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Blues, Tracy

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MEd Research Report

Submitted by Tracy Blues

Drama as a means of facilitating adult learning in rural areas: South African case studies at Akanani

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"Theatre should be both instructive (a means of education) and entertaining" - Brecht

On Everyday Theatre - Bertolt Brecht
From: "Poems of the Crisis Years 1929 - 1933"

You artists who perform plays
In great houses under electric suns
Before the hushed crowd, pay a visit some time
To that theatre whose setting is the street.
The everyday, thousandfold, fameless
But vivid, earthy theatre fed by the daily human contact
Which takes place in the street.
Here the woman from next door imitates the landlord:
Demonstrating his flood of talk she makes it clear
How he tried to turn the conversation
From the burst water pipe. In the parks at night
Young fellows show giggling girls
The way they resist, and in resisting
Slyly flaunt their breasts A drunk
Gives us the preacher at his sermon, referring the poor
To the rich pastures of paradise. How useful
Such theatre is though, serious and funny
And how dignified! They do not, like parrot or ape
Imitate just for the sake of imitation, unconcerned
What they imitate, just to show that they
Can imitate; no, they
Have a point to put across. You
Great artists, masterly imitators, in this regard
Do not fall short of them! Do not become too remote
However much you perfect your art
From that theatre of daily life
Whose setting is the street.

But you, do not say: that man
Is not an artist. By setting up such a barrier
Between yourselves and the world, you simply
Expel yourselves from the world. If you thought him
No artist he might think you
Not human, and that
Would be a worse reproach. Say rather:
He is an artist because he is human. We
May do what he does more perfectly and
Be honoured for it, but what we do
Is something universal, human, something hourly
Practised in the busy street, almost
As much a part of life as eating and breathing

ABSTRACT

This research report examines the nature of drama as a means of facilitating adult learning, especially in the South African rural context, by conducting a literature review and by compiling case studies of the use of drama at Akanani, an association of rural development projects in South Africa where theatre-for-development is the principal methodology employed.

The literature review explores the use of drama as a methodology in education and then focuses on how and why theatre-for-development has been used in Africa for community development and empowerment. The international developments in popular theatre are also considered so that as much information as possible can feed into the guidelines which are this report's conclusions. This chapter concludes with a consideration of how drama can be used for adult learning in South Africa.

This research was conducted primarily by compiling a number of case studies of the use of drama at Akanani in the far northern Transvaal. Participant observation, illuminative evaluation and semi-structured interviews were used within a Participatory Research approach to gather information about Akanani. The researcher spent two periods of time at Akanani conducting the interviews and observing the daily operations as well as the use of drama in various contexts at Akanani. The cases studies were compiled to discover whether drama, as it is used at Akanani, is a successful and appropriate methodology for adult education in the rural areas of South Africa.

This research finds drama to be a very effective means of facilitating learning amongst adults in rural areas and concludes by offering guidelines for the use of drama as a methodology in adult education in South Africa, especially in the rural areas.

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CHAPTER 1 - INTRODUCTION

Drama as a means of facilitating empowering adult learning and the aims of certain types of adult education, for example a Freirian model, would appear to have many elements in common. Both emphasise experiential learning, learner-centred learning experiences, learning with a problem-solving focus and empowering the learners to take control of their own learning.

Historically, drama has been used in Africa for dealing with community issues so theatre-for-development is a method that uses the existent culture as a means of facilitating adult learning. Thus drama, which starts where the people are and is also enjoyable would appear to be a suitable means of facilitating adult learning especially in the rural areas of South Africa. 27% of South Africa's population live in rural areas, with 62% being illiterate and undereducated (Race Relations Survey 1990 - 1991). Efficient, cost-effective ways of promoting adult learning need to be used to deal with this problem in the rural areas. Drama (theatre-for-development) could well be the most appropriate methodology.

It would appear that drama as a methodology is under-emphasised in training courses that educate adult educators in South Africa and one of the outcomes of this research is to offer guidelines for the use of drama as a methodology for facilitating adult learning in South Africa. Direct connections between drama as an educational medium and the needs in adult education in rural areas in South Africa have rarely been made. This research will attempt to rectify this situation.

This research will be conducted primarily by means of a number of case studies of the use of drama by a rural development project in South Africa where theatre-for-development is the principal methodology employed, namely Akanani in the far northern Transvaal. Participant observation, illuminative evaluation and semi-structured interviews will be used to gather information about Akanani. Chapters 2 and 3, the Literature Review and the Research Design, will demonstrate why these research methods are appropriate to address the main questions of this research:

1.1 Research Questions

1.1.1 What is the nature of drama as a means of facilitating adult learning, especially in the South African rural context?

1.1.2.1 How has theatre-for-development been used in Africa for community development and empowerment?
1.1.2.2 Why has theatre-for-development been used in Africa for community development and empowerment?

1.1.3.1 Is drama a successful methodology as it is used at Akanani in the rural areas of the far northern Transvaal?
1.1.3.2 Is drama perceived to be an appropriate methodology for adult education in the rural areas of South Africa?

1.1.4 What guidelines can be deduced for the use of drama as a methodology in adult education in South Africa, especially in the rural areas?

1.2 Rationale

"Arguably drama is the most dynamic and social of cultural forms. Where there are areas of conflict in world view, and tensions between the forces of dominance, acceptance and revolt, theatre often serves to illuminate self-understanding and to articulate precise needs and aspirations." (Kaarsholm, 1990: 246)

Drama is a powerful means of communication and of exposing the problems of a society. Drama is a means to get people to think about and understand their situation, to conscientise them, and it is a means of mirroring the problems which beset our societies. Theatre can be used for conscientisation and mobilisation, in other words, theatre can be used as a vehicle for conveying ideas and also as a means of encouraging co-operation and community participation.

Drama can be used to expand people's awareness, to enable them to look at their reality and to see below the surface of actions to their meaning. Dramatising a possible solution to a problem "helps us to explore the feel of the experience and thus decrease our anxiety and increase our control over it." (Heathcote cited in Wagner, 1980: 16) Drama recognises the validity of the learner's prior knowledge and experience, and views the learner as an active participant in the construction of knowledge and meaning where the learner makes sense of experience by actively constructing that meaning.

The aim of drama may be to expose a social problem, or to reinforce cognitive learning, or to provide information and ideas in a stimulating way. Drama promotes listening and observing, provides a safe way for participants to express what they think and feel, stimulates the use of the imagination and the development of creativity, as well as encourages participants to work together in a team. It helps participants to learn about organisation and co-operation. It extends people emotionally and linguistically. It can be argued that drama is the ultimate experiential learning technique. It is not only experiential but experimental as one can "experiment" with life without the sometimes terrifying implications if the same exercise were conducted in reality. It is a sort of reality without the pain. In this capacity drama offers an appropriate outlet for the release of feelings and tensions. Sylvia Ashton Warner in her book Teacher (cited in Wagner, 1980) says "I see the mind ... as a volcano with two vents, destructiveness and creativeness. And I see that to the extent that we widen the creative channel we atrophy the destructive one." In the violent times that we live in in South Africa this is indeed a strong motivation for using drama in adult education.

Theatre has many advantages in that it is cheap, mobile and simple to present. Other advantages are that it uses the skills of the participants, as well as being immediately accessible to many people at one time. Yet another advantage is that these participants include illiterate people.

The educational philosophy underlying the use of drama includes the idea that one cannot just teach "facts", one also needs to teach understanding. This philosophy also holds that the best context for learning is one where the learner is strongly, dynamically

and actively involved. This helps with the developing of attitudes and values. These values include behavioural values which means learning that it is important to hear other ideas; procedural values which means that one learns to weigh up the evidence in order to arrive at a conclusion; and substantive values which means one learns to question why one believes in something. Drama provides a mirror in which people can examine their world.

One of the main theorists whose stance supports the use of drama in adult education is Paulo Freire. For Freire, one of the aims of adult education is to encourage both cultural action and conscientisation. Drama can realise this aim. One of the advantages of drama is that the participants do not need to be literate to be actively involved. It is an enabling, mobilising tool for development which is not prescriptive. Drama provides a method to realise Freire's idea that "the adult literacy process demands among teachers and students a relationship of authentic dialogue" (Freire, 1970:12). In adult education "the educator's role is to propose problems about the codified existential situation in order to help the learners arrive at a more and more critical view of their reality." (ibid.: 17.) Drama would provide the medium for both the problem-posing and problem-solving involved in this approach. "The expansion of (man's) consciousness and therefore of his power over himself, his environment, and his society, must therefore, ultimately be what we mean by development ... the skills acquired by education should be liberating skills." (ibid.: 43.) The use of drama could facilitate this sort of development.

Freire's ideas of problem-solving education for empowerment and his focus in Cultural Action for Freedom on the use of cultural activities for participatory learning underpin the philosophy for using drama as a method in adult education. Drama also taps the life experience of the adult learner which would gain the approval of other adult education theorists like Stephen Brookfield and Malcolm Knowles. Drama is one of the participatory experiential techniques Knowles advocates for andragogy (Knowles, 1984).

1.3 Terminology

There is great controversy about the meanings of terminology such as theatre, drama, community theatre, theatre-for-development, popular theatre, theatre-in-education and drama-in-education. In this research the terms drama and drama-in-education will be used to refer to the broad range of techniques such as role-playing, improvisation, dancing, singing, drawing and sculpturing which are used to facilitate learning. With drama the emphasis is on learning through being involved in a *process*. The term "theatre" refers to play-making where the emphasis is on creating a dramatic *product*. Theatre-for-development, popular theatre and community theatre are used interchangeably to refer to play-making where the participants are the villagers themselves who have created a "play" to dramatise their own experiences. This is different to what shall be called "theatre-in-education" where pre-conceived and prepared plays are presented to people in rural areas as a means of disseminating information. The main difference is one of participation. In theatre-for-development the rural people are active and creative participants while in "theatre-in-education" they are passive recipients.

In the literature there are even more terms in use. The most commonly used terms, apart from "theatre-for-development" which will be used in this research, are "participatory theatre for conscientisation", "theatre for liberation", "popular education for development", "community theatre for integrated rural development", "community-based theatre", "collective reflection" and "theatre for conscientisation and mobilisation". Mostly these terms are not used with any degree of consistency and, indeed, are often used interchangeably.

In an interview with Dr Zakes Mda, Lawrence (1991: 66-67) records the following interchangeable uses of terms: "... the theatre-for-development project aimed to use theatre as a medium of development communication and employ theatre as a critical presentation around development needs and problems of villagers ... participatory theatre for conscientisation (allows)... villagers to gain greater control over their own social, economic and political destinies. We try to raise consciousness from the inside, by group analysis of social reality and power relations. (A problem is) that popular theatre can become an instrument of oppression rather than theatre for liberation. What happens then is that it becomes theatre for domestication. "

Mike Abrams, the facilitator of theatre-for-development at Akanani, refers to "Popular education for development as a method that uses any dramatic event i.e. dance, poetry, music, drama that helps people look at their lives." He also refers to drama which "is empowering as an action for transformation." He uses drama "so that even those who are not functionally literate can participate in collective reflection. Drama is used because it focuses on problem-solving, is creative and allows people to participate in creating scenarios for social change. Essentially theatre-for-development is a tool for organising around community issues." (From an interview with Mike Abrams at Akanani 13/4/1992)

Malamah-Thomas (1987: 60) uses the term Community Theatre for Integrated Rural Development which he defines as "a compelling means of fostering participation of, and dialogue with, rural people by using their own media and art forms as tools for development communication." Kaarsholm (1990: 267) uses two other terms namely "community-based theatre" and "theatre for conscientisation and mobilisation" which he defines as a "form of theatre (that aims) to get local urban or rural communities together in order to discuss their problems, conflicts and grievances and to dramatise the arguments and points of view they want to express; (and which) develops the use of drama to democratise education ..."

The opposite of "theatre-for-development" in this body of literature is termed "commercial" or "art" theatre where the focus is making money by entertaining or creating a spectacle of dramatic art rather than education. In Africa commercial theatre is seen to have a colonial legacy (Soyinka,1976) and is not associated with leading to greater understanding, conscientisation or community involvement, nor does it involve audience participation. Theatre-for-development is an empowering agency that gives people a new sense of control over their lives.

Theatre-for-development has been used as a method in adult education in Africa for at least the last three decades. To use people's own cultural traditions is seen as an appropriate way to disseminate knowledge and to analyse the problems of rural people

in Africa. Theatre-for-development can also be used as a weapon against oppression and exploitation. It can be seen to serve the struggles of the marginalised sectors of society. In this kind of drama participants can exchange ideas and aspirations through songs, poems, role-plays and dramatic skits. Thus, theatre-for-development is a view of drama as a conscientising development process.

1.4 Review of the Relevant Literature

As will be seen from the literature review in chapter two, the use of drama as a methodology for facilitating adult learning is poorly documented and the documentation of its use in the rural areas of South Africa almost non-existent. However, a great deal can be gleaned from the literature of drama in education more generally. Another area that provides insight is the use of theatre-for-development in Africa. This area is also poorly documented, although a few countries do have a certain amount of documentation available, usually in the form of case studies. There is also a limited literature about the work being done in the International Popular Theatre movement which also has a bearing on this research. Direct connections between drama as an educational medium, theatre-for development in Africa, the International Popular Theatre movement and the needs in adult education in rural areas in South Africa have never been made so the literature review in chapter two has attempted to make some of those links. An attempt has also been made to deduce some appropriate guidelines and principles for the use of drama as a means of facilitating adult education in the rural areas of South Africa.

The literature pertaining to the research methodology used has also been reviewed. Reