that one ethnic group cannot be segregated politically from the other, as was the case during apartheid. The same, he argued, holds true for the arts. The developing democratic society "openly acknowledges its debt to other cultural traditions…" (CASA: 262). Jordan discussed in detail the different influences (African, Asian and European) in what

[13] CASA. 1989. Page 259.

he calls the rich tapestry that is our South African culture. This emergent democratic culture draws on a variety of local and international influences and has the capacity to learn from and absorb other cultures as well as influence other cultures. By noting this, Pallo Jordan makes a case for tolerance within the milieu of a diverse South African culture. He acknowledges the fact that the emergent democratic South African culture is "infused with an internationalist spirit and a humanist perspective" that is influenced by African as well as European artists. (CASA: 262) To emphasize his point, Jordan compares Mozart to South African composers like Sipho Sidyiyo (choir master, composer), John Knox Bokwe (celebrated Xhosa hymn writer) and Mackay Davashe (jazz composer). As was the case with Masekela, Jordan also calls upon the artist community to involve itself with the issues of the time. The controllers of apartheid determined the direction and capacity of cultural output, and as such, cultural workers had a duty to address these issues by, amongst others, supporting alternative democratic structures such as the UDF (United Democratic Front) and COSATU Cultural Desks so that the process of democratization that was starting to gain momentum in South Africa would be evident.

At CASA the foundation was laid down for a non-racial, diverse arts community which would, in a democratic dispensation, embrace all art forms and artists irrespective of race or gender. Campschreur and Divendal stated that during the whole of CASA, there was a unique interaction evident of the relationship between art and resistance (CASA: 268).

Judging by the two addresses discussed above, the ANC at this conference opened the door to all art forms and artists in South Africa.

2.4 THE PERFORMING ARTS COUNCIL OF THE ORANGE FREE STATE (PACOFS)

PACOFS (Performing Arts Council of the Orange Free State) was established in 1963 through the initiative of local (white) artists and the then Provincial Administration of the Orange Free State. Initially PACOFS operated very much on an ad-hoc basis governed by several committees, and it was only from 1969 onwards that the organization started to operate full-time with permanently employed administrative staff and artists. PACOFS published its first public annual report in 1969. According to its Founding Articles in the first annual report the purposes of the institution were:

> To develop and advance the cultural affairs of the people (volk) of South Africa in the fields of music, opera, ballet and drama and to encourage the intelligent appreciation of arts and the cultural life of the people (volk), to inform the public about the performing arts and promote the study and practice thereof.
>
> To promote the interests of all artists and to give those who would not otherwise have the prospect of an artistic career, the opportunity to perform and to grant bursaries to talented learners to develop themselves in the field of music, opera, ballet and drama.

To promote the study of music, opera, ballet and drama in the Republic of South Africa and to encourage individuals to choose the performing arts as a profession and to create employment opportunities and job security as well as to stimulate the creation of new work.

To build theatres that will promote the improvement of the cultural life of the people (volk) through the delivery of performances and to ensure access to these performances by charging minimal admission.

To obtain private and public funding.

To publish and distribute magazines, newspapers, brochures etc. to propagate the company and to educate the public.[14]

In the context of South African history, it must be noted that "volk" in this instance meant the white Afrikaner minority and other white colonials who identified with the political ideology of the Afrikaner. It is also clear that the main reason for PACOFS existence was to establish a domain for Eurocentric art forms in the Free State, disregarding the silent marginalized majority and its needs for cultural development. From the outset, PACOFS was subsidized by the national Department of Education, the Free State Provincial Government and several municipalities in the province as well as box office income. After 1994, the primary source of income became the National Department of Arts and Culture.

[14] PACOFS Annual Report. 1969. Page 5.

The institution had drama, opera, ballet, and music departments. In 1969, PACOFS employed 5 opera singers on a permanent basis. An opera chorus was briefly employed after the inauguration of the Sand du Plessis Theatre, but by 1989 PACOFS Opera had no permanent artistic personnel. Initially opera accompaniment was either provided by the newly established Free State Youth Orchestra or a pianist. During January 1974, the Orange Free State Symphony Orchestra was founded under the leadership of Pierre de Groote and accompanied opera productions from then on.

Initially, PACOFS operated from premises at the Old Presidency in Bloemfontein, using the Civic Theatre as primary performance venue. With the support of PACOFS, several local government councils built their own theatres which PACOFS regularly made use of to stage tour productions, notably the Ernest Oppenheimer Theatre in Welkom, Ettienne Rosseau in Sasolburg and the Kroonstad Civic Theatre. Bigger towns in the province also upgraded their facilities so that they too could host PACOFS productions. From information published in annual reports it is also clear that PACOFS Opera took school development programmes to a number of white schools in the Free State. One gathers that on average thirty to forty schools were visited each year between the mid-seventies and the mid-eighties.

Over the years, the total income and expenditure of the institution rose steadily. A summary of the income and expenditure statement of PACOFS during some significant

historic moments in the organization's history, as well as that of the country, until the publication of the White Paper is as follows:

Financial Year	Income	Expenditure	Historic Significance
1969	R 401 784	R 350 295	First annual report
1976	R 1 944 171	R 2 156 085	Year of political unrest
1982	R 2 777 346	R 3 099 690	Culture & Resistance Symposium
1985/86	R 3 358 676	R 4 040 914	Sand du Plessis Theatre built
1987/88	R 6 127 490	R 6 475 733	CASA
1994/95	R20 193 351	R16 941 049	First democratic elections
1996/97	R17 660 937	R 15 878 784	Publication of the White Paper

Initially, PACOFS Opera mostly employed local singers to perform in its productions, but as the years progressed, it became clear that the institution became more reliant on outside singers in the employ of sister arts councils. These included singers from the Cape Performing Arts Board (CAPAB) or Performing Arts Council of the Transvaal (PACT), since there existed a perception that Cape Town and Pretoria were the artistic homes of stars and directors. It must also be noted, from information in annual reports,

that opera productions were mostly performed in Afrikaans, as was the case in Germany where classic operas were mostly translated into German. The 1979 Annual Report shows that the principle roles for the two major opera seasons were singers from CAPAB whom at the time also had international careers. Head of Opera, Hans van Heerden, mentioned in his report that a production of Strauss's "Gypsy Baron" (performed in Afrikaans) was deemed a lesser standard because a local director was contracted as opposed to a more artistically proficient production of "Barber of Seville" directed by a CAPAB director with mainly the same cast. In fact, van Heerden boasts that due to the high standard of this production it could easily have been staged in a middle-sized European opera house. The desire to maintain a high level of artistry in future productions warranted casting singers imported from Europe, especially after the opening of the Sand du Plessis Theatre Complex 1985. During this period operas were performed in the original language. From annual reports it is clear that PACOFS had no problem importing two or three principal singers per production from Europe and singers for other big roles from CAPAB or PACT, while awarding minor roles to local artists. Following the opening of the Sand du Plessis Theatre PACOFS drastically scaled down its touring programmes to different theatres in rural areas as well as its school development programmes. The direct result of this was that local municipalities stopped payment of annual grants to PACOFS. With its new opera house built to international standards, combined with a total disregard for the actual South African situation, PACOFS Opera was living the European dream. This situation continued unabated until the publication of the White Paper brought a swift end to this unsuitable behavior.

The PACOFS budget increased dramatically between 1989 and 1994. From the available figures one can only assume that the maintenance of the Sand du Plessis complex was taken into consideration and budgeted for, as PACOFS did not have any permanent artistic personnel in the opera department after 1988/89, except for a manager of opera and some administrative personnel. Opera was seen as a very important part of PACOFS. My research indicates that the opera department usually received the biggest portion of the budget compared to the drama and ballet departments. Yet, compared to other performing arts councils in the country it was very conservative. Although the PACOFS Orchestra existed within the music department, its participation in opera productions was budgeted for by the opera department. Consequently, due to the integration of musical productions into the opera department, PACOFS Opera became known as PACOFS Music Theatre as from 1990. The PACOFS Opera budget was very modest. A summary of the available figures from 1969 to 1996 and beyond actually shows that the opera budget was very conservative in relation to other Performing Arts Councils.[15] (Some of the annual reports of past years were no longer available; hence some gaps in the figures below):

Year	Opera Productions	Performances	Opera Budget	Box Office Income	Attendance
1969	4	95	R 60,251.00	R 11,434.00	16553
1970	4	84	R 76,750.00	R 11,845.00	15816
1971	8	93	R 118,152.00	R 20,133.00	20871
1972	12	93	R 118,007.00	R 18,504.00	19285
1973	12	67	R 127,721.00	R 27,569.00	19175
1974	14	80	R 168,103.00	R 31,865.00	20145

[15] Artscape Annual Report 2004/2005 which also contained back information with regard s to the previous dispensation.

1975	6	78	R 197,957.00	R 35,145.00	21392
1976	5	70	R 245,176.00	R 42,045.00	17757
1977	2	54	R 84,426.00	R 19,379.00	13431
1979	4	65	R 216,573.00	R 52,624.00	17742
1980	7	109	R 279,533.00	R 117,335.00	41111
1981	3	75	R 230,906.00	R 87,569.00	26302
1983	3	28	R 204,740.00	R 55,768.00	10506
1985	6	137	R 419,934.00	R 72,776.00	45010
1986	4	52	R 739,494.00	R 326,564.00	34882
1987	6	49	Not Available	Not Available	Not Available
1988	9	74	R 1,043,482.00	R 416,394.00	48946
1989	4	71	R 1,059,877.00	R 640,841.00	56855
1991	6	71	R 1,037,988.00	R 459,287.00	46385
1992	13	123	R 1,430,539.00	R 260,653.00	47305
1996	14	78	R 1,393,676.00	R 538,160.00	44500
1997	9	58	R 1,582,683.00	R 620,404.00	45723
1998	5	13	R 692,070.00	R 218,077.00	8511
1999	1	5	R 608,412.00	R 523,217.00	2740
Total	**161**	**1722**	**R 12,136,450.00**	**R 4,607,588.00**	**640943**

From these figures it is obvious that box office income only amounted to 38% of the total budget, and that the net cost per production, i.e. the portion of the production cost that had to be financed through public funding was 62% of the total production cost. A dramatic reduction in the PACOFS opera budget can be observed after the consequences of the White Paper started to take effect. During the transformation period PACOFS started to wind down its activities as a production house, and in accordance with the White Paper, the last opera production was staged in 1999.

2.5 AN ASSESSMENT OF THE HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

The apartheid South African arts and culture sector was founded and existed because of its dependence on a structure that was derived from a system which emphasised the

patronage of the State, underpinned by an ideology of European supremacy and imperialist domination by a white minority. This structure was exclusive to and catered only for the needs of this minority. By definition thus, only South Africans that were classified as "white" and who had an interest in and supported art forms such as opera under the laws that governed apartheid South Africa were entitled to services from the arts and culture sector. Cast lists in PACOFS annual reports show that until as recent as 1992, PACOFS Opera employed only white opera singers, the majority of which were imported from other provinces and Europe. It was clearly assumed and prescribed by the state that opera was the domain of Europeans and persons of European extraction and that it was thus the exclusive cultural property of this ethnic grouping. The ideology of apartheid was based on total segregation of race and culture. In fact, the introduction of pass laws criminalised the presence of black people in white urban areas while the Public Amenities Act made it a criminal offence for black people to use amenities designated for Europeans. It was thus impossible for a black person to perform in any of the state subsidised theatres. Carol Steinberg argues that it was in other words a situation where policy as prescription proposed appropriate government policy for development, based on a set of assumptions about the benevolence of government. (Steinberg: 206). Steinberg investigated the Performing Arts Council of the Transvaal (PACT) in 1993 with the purpose to offer suggestions as to how PACT could be transformed so that the institution could be in a position to offer an equitable service to its clients by promoting the full range of South African performing arts. Steinberg emphasised PACT's promotion of white interests, the promotion of Afrikaans and its worship of Europe. This situation was

also prevalent at PACOFS. This is evident in the whites only cast lists and the fact that operas were initially only performed in Afrikaans.

In contradiction to this, participants at the Culture and Resistance Symposium and the CASA Conference, argued that cultural diversity exists in South Africa and that in a democratic society it must be embraced and its benefits made accessible to all who live in South Africa. Anderson placed great emphasis on the existence of music in the correct (democratic) context. Even western music has its place in South African culture if the broad population is able to benefit from its performance. At CASA, Pallo Jordan explicitly mentioned Mozart and Shakespeare, two Eurocentric icons, as having a specific role to play in a democratic South African cultural society. Emphasis is also placed by all on the important role of cultural workers in a democratic society. Nowhere is it mentioned that in order to be good enough for the local community, arts practitioners must be imported from other provinces or from abroad. Instead it is important, on the one hand, to initiate every opportunity to generate a dynamic cross pollination of different cultures in South Africa to emphasise diversity, while on the other hand it is equally important to accelerate momentum to achieve a brand identity that personifies South African culture in an environment of diversity.

Neither the Culture and Resistance Symposium nor the CASA Conference attacked any specific artistic genre. The context in which this genre is practiced is what matters in a democratic society. Although it is widely accepted that the development of cultural identity is a basic human need, alongside those for shelter, food and social relations,

Steinberg maintains that the arts are a luxury which should not have precedence over basic needs such as medical care, housing, education etc. (Steinberg: 184). However, the opera budget for the Free State was never astronomical and can, even by today's standards, be justified when it is invested in such a way that the whole community of the Free State benefits from this cultural investment. If the original PACOFS Founding Articles are placed within a democratic context, they do not differ much from the Vision and Mission of its successor, the Performing Arts Centre of the Free State, or from that of Free State Opera.

At this stage I want to introduce a theory, namely that during the previous dispensation and the struggle for democracy the question regarding the Eurocentric art forms (in this case opera) was merely contextual, i.e. it related to the environment and situation wherein opera existed. Due to the ideology of separate development that underpinned apartheid, opera--in the Free State at any rate--could only imitate its European roots; therefore it essentially existed in isolation from the broad community and local cultural influences. In fact, opera in the Free State was stagnating to the point where PACOFS believed that by importing artists from elsewhere, and to rigorously enforce opera's European heritage upon the local situation, would validate its existence in relation to the ideologies practiced by the apartheid state. Contrary to the aims in its founding statement, by the dawn of the nineties PACOFS Opera no longer employed permanent artistic personnel, a fact that even more underscored its unsustainability due to contextual incompatibility and its failure as a service provider to a racially diverse community in the arts services sector.

CHAPTER 3

THE PERIOD OF TRANSFORMATION AND BEYOND

3.1 THE ARTS AND CULTURE TASK GROUP (ACTAG) PROCESS AND THE PUBLICATION OF THE WHITE PAPER

With reference to Medu and CASA, one of the major issues addressed at the two conferences in Gaborone and Amsterdam concerned the importance of cultural workers in the community. Gilder called for the sharing of infrastructure while Jordan advocated alternative democratic structures (to that of apartheid) in the arts sector that complement the work of the UDF and COSATU (Council of South African Trade Unions) cultural desks. (CASA: 264). These democratic structures in effect acted as mouthpieces for the cultural desk of the ANC which was outlawed and instead operated from abroad. It was pretty much the cultural workers within these alternative democratic structures that gave voice and direction to the UDF and COSATU cultural desks which operated under severe restriction, especially during the emergency situation of the 1980's. These democratic structures, which in fact originated in black community drama and dance groups, choral associations and structures with specific interests in the arts and culture field, basically formulated ANC policy on arts and culture. Simplistically viewed, when the ANC, UDF and COSATU were unbanned on 2 February 1990, these alternative democratic structures merged to form the National Arts Coalition. This body was to be the first national, non-racial and non-political organisation lobbying for new arts and culture policies. Abebe

Zegeye and Robert Kriger (1998)[16] argue that this development was to assert their political independence, which brought them into conflict with the ANC's Department of Arts and Culture. According to them, by the time the first democratic elections were held in 1994, the National Arts Coalition had already established itself to the point where it was able to make recommendations regarding the founding of new arts and culture policies for South Africa.

Due to this internal conflict, the minister of the then Department of Arts, Culture Science and Technology (DACST) called for public nominations to appoint affiliates from all different genres to establish a geographically represented 23 person Arts and Culture Task Group (ACTAG). This task group solicited representations from the various regions and arts genres from which ACTAG made several proposals to DACST. Many of these proposals were already being lobbied for by the National Arts Coalition, and their inclusion in the ACTAG Report was merely a formality. In 1995, ACTAG hosted a national congress during which its proposals were formally adapted by a broad spectrum of arts and culture practitioners, educators and administrators. The ACTAG Conference however was not without controversy, especially in the media. Arts Editor of Beeld newspaper and foremost arts critic Thys Odendaal accused ACTAG members of having hidden agendas, while he argued that the ACTAG proposals did not distinguish between "arts" and "culture" and that due to budget restrictions on opera (and other traditionally

[16] *Culturelink* review. 1998/9

Eurocentric art forms) artists with talent will have no other option than to go abroad.[17] Other voices were cautiously optimistic. The Editor of the Star newspaper argued that the ACTAG Proposals did not mean that opera, ballet and drama companies would summarily be shut down. They would, however, be obliged to produce business plans and artistic policies that correspond with the needs of their community in order to validate the continuation of their subsidies, thus requiring accountability of all role players. "These are sound ideas which require the public to be less passive and the politicians more responsible, a cultural interaction this country sorely needs" (Reviving the arts. 1995. The Star).

Odendaal of course expressed in writing an estimation of circumstances as was perceived by most white, privileged citizens who benefited from an arts and culture policy that promoted the interests of a ruling class minority. It is interesting to note that, especially after the publication of the White Paper and criterion for implementation, many white arts critics had much to say about the so-called demise of the Eurocentric art forms. It must have been difficult for them, and indeed for all who supported them, to accept the fact that the four Performing Arts Councils did not represent the cultural needs of the majority of the South African population. There were now nine provinces, each with its own cultural needs and emerging cultural agendas.

[17] Beleid kan begaafdes verdryf. 1995. Published in Insig Magazine

Emerging out of the ACTAG recommendations, the White Paper on Arts, Culture and Heritage was published on 4 June 1996. With reference to the desire to craft an integrated national culture, it has the subtitle, "All our legacies, our common future." Zegeye and Kriger argue that because of the slow movement of government machinery, it took a very long time to implement the policy recommendations in the White Paper. This led to the dissipation of the momentum and anticipation that was generated during the ACTAG process and its civil society predecessors like the National Arts Coalition. As far as the Performing Arts Councils were concerned, it was proposed that they would receive declining subsidies, and that eventually only core infrastructure, core staff and core activities would be funded. In order to meet the government's goals for reconstruction and development (RDP, later replaced by GEAR) it was foreseen that the performing arts councils would be transformed from production houses to playhouses, thus making infrastructure, in principle, accessible to all. Opera and other high arts companies previously resident in the PACs would become independent entities and henceforth funded by the National Arts Council. The rationale that opera as an art form might cease to exist in the Free State is defended in a statement by the Editor of Volksblad: "The bigger centres will still be able to see drama, opera, ballet and dance. They have the infra-structure of artists and big sponsorships to keep them going. The Free State has none".[18]

[18] Vrees is nie besweer. Volksblad. 1999.

In a scathing attack on the government, Julius Eichbaum, Editor of the arts magazine Scenario, wrote in a Mail & Guardian article that, "by now it must be apparent to anyone with a modicum of intelligence and honesty … that the wheels have come off the entire new arts and culture policy. Instead of promoting arts and culture across the board, the new policy has seen brutal cutbacks in funding for those structures which could have made meaningful contributions towards attaining these ends. What Roger Jardine (then Director-General of the Department of Arts, Culture, Science & Technology) so refers to as the "transformation" of the performing arts councils has, in fact, become the near destruction of these bodies and the consequent loss to the performing arts industry of those highly skilled and talented individuals who could have been at the forefront of a true arts renaissance in this country."[19]

Notwithstanding the outcries, the White Paper achieved its goals which were lobbied for and approved by the majority of arts and culture practitioners involved in the National Arts Coalition, the ACTAG process and the final draft of the White Paper. With regard to opera, the White Paper did not deny its existence, nor did it want to eradicate its existence. What the White Paper in effect did, was to give control of the different genres, in this case opera, back to the artists. It also placed a fiscal responsibility on artists in that they now became responsible for the financial administration of the genre, successful

[19] Costly New Arts Policy. 1998. Published in Mail and Guardian.

outcomes of projects and the ultimate survival of the genre. Transparency was guaranteed as several systems of communication and reporting had been put in place between the public funder and the funded institution. Artists and cultural workers have a duty to meet the goals of redistribution and development policies of the government to facilitate access to public funding. The White Paper also, in principle, made available relevant infrastructure to all artists who need it. By transforming the four PAC's into playhouses, anybody can now (theoretically) rent rehearsal and performance space from these transformed institutions.

Considering the context of this research, the most important legislation that resulted from the publication of the White Paper was the National Arts Council Act (Act 56 of 1997).[20] This act was assented to on 6 November 1997 and its commencement date was 1 November 1999. This act dealt with the establishment of the National Arts Council (NAC), a juristic person, which would hence forth be responsible for the distribution of funding to artists and arts organisations. The main objective of the council is to identify opportunities for performing artists to practice their craft and to provide funding for arts projects. The NAC replaced the four provincial PAC's that, up to 1999, received the bulk of all national funding to develop performing arts in general. The fact that government policy allowed for an arms length approach to the NAC meant that government, as primary funding agent of the NAC, would not be directly involved in NAC management. The NAC, its board and administrators would assume responsibility for the management

[20] As ammended by the Cultural Laws Ammendment Acts 45 of 2000 and 36 of 2001.

of funding of the entire arts and culture spectrum of the South African creative arts industry, in all its diversity. In the broader sense of the South African arts and culture policy landscape, the NAC was established to act as a facilitator of public funds towards the arts sector as opposed to the previous dispensation that saw government as a benevolent benefactor in this regard.[21]

3.2 THE TRANSFORMATION OF PACOFS (Performing Arts Council of the Orange Free State)

In accordance with the White Paper on Arts, Culture and Heritage, PACOFS started its transformation process during the 1995/96 financial year. Public nominations were called for throughout the province and on 24 January 1996 the first democratically elected board was appointed. The process was overseen by the provincial Department of Sport, Arts, Culture, Science and Technology (SACST). The sixteen board members were representative of the provincial demographic. The first plan of action conferred to the board was to implement the new White Paper. According to the 1995/96 annual report, PACOFS now had a new mission statement which required the institution to "identify, assist, encourage and develop local and artistic talent and pursue the empowerment of the performing artists and support staff within its artistic programmes."[22] PACOFS committed itself actively towards the education and

[21] The Cultural Laws Amendment Act 45 of 2000 saw a partial rescinding of the arm's length approach in that the Minister of Arts and Culture now has the power to directly appoint the NAC chairperson and to intervene in the functioning of the NAC Board, should the necessity therefore arise.
[22] PACOFS Annual Report. 1995/96.

development of audiences. Its biggest challenge was to align its spending with the public funding model set out in the White Paper. As was the case in the previous dispensation, PACOFS presented several cultural programmes such as school productions portraying opera, dance and drama in rural areas, for the first time reaching all the people of the Free State. As far as the restructuring of personnel was concerned, PACOFS lost 81 workers due to voluntary retrenchment and new appointments were made to reflect government's employment equity objectives. Without necessarily realising it, the new board of PACOFS simply put the PACOFS founding statement of the 1960's into a democratic context, thereby validating the institution's right to exist within a democratic society.

During 1997/98, the Performing Arts Council of the Orange Free State made way for the new Performing Arts Centre of the Free State, thus starting to move away from being a production house and embracing its status as a playhouse. The transformation of PACOFS was finalised on 1 September 2003 when PACOFS was declared a cultural institution in terms of Section 3 of the Cultural Institutions Act (Act 119 of 1998). The Sand du Plessis Theatre complex was now a playhouse as foreseen in the White Paper, funded by national government to keep its doors open, and leasing the theatre space to production houses in order to generate sufficient income to meet all their obligations. This was in contrast with the situation before the publication of the White Paper when the Sand du Plessis Theatre complex was rented from the Provincial Government at no cost and the city councils of the Free State made annual contributions to help defray PACOFS expenses.

Some visible positive and negative consequences of the White Paper on PACOFS were the following: According to its Annual Report for 2004/05, which incidentally was the most recent available report when this research was conducted, PACOFS received a government grant of R19 553 000. The current administrative expenses and compensation of its 144 employees however, totalled a staggering R21 785 519. The two most senior officials together earned a total of R1 279 479. Taking into consideration that in the current dispensation the CEO of PACOFS has but a caretaker / administrator role to fulfil, it is my opinion that these salaries were greatly out of proportion in relation to what was expected from these two employees in terms of their respective job descriptions. On the other hand, over the past few years, PACOFS engaged in various schemes to improve its income generating capabilities. PACOFS has diversified its core business to stimulate revenue streams by leasing its theatre venues to production companies, conference facilities to outside organisations, and outsourcing its catering, marketing and publicity support services. Other revenue resources are hiring out technical equipment, and offering technical support services; the old production wardrobe division has been converted into a costume hiring unit while the old décor store and prop shop now offers décor and props for hire. PACOFS also offers a booking and ticketing service. From the leasing of theatres, equipment and catering activities, PACOFS managed to generate an income of R1 471 042. PACOFS has increased its venues from two to eight by converting the art gallery, artist canteen and some of the rehearsal spaces. The backstage area of the Sand du Plessis Theatre is also leased to the public for private functions. PACOFS, as a receiving house, presented 112 different productions in its

venues during the 2004/05 fiscal year and claimed an occupancy rate of 78%. An income of R3, 1 million was generated by these productions, yet the bottom line after all subsidies were received showed a loss of R2 232 519 (gross) during the 2004/05 financial year. The Auditor General however calculated this to be a net loss of R1 765 313.[23] PACOFS received a once-off grant from the National Department of Arts and Culture to improve the twenty year old facility. It is however unclear from the 2004/05 annual financial report exactly how much the funding in question is, how much was actually used for the intended upgrading and in what positive way this refurbishment has affected PACOFS's business ventures.

On 12 August 2005, in the PACOFS Annual Report (2004/05) Mr BJK van Niekerk, on behalf of the Auditor-General refers to several irregularities in PACOFS management that contributed to losses. Amongst these were weaknesses in internal controls, insufficient budgetary management, incomplete or inaccurate reporting of income from business units or cost of sales, non-compliance with laws and regulations such as the Public Funds Management Act, no reconciliation of the annual budget and actual monthly cash flow situation, lack of established systems, procedures and processes for cash management, non-reliance of internal audit functions, no proper procurement policy (supply chain management) and an inability to resume profitable operations.[24] According to Mr van Niekerk, most of these concerns were expressed in the 2003/04 Annual Report by the Auditor General but had not been remedied by the management of PACOFS.

[23] PACOFS Annual Report. 2004/05.

[24] PACOFS Annual Report. 2004/05.

On 11 April 2007, Volksblad newspaper publicly announced the suspension of the PACOFS CEO, Dr. Nathan Bagarette on grounds of financial misconduct.[25] A long investigation followed and to this day remains unresolved. Dr. Bagarette eventually resigned from PACOFS in December 2007.[26]

3.3 FREE STATE OPERA: A CASE STUDY WITH REFERENCE TO PEER INSTITUTIONS AND PUBLIC FUNDING

With the arrival of South Africa's long awaited new dispensation in 1994, the landscape and frame of reference in which the creative arts industries operated until then changed dramatically. The White Paper on Arts, Culture and Heritage was published on 4 June 1996. This far-reaching document set in motion the wheels of transformation and had as its purpose the equal distribution of cultural skills, resources and infrastructure within this industry. Two of the direct consequences of this document were the demise of the four provincial arts councils and the establishment of the National Arts Council of South Africa to ensure the equitable distribution of public financial resources. The termination of these generally inaccessible, Eurocentric and racially prejudiced institutions meant that the writing was on the wall for the production houses that they operated. Suddenly, performing artists, in this case professional opera singers, were stranded in limbo—unemployed and with very little prospect of ever being employed in this country again; consequently, many left South Africa to explore greener pastures abroad, taking their

[25] Interview by Elsje Neethling. Volksblad. 2007/04/11.

[26] Interview by Mike van Rooyen. Volksblad. 2007/12/10.

skills (often paid for by tax payers' money) out of the country. The opposite of the exodus from our borders, albeit to a very small extent, was also happening abroad. Professional artists who opposed the previous dispensation were returning from Europe and the USA to plough back their expertise and knowledge into their local communities. The White Paper acknowledges the importance of the retention of skills within the creative arts industries and emphasises the importance of arts education. In fact, a significant component regarding reconstruction and the development of historically disadvantaged artists as mentioned in the White Paper, hinges on skills transfer and capacity building.

In the spirit of the White Paper, in order to stem the outflow of expertise from the Free State and to facilitate a process of skills transfer in the genre of opera, a group of professional arts practitioners in this field joined forces and founded Free State Opera, which had its inaugural concert on 4 December 1999. According to its Mission Statement Free State Opera manages training programmes for talented individuals from previously disadvantaged communities who are interested in this genre as well as training programmes for community choirs and choral conductors. The company also creates employment opportunities for local established opera singers as well as emerging soloists and choirs that were developed in the various training programmes. These objectives are ably achieved by Free State Opera, an institution incorporated under Section 21 (not for gain) of the Companies Act, through the promotion of opera in the Free State. In addition, existing structures and services are fully utilized, while concentrating on the artistic development of individuals who were previously excluded from this genre

through racism and bias behaviour. Free State Opera assists potential opera singers through skills-transfer and capacity-building through artistic and educational programmes to become professional performing artists, thus empowering them. The company also employs its own trained artists, thus providing aspiring practitioners with a performance platform that offers opportunities to advance their capabilities in this genre through observation, rehearsal and mentoring.

In accordance to the White Paper and in observance of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Free State Opera adheres to the following basic principals as set out in Chapter 3 (9) of the White Paper on Arts, Culture and Heritage:

Human Rights: Allowing equal opportunities to all persons who wish to participate in opera, thereby providing individuals with the opportunity to develop optimally in this genre.

Freedom of Expression: To ensure that all artists in the company are free to pursue their vision of artistic creativity without interference, victimisation and censorship.

Access: To ensure our artists unhindered access to the means of artistic and cultural activity, information and enjoyment.

Equity: To ensure the equitable distribution of resources relevant to this specific art discipline.

Redress: To ensure the correction of historical and existing imbalances in this genre through development, education, training and affirmative action with regard to race, gender and rural and urban considerations.

Free State Opera is currently the only institution in central South Africa to provide a fully integrated training programme for young singers, specifically geared towards the labour market. Students receive training in practical as well as theoretical aspects of singing. Additionally, students are initiated into the world of arts management in order to provide task-specific training to sustain self-management within the labour market. The training programme targets individuals between the ages of 16 and 30 years (although not exclusively) from previously disenfranchised communities and is totally free of charge. Funding to support the programme is obtained from sponsors. Singers whose talents are developed in this training programme are offered employment by the company as far as possible. Consequently, productions and concerts are staged annually to demonstrate the high level of competence of these singers.

Free State Opera boasts an ad hoc soloist ensemble of 10 individuals and an ad hoc opera chorus of up to 80 singers, made up of individuals from different community choirs. The nucleus of the opera chorus is formed by the Rock Chorale Choir. Several of the singers trained in this programme have gone on to make national and international careers for themselves. The bass Vuyani Mlinde, who made his debut with the Free State Opera Ensemble, received a bursary to attend the Royal Academy in London and subsequently has started a career in Europe. Baritones Paul Madibeng, Thabang Senekal and Dithaba Mantoro received their basic training at Free State Opera and made their public debuts with the Free State Opera Ensemble. This trio has become a regular feature of the Black Tie Ensemble at the Pretoria State Theatre.

Free State Opera annually trains choristers and several choral conductors and soloists for participation in the South African Schools Choral Eisteddfod (formerly *Tirisano)* and South African Choral Music Association *(SACMA)* competitions. Promising young singers are being identified to pursue professional training as opera singers; aspirant operatic singers are signed up in the opera training programme from where they advance to be employed in the Free State Opera Ensemble to perform in concerts and opera productions. Although Free State Opera is currently not an accredited institution of learning, students are encouraged to register for examinations in practical singing and music theory through UNISA or the Royal Schools and Trinity College of London. Due to Free State Opera's continuous involvement with the South African Schools Choral Eisteddfod and *SACMA* competitions the company is guaranteed an annual inflow of talented young singers into the programme.

Free State Opera tours internationally on a regular basis. In the past, Free State Opera soloists and the Rock Chorale Choir (nucleus opera chorus) presented several successful concerts in countries such as Australia, Germany, Czech Republic, Austria and Italy. During June and July 2006 the company and choir toured Switzerland, Austria, Hungary, Slovakia, Germany and Liechtenstein. On that tour Free State Opera soloists and the Rock Chorale Choir presented 18 concerts. In Vienna, a performance of Mozart's "Spatzenmesse" with orchestra was broadcast on national radio.

Free State Opera has good relationships with peer companies; in particular the Johannesburg-based Opera Africa. This professional camaraderie enables the

development of co-productions, which in turn has a positive influence on both the income and expense accounts as costs and revenue earned are shared between the two companies. Apart from this, Free State Opera has also established a very positive relationship with the media, which enables the company to initiate and maintain positive public visibility.

Free State Opera prides itself as being a company that is always on the forefront when it comes to initiating innovative productions and introducing new work. Free State Opera is investigating the prospect of developing a new indigenous opera around the life and times of King Moshoeshoe I of Lesotho. Research is at an advanced stage; several local composers will be commissioned to compose music for this project.

Free State Opera is a Section 21 Company and complies with all legislative requirements. The company has sound financial practices, which are enforced through good financial planning and regular audits. Free State Opera is operational annually from February to November.

Although Free State Opera is currently growing, there are certain weaknesses in its structure that could be improved on. The complement of Administrative staff needs to be expanded. Currently, the CEO also fulfils tasks that should be undertaken by an Artistic Director. While it was justified in the past for the CEO to combine the responsibilities of these two separate posts when the company was small, the work load has increased significantly parallel to the rapid growth of Free State Opera. Therefore, a succession plan is being put in place. Certain individuals within the company have been identified as

potential prospects to fill the position of Artistic Director and are undergoing training relevant to the skills required to fill this position at a later stage.

The company does not own its own orchestra and is therefore dependant on the Free State Symphony Orchestra (FSSO) for its services, which consumes a sizable portion of a production budget. Another difficulty Free State Opera had to contend with was the often poor standard of performance by the FSSO, which often necessitated bringing the KwaZulu Natal Philharmonic Orchestra to Bloemfontein at great expense. However, the quality of performance delivered by the Free State Symphony Orchestra has now improved.

Free State Opera does not employ in-house permanent marketing personnel; instead all marketing-related tasks and campaigns are outsourced. However, an outside marketer does not have intimate knowledge of the workings of the company and is therefore not in a good position to be an ambassador for the company's various projects. In order to have continuity, plans are being finalised to employ someone in-house to take charge of marketing and company PR.

The arrival of the White Paper ensured current favourable government policies, which have created many opportunities for the development of young opera singers as well as for the creation of new work. The establishment of the National Arts Council in 1998 made it possible for the company to apply for public funds to finance its work. It is also possible to apply directly to the national Department of Arts and Culture for financial

assistance to work on projects that could be motivated as being of national importance. Associating projects with certain historical events and educational focus points, as well as the company's alignment with government's development goals, will almost guarantee access to public funding. The company's commitment to develop new work with the co-operation of local composers has also been met with favourable response by the DAC.

Free State Opera has the opportunity to expand operations into the Northern and Eastern Cape provinces where similar projects are currently non-existent. Being the only project of this nature in the Free State, young singers countrywide are eager to be admitted into the training programme; besides attracting a huge demand for practical and theoretical training in singing, the programme is also assured a steady flow of new talented individuals into the training programme. Free State Opera has the opportunity to develop this aspect into a positive asset for the company, which in the long run can ensure sustainability and longevity of the opera genre.

The fact that a performing arts institution like Free State Opera is dependant on public and private funding to ensure its long-term survival definitely poses a threat to its continued existence. If adequate funding is not secured for projects, these cannot commence as planned. A lack of sufficient funding can also mean that the growth of the company is curtailed and that it cannot honour its commitment to employ the singers that have received extensive training. Lack of adequate funding can also negatively impact on the development programme itself. The mentioned favourable government policies can also change and make it difficult to obtain any public funding for opera.

Due to sudden changes in its board and top management, the National Arts Council (NAC), one of the primary sources of funding for the arts in South Africa, has not always been able to function optimally. The NAC does not have a very good client service track record. Files of Free State Opera were known to have gone missing in the past and grants were not paid out on the agreed upon dates.

Expensive venues also pose a big threat to the existence and sustained growth of Free State Opera. Although, according to the White Paper, infrastructure is supposedly made available to performing arts companies free of charge, PACOFS hires out the Sand du Plessis Theatre to Free State Opera at a (varying) cost of more than R10 000 per day. This fee often does not include the necessary technical staff to run a production. The high costs involved in staging an opera production generally is a threat to this genre, and Free State Opera is continuously looking for ways to stage productions more cost-effectively. As a result of the high cost, Free State Opera makes use of the Sand du Plessis Theatre as little as possible. Currently most productions take place at the Wynand Mouton Theatre situated on the Free State University campus. The theatre is modern and has an orchestra pit. The rental rates are generally affordable and within budget and there is usually a very well trained technical staff complement on hand.

3.4 PEER INSTITUTIONS

Several opera companies have been created in other parts of the country to fill the void left by the demise of the previous Performing Arts Councils. This termination came

about as was the case with Free State Opera, as a direct consequence of the White Paper. Two of these companies, namely Opera Africa and The Black Tie Ensemble, currently based in Gauteng, can be compared to Free State Opera.

3.4.1 Opera Africa

Opera Africa was previously based in Durban but relocated to Johannesburg during 2005. Opera Africa is in essence a national and international touring company that performs existing and new works, either individually, or in collaboration with other local opera companies such as Free State Opera. Opera Africa was the first company to develop a new indigenous opera, namely "Princess Magogo KaDinuzulu". This production brought fame and fortune to Opera Africa and it is has been staged in many of the worlds biggest opera centres such as New York, Chicago, the Ravinia Festival, London, Amsterdam, Antwerp, Berlin, and elsewhere on the European continent.

Although Opera Africa does not directly engage in the training and development of singers, the company promotes the indirect transfer of skills by importing singers, conductors and designers to work with local professionals on the company's different projects. Consequently, Opera Africa attempts to reduce any gap that may exist in the skills repertoire of foreign artists and that of South Africans working in the same genre. The idea of enabling the transference of different skills to South African artists is for them to advance and make successes of their careers. Opera Africa also actively employs young singers from local opera companies during co-productions. These young singers then have the opportunity to share the stage with internationally renowned stars, from

whom they can learn, as well as gaining valuable exposure and experience. During 2006, Opera Africa staged a very successful production of Bellini's opera *I Capuleti e Montecchi.* Opera Africa also regularly tours to Bloemfontein, the home of Free State Opera. In an interview, Sandra de Villiers, Artistic Director of Opera Africa, lamented the situation of funding for opera, especially for productions of a higher artistic standard. Between the National Arts Council and the Department of Arts and Culture, there is simply not enough funding available to sustain big productions successfully over a longer period of time. More synergy and shared responsibility is needed between existing opera companies to ensure sustainability of this genre. Opera companies must investigate the possibility to use each other's sets, costumes, and props to prevent unnecessary duplication and save on production costs. Opera Africa currently imports some singers (often South Africans) and conductors from Europe to enhance production standards. It must be investigated to what extent locally trained singers can be used to fill most of the roles.[27] Recently, Opera Africa announced a partnership with Ster Kinekor. Opera Africa negotiated the rights to screen several filmed productions by the New York Metropolitan Opera in Ster Kinekor theatres. This initiative will contribute to the promotion of opera and its accessibility within the community.

3.4.2 The Black Tie Ensemble

The Black Tie Ensemble was established in March 1999 by opera diva Mimi Coertse and Neels Hansen, once head of opera at PACT. The company's training programme is known as the Incubator Scheme. This scheme was initiated in 2002 and allows young

[27] Interview with Sandra de Villiers on 8 December 2006

talented singers of diverse cultural backgrounds with no prior opera experience to receive in-service opera and technical training.

The mission and objectives of the Black Tie Ensemble revolve primarily around the preservation of opera and classical singing. On its website, www.blackties.co.za, the company stresses its engagement towards the development and employment of young gifted individuals. Its training objectives are much the same as that of Free State Opera, in that it attempts to create permanent employment for singers in its training programme. The company also has a full-time ad-hoc opera chorus.

The Black Tie Ensemble, which currently comprises 16 full-time members, is well-known for its artistic standing, and several memorable opera productions have been produced by the company. These include Lucia di Lammermoor (2005), Cavalleria Rusticana and I Pagliacci (2006). The singers of The Black Tie Ensemble have successfully staged six opera seasons and also performed internationally in Beijing, Shanghai and Hong Kong, Graz, Vienna, Nagoya and Tokyo, as well as in Lagos and Abuja.

As far as sponsorships are concerned, the company runs an "Adopt an Artist" scheme, whereby individuals and corporate companies sponsor a specific Black Tie Ensemble member. Current public sponsors include The Department of Arts and Culture, National Lottery Distribution Trust Fund, The South African State Theatre, and National Arts

Council of South Africa, while corporate sponsors include Royal Bafokeng Holdings, Sappi, Sasol, several newspaper publications and Classic FM.[28]

3.5 NEW VOICES IN THE FREE STATE

Nontozakhe Nqangisa (soprano), Dorothy Phiri (mezzo) and Malefetsane Mofokeng (bass-baritone) have all been with Free State Opera since its early days. In fact, Phiri was part of the cast during the organisation's launch concert in 1999. All three have performed in Free State Opera's 1996 production of Cavalleria Rusticana. During 1995 and 1996 they performed in Europe during the company's tour--with the Rock Chorale Choir--to Germany, Austria, Switzerland, Hungary, Slovakia Liechtenstein and the Czech Republic. On 24 June 2006 they sang the solo parts in a performance of a Mozart mass in Vienna's "Votivenkirche" with a choir made up of singers from all over the world with an Austrian orchestra and conductor. The performance, which brought them much acclaim, was also recorded for radio broadcast. It is thus fitting that I should interview these three accomplished artists to get their perspective on current government policy in light of their individual artistic success stories (Group Interview, 8 January 2007). All three opera singers are acutely aware of the fact that current government policy favours their development in this genre. It is possible for them as individuals to apply for and obtain funding from the National Arts Council to practice their artistry. Bursaries are also available from this institution, should any of them wish to obtain a degree in this field from a higher institute of learning. By being part of the Free State Opera Ensemble, they are being employed with public money, obtained from sponsorships by the NAC and

[28] Source: www.blackties.co.za

DAC. They are also aware that it was a government sponsorship that gave them the opportunity to perform internationally.

Mofokeng hails from a rural family in Qwa-Qwa. He was exposed to opera for the first time as a teenager and fell in love with it the first time he heard it, which was "many years ago." The more he hears it, the more he wants to get involved with the genre. "I constantly need to sing, talk to people about it and read as much as possible about the subject." For him education, in all the aspects of the genre, is of paramount importance to a young opera singer. This includes not just knowledge of the genre and its diverse styles, but also his rights as an artist and musician in South Africa.

Nqangisa, a Xhosa, grew up in harsh economic conditions in Botshabelo, a township near Thaba 'Nchu which formed part of the former Bophutatswana. She is concerned with the fact that not enough is being done to introduce the genre to learners in schools. A lot of prominence is given to choral music; it is part of "the African tradition". Often choirs also sing music from an opera, without knowing that it is in fact opera. When she came to join Free State Opera, Nqangisa actually thought that it would be pretty much the same setup as with a choir and soloist. "It was however, a pleasant surprise, and to this day I want to know more about Opera."

Phiri, a Sotho, was born and raised in Bloemfontein. Just like Nqangisa she comes from a family which is socio-economically underprivileged. Dorothy said she just wanted to sing "from the day that I was born." Her major concern is that there is no sustainability

and job security in this field. As a single parent, she also has to consider her young child, which means that she has to have a second job to augment her income from the productions and concerts she performs in for Free State Opera.

Mofokeng, Phiri and Nqangisa all feel that government can do more to assist young emerging opera singers. Mofokeng argues that government must not just look only to Gauteng and Cape Town to meet its development goals. In the Free State, especially in the rural areas, there are many youngsters with a lot of talent. He feels that these young singers must all be given the opportunity to receive professional training and development in the opera genre. Government should be much more forthcoming with funding, in the same way sport is. It is of course true that sport has a much higher visibility factor than opera, which contributes to the fact that it attracts a lot of sponsorship. "Artists also need to eat, just like soccer players." Both Phiri and Nqangisa believe that government should do more to ensure that the few opera companies that exist, especially those involved with training and development, are allocated enough funding to stage more productions. Only then can singers really get exposure and hone their artistic skills.

In terms of new work, Mofokeng was the only one to have a definite answer. New work in a South African context is interesting in terms of understanding the environment in which an opera takes place. He finds it exciting that Free State Opera is currently engaged in research with regards to an opera about the life and times of King Moshoeshoe I and that he is able to be part of the process from the outset. As a Sotho,

for him it is a cultural experience in going back to the roots of his ancestors and to get insight into the original music that was sung during the reign of the great king as well as traditions that were passed on from generation to generation. Mofokeng is convinced that this exercise stands to enrich the whole nation culturally and that South Africans can count themselves lucky to have government policy (the White Paper) in place that encourages and allows funding for a project like this.

These three young singers do not see themselves leaving the country to work in Europe, although Phiri is resigned to the fact that if that is where the work is, she probably would have to emigrate. Mofokeng and Nqangisa both support the idea that it is important to gain international experience. It will teach the singer about the European style and music of the genre, which can then be fused with the African background. They also both acknowledge that their roots are in South Africa and that they will always plough back their knowledge into the South African opera community to benefit emerging singers.

Nontozakhe Nqangisa, Dorothy Phiri and Malefetsane Mofokeng see themselves in five year's time as established South African opera singers, able to make a decent living from their art. The last word goes to Mofokeng. Government (policy) has done a lot for these three singers in terms of helping them recognize and develop their talents, but more needs to be done to ensure continuous development through the initiation of relevant opportunities to apply their new-found skills made possible through the sustained growth of opera in the Free State.

3.6 NEW WORKS

This research report deals with the situation of opera (with emphasis on the situation in the Free State) before, during and after the transformation process of which the White Paper on Arts, Culture and Heritage was an important articulation; I shall not enter into a discussion about the value of any new works produced. For the purpose of this research, I shall mainly focus on the political background against which new works were conceived, primarily a brief discussion of the works by Thomas Rajna, and Opera Africa's Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu.

In "Opera in South Africa during the first democratic decade", Ivan Meredith lists and discusses fifteen new works--some well-known and other lesser-known works--that saw the light after the first democratic elections. Nevertheless, these operas represent artistic output that did not exist previously. As to the question of why now all of a sudden, when in the previous dispensation there were far less activity in this field, Meredith argues that arts and culture policy of the Performing Arts Councils during the previous dispensation is to blame. Although incentives were provided from time to time in the form of competitions to compose new work, the funding policy for opera companies was that of generating revenue based on a "bums-on-seats"[29] principle, which made it very difficult and almost impossible for composers to perceive the reality of their works being staged. As a post-White Paper example, Meredith mentions the operas by Thomas Rajna, "Amarantha" (2000) and "Valley Song" (2005), which were premiered at Spier. Rajna

[29] The so called "Stumpf formula". It took into consideration the number of performances given by (in this case) an opera company, the number of attending patrons as well as the number of audience contact hours and the nature of the performance. (Steinberg: 79, 80). According to this formula the grant-in-aid received from government was then determined.

was able to raise the necessary funds from local government, the National Arts Council and several corporate sponsors, which allowed him to compose and see his work produced. In the case of "Valley Song", Rajna also had the support of the Spier Arts Trust (who commissioned the work and also hosted its premier performance) as well as the National Lottery Distribution Trust Fund (Meredith: 10). These are concrete examples of how the post-White Paper landscape has offered more diverse funding opportunities compared to the previous dispensation.

When I asked Ivan Meredith about his thoughts on the reason for so much artistic output, he was quite hesitant to wager an opinion. During his research he got the impression that many composers tended to work in a vacuum, somehow oblivious to their (artistic) surroundings and the vista of opportunities provided by the new dispensation. Some only composed because they were handed a script and a commission to put that script to music. In his thesis, Meredith argues further that most composers are not aware of post-colonial theories, thus their work does not deal with sensitive issues pertaining to transmigration and transitional situations. What arts administrators might conceive as positive development in terms of funding for the arts (as in the case of Rajna's work) might not be true for the artist. Rajna's sheer determination to see his work produced was the driving force behind the fact that he solicited his own funding.[30] Meredith notes that Rajna spent two-and-a-half years creating "Valley Song", three months in rehearsal and more than twice that amount of time to raise the funding for the production of the work (Meredith: 10).

[30] Interview with Ivan Meredith on 27 January 2007.

Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu, based on the life and songs of Princess Constance Magogo kaDinuzulu, was commissioned by Opera Africa and premièred at the Durban Playhouse in May 2002. According to Meredith, this work deals with relevant issues such as ethnic Zulu nationalism and the struggle against colonial rule. Other elements in the opera deal with patriotism, cultural heritage, peace, reconciliation, and African Renaissance. (Meredith: 47). The work was composed by Mzilikazi Khumalo with orchestrations and additional music by Michael Hankinson. The opera was performed at the Ravinia Festival in Chicago in June 2004 and had a European première at Het Muziektheater, Amsterdam in May 2006 and was performed in Oslo during August 2007. For Sandra de Villiers, Artistic Director of Opera Africa, the primary motive in commissioning this work was to determine the viability to create a true African genre.[31] When her European singing career ended and de Villiers returned to South Africa, there was a lot of talk that opera in South Africa is Eurocentric, elitist and driven by a white minority. Recognizing the interest that black singers had in opera she started to experiment with opera sung in an African language. This gave birth to the idea to develop a major African opera. De Villiers argues that no matter where you go in the world, there is opera, be it Italian, German, French, American or Russian. The structure of an opera is in her view universally the same, but the content, i.e. the story, language, type of orchestration etc. is geographically pre-determined.

[31] Interview with Sandra de Villiers on 8 December 2006.

De Villiers agrees that the current dispensation made it possible for Opera Africa to commission “Princess Magogo”. The empowerment of women, national pride and heritage all play very important roles in the existence of this work. The use of indigenous Zulu melodies and a story based on true events had this opera compared to the nationalistic nature of Mussorgsky’s “Boris Godunov” and the folk music nature of Gershwin’s “Porgy and Bess”. De Villiers also acknowledges the fact that there are certain imperfections in the work, especially with regard to the orchestration, which is sometimes a bit too Western for the setting of the opera. In retrospect, with “Princess Magogo” Opera Africa achieved its primary objective, namely the establishment of a true African genre.

Both Rajna and Opera Africa must be commended for the way, from an arts management perspective, in which they embraced the current dispensation in South Africa to create new work. I would argue that the South African arts and culture sector is especially prepared to accept works that deal with current issues such as heritage and empowerment of women (“Princess Magogo”) or with universal freedom and human rights issues (Rajna’s “Valley Song”). With regard to the situation of new work in the Free State, it can be perceived as a natural extension of its mandate, that Free State Opera is currently also engaged in research to commission new work. An opera that focuses on the indigenous music of the Basotho people with a storyline taken from the life of King Moshoeshoe I will form the central elements of this project. It is foreseen that current Sotho composers will be consulted and commissioned to compose music for this work. As far as orchestration is concerned, research is being done to incorporate traditional

Sotho instruments in the score so that the music can be true to its original form as far as possible.

One of the direct consequences of transformation and the democratisation process of opera is that the contextual framework in which this genre now functions allows an interrelationship between its Western origins and the richness of African heritage, history and music. Thanks to the fact that the White Paper gave control back to artists, they are now free to compose and create new works and to apply for public funding to produce these works. If more South African opera composers would recognize and embrace this freedom, then South Africa would certainly see an explosion of creative energy in this sector.

3.7 CONCLUSION: IN WHAT WAY DID THE CURRENT WHITE PAPER IMPACT ON TRANSFORMATION OF ARTS INSTITUTIONS IN THE FREE STATE, SPECIFICALLY FREE STATE OPERA, AND WHAT COULD BE EXPECTED OF A FUTURE WHITE PAPER?

At the Culture in Another South Africa (CASA) conference, Patrick Fitzgerald's reflection on ruling class culture in South Africa, "The struggle against cultural racism" dealt with the phenomenon of colonial (European) influence on African culture and vice versa. (CASA: 164). Fitzgerald argued that the imposition of colonial culture on the indigenous people of South Africa "had both a progressive and a reactionary tradition." He conceded however that it would be wrong to believe that all experiences of the formerly oppressed culture with this colonial imposition could be classified as negative.

Due to the interaction between the original European culture and the imposed upon African culture, a cultural exchange took place which left the original European culture recognisably non-European, i.e. not from Europe. Furthermore, Fitzgerald argues, that the colonial culture was not only the domain of the white oppressor and ruling class block, but was being shared and moulded into the context of the oppressed group to such an extend that the oppressor could no longer ignore the other's existence and involuntarily contribution to the struggle. This in itself is a liberating cultural experience as numerous aspects of cultural practice within the white ruling block were in themselves implicitly or overtly anti-apartheid and that it was especially true in the case of formal artistic production for example writing, theatre, music etc. (CASA: 165). In the previous dispensation, the white minority ruling class established opera as an art form exclusive for the use of whites. The fact that opera was present in South Africa did not exclude the genre from African influences. Especially in post apartheid South Africa, African opera singers interacted with this genre to the extent that the South African opera scene now holds its own against its European counterpart and that new works from South Africa are just as much worthy of international recognition as new work anywhere else in the world. This is evident in the case of "Princess Magogo" and "Valley Song"

Opera in the Free State did not re-invent itself as a genre per se, but did reposition itself within a democratic context, thereby validating its existence as a genre. This contextual repositioning allowed opera in the Free State to redefine itself as a European art form with a distinctly (South) African influence, which can hold its own in the broad spectrum

of art forms in the Free State and South Africa, thereby ensuring its survival. It must however also be emphasised that opera (as a genre) is not an active agent but the opera practitioners that allow for the genre's existence within a democratic framework are. During both the Culture and Resistance Symposium and the CASA Conference, it became clear that much emphasis was put on the role of cultural workers and artists in the community. Both Masekela and Gilder emphasised this point. Much was said about the democratisation and liberation of the arts as well as the rich heritage of South African culture. Pallo Jordan went as far as to include Mozart, a European composer of opera, in his illustration of the diversity of South African culture. Surely, the ANC government in exile, with its high regard for artists and their work, would not prohibit those artists from practicing any other cultural activities than those that are distinctly African. Yes, South Africa has a predominantly African culture, but the Asian and European influences in this culture cannot be ignored. In fact, I would argue that within this cultural diversity exist the very democratic principles that underpin the uniqueness of the South African society.

Both the ACTAG process and the White Paper were looking for a solution to ensure a meaningful and equitable distribution of the limited resources in the arts and culture sector. The four arts councils were receiving the bulk of government funding, while they were conceived by an oppressive regime that catered for the arts and culture needs of around 10% of the total population. These institutions had to be transformed, as I have illustrated in the case of PACOFS. The White Paper pertinently names opera as one of the genres that would qualify for funding from the National Arts Council. In return, the White Paper demands from opera to be actively involved in development and to engage

itself on different social and economic levels in the community wherein it exists. Yes, it is true that funding for opera has declined dramatically in relation to what the four PAC's spent on lavish productions, but it is still possible to produce opera of an acceptable standard if the director of an opera is prepared to explore resourceful alternatives by thinking outside the box.

The matter of infrastructure remains contentious at best. Although the White Paper seeks to make infrastructure available to all arts practitioners, especially to facilitate development of previously disenfranchised individuals, the reality is in stark contrast. The White Paper does not give specific instructions as to how infrastructure must be made available. It did however give the green light for state-owned theatres to be transformed into playhouses that stage productions from privatised performing arts institutions. The White Paper also underlines the necessity that all role players in the arts and culture industry receiving public funding uphold a directive for continual development. This standpoint has created a quandary for artists in the Free State due to the fact that PACOFS, in charge of managing the Sand du Plessis theatre, has been trying unsuccessfully since its initial transformation to merge these responsibilities. Putting up the development cap also implies that PACOFS must employ the artists it trains and develops. The result being that PACOFS now suffers major credibility issues amongst both the professional (developed) and non-developed artist fraternity as well as having alienated most of its regular audiences in the process. During a recent interview with Volksblad, the new CEO of PACOFS, Spirit Manyobo, confirmed that the Sand du Plessis theatre will no longer be available for artists of national and international

stature.[32] By imposing this policy, PACOFS is actually isolating up-and-coming Free State performing arts practitioners and preventing them from active involvement with external artistic influences, which is in fact a very necessary component of development processes to facilitate artistic growth. It also implies that an institution such as Free State Opera, which has attained national and international acclaim, no longer qualifies to use the infrastructure offered by the Sand du Plessis theatre. A future White Paper must bring clarity on exactly how equitable distribution of infrastructure must take place. It should state clearly the responsibility of each role-player in the performing arts industry towards development and must set specific development goals to arts institutions to justify public funding. Furthermore, it must seek to clarify the terms "production house", "receiving house" and "playhouse" and stipulate in precise terms the role of each of the state-owned theatres in this regard.

The current White Paper on Arts and Culture makes provision for the establishment of Provincial Arts and Culture Councils (PACCs). These PACCs must have the capacity to act as tools in the decentralisation process of state-owned arts institutions and provincial arts institutions dependant on public funding. Unfortunately the Free State Performing Arts and Culture Council has yet to adopt a funding policy, therefore rendering it currently useless for Free State arts practitioners and arts institutions. This impasse is linked to the fact that the Free State Provincial Government has no official funding policy in place. These are unintentional consequences of the current White Paper which only broadly outlines national policy without specific instructions for Provincial and Local

[32] Interview by Charles Smith. Volksblad. 2009/03/28.

Government spheres and must be dealt with in future arts policy to prevent chaos and collapse of the arts and culture industry at local and provincial level.

Free State Opera, together with its peer companies elsewhere in South Africa, is an example that opera has transformed and can survive without public funding of the apartheid dispensation. This research has revealed that it was never the intention of the White Paper to facilitate the demise of opera in the context of the Free State. In fact the survival and equal treatment of all South African art forms, irrespective of origin, is a priority of the White Paper and therefore an intended consequence. Within the framework provided by the White Paper, it was possible for opera in the Free State to be transformed into an art form which can now inhabit its rightful place within a democratic context. A future White Paper on Arts and Culture however, should find ways and means to protect arts institutions that established themselves within the framework of the current White Paper, as these are institutions that proved their ability to embrace transformation, nurture and develop artists and artistic products, and flourished within the context of current arts and culture policy.

BIBLIOGRAPHY AND LIST OF INTERVIEWS

1. ANDERSON, D. & ANDERSON ACKERMAN, L. 2005. *What Is Transformation? Why Is It So Hard to Manage?* Mediatec Publishing Inc. www.wpsmag.com.

2. ANDERSON, M. 1982. *Song and Struggle*. Unpublished paper delivered at the Culture and Resistance Symposium, 2 – 9 July 1982, Gaborone, Botswana.

3. ARTSCAPE ANNUAL REPORT. 2004/2005.

4. BYERLY, I. B. 1998. *Mirror, Mediator and Prophet: The Music Indaba of Late-Apartheid South Africa.* Ethnomusicology, Vol. 42, NO. 1. The Society of Ethnomusicology.

5. CAMPSCHREUR, W. & DIVENDAL, J. 1989. *Culture in Another South Africa*. Zed Books Ltd. London. United Kingdom.

6. CRESWELL, J.W. 1994. *Research Design: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches.* Sage Publications: Thousand Oaks, California.

7. Cultural Industries Sectoral Advisory Group on International Trade, The. 1999. *Further Opportunities, Canadian Culture in a Global World, New Strategies for Culture and Trade*. Ottawa.

8. Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology. 1996. *White Paper on Arts, Culture and Heritage.* www.dac.gov.za.

9. Department of Labour, Republic of South Africa. 2005. *National Skills Development Strategy 1 April 2005 – 31 March 2010.* Pretoria. Media Production Unit, Chief Directorate of Communication, Department of Labour.

10. DOBBIN, S and GATOWSKI, *S. A Judge's Deskbook on the Basic Philosophies and Methods of Science.* (Chapter Four). (No Date) University of Nevada. www.unr.edu/bench/chap04.htm.

11. DUKE, L. 2003. *South Africa's new voices.* The Washington Post. Reprinted in Focus 2003, Nr 2.

12. Editorial, 1999. *Vrees nie besweer nie*. Volksblad.

13. EICHBAUM, J. 5 May 1998. *Costly new arts policy*. Electronic Mail & Guardian.

14. GILDER, B. *Musicians are part of the people*. 1982. Unpublished paper delivered at the Culture and Resistance Symposium, 2 – 9 July 1982, Gaborone, Botswana.

15. GRUNDY, K. W. 1996. *Cultural Politics in South Africa: An Inconclusive Transformation. African Studies Review*. Volume 39. Number 1.

16. KGOSITSILE, K. 1982. *Culture and Resistance in South Africa*. Unpublished paper delivered at the Culture and Resistance Symposium, 2 – 9 July 1982, Gaborone, Botswana.

17. LANGA, M. 1988. *The Quiet Thunder.* Report on the Amsterdam Cultural Conference. Sechaba, March 1988. www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/history/solidarity/conferences/casa.html.

18. LE, T. K. H. 2005. *Arts Management in a Climate of Adjustment: Case Studies from Vietnam and Australia*. PhD Thesis. Faculty of Education and Social Work. The University of Sydney.

19. MARTENS, D. 1982. *The Necessity of a National Art of Liberation*. Unpublished paper delivered at the Culture and Resistance Symposium, 2 – 9 July 1982, Gaborone, Botswana.

20. MEREDITH, I. 2006. *Opera in South Africa during the first democratic decade*. M. Mus Thesis. University of Cape Town.

21. MIDGETTE, A. 2004. *Music: An aria for post-apartheid South Africa*. The New York Times.

22. MULLER, B. 2006. *Belowende operatalent verskaf genot.* Volksblad.

23. ODENDAAL, T. 1995. *Beleid kan begaafdes verdryf.* Insig.

24. PACOFS Annual Report 1969

25. PACOFS Annual Report 1970

26. PACOFS Annual Report 1971

27. PACOFS Annual Report 1972

28. PACOFS Annual Report 1973

29. PACOFS Annual Report 1974

30. PACOFS Annual Report 1976

31. PACOFS Annual Report 1977

32. PACOFS Annual Report 1979

33. PACOFS Annual Report 1980

34. PACOFS Annual Report 1981

35. PACOFS Annual Report 1983/84

36. PACOFS Annual Report 1984/85

37. PACOFS Annual Report 1985/86

38. PACOFS Annual Report 1986/87

39. PACOFS Annual Report 1988

40. PACOFS Annual Report 1989

41. PACOFS Annual Report 1990

42. PACOFS Annual Report 1990/91

43. PACOFS Annual Report 1991/92

44. PACOFS Annual Report 1995/96

45. PACOFS Annual Report 1996/97

46. PACOFS Annual Report 1997/98

47. PACOFS Annual Report 1998/99

48. PACOFS Annual Report 2002/03

49. PACOFS Annual Report 2003/04

50. PACOFS Annual Report 2004/05

51. PACOFS Annual Report 2005/06

52. POWELL, I. 1995. *A total restructuring of the arts*. Mail and Guardian.

53. PRATT, A. C. ca 2004. *Cultural Industries and Public Policy: An Oxymoron?* London School of Economics, England.

54. SEROTE, M. 1982. *Interview with Jonas Gwangwa*. Medu Vol. 2. Gaborone.

55. STEINBERG, C. 1993. *Towards the transformation of the Performing Arts Council of the Transvaal*. Thesis (M.A.). University of the Witwatersrand.

56. STEINBERG, C. 1999. *Arts and Culture on the long road to change*. The Sunday Independent.

57. Streekraad vir die Uitvoerende Kunste Oranje-Vrystaat. 1973. *SUKOVS: Die eerste 10 jaar* (1963 – 1973).

58. SUTEU, C. 2002. *Cultural Institutions after 12 years of "New Democracy" in Central and Eastern Europe*. Ecumest.

59. TOMASELLI, K. G. and Shepperson, A. 1996. *Cultural Policy and Politics: South Africa and the Australian Cultural Policy* `Moment'. www.und.ac.za.

60. VAN GRAAN, M. & BALLANTYNE, T. 2002. *The South African Handbook on Arts and Culture (2002 – 2003).* David Philip Publishers & New Africa Books (Pty) Ltd. Claremont. South Africa.

61. VENTURELLI, S. *From The Information Economy to the Creative Economy: Moving Culture to the Center of International Public Policy*. ca 2000. Center for Arts and Culture, Washington DC. www.culturalpolicy.org.

62. WADDINGTON, K. 2002. *Singing out of Africa*. Focus 2002; No 1.

63. ZEGEYE, A & KRIGER, R. 1998/99. *Cultural Change and Development in South Africa*. Culturelink review, Special Issue. www.culturelink.org/review/imprint.html.

Interviews

1. Judy Seidman.
   Interview on 7 December 2006, South African History Archives.

2. Sandra de Villiers
   Interview on 8 December 2006, Bloemfontein.

3. Dorothy Phiri, Nontozakhe Nqangisa, Malefetsane Mofokeng
   Group Interview, 8 January 2007, Bloemfontein.

4. Ivan Meredith
   Interview on 27 January 2007, By Email.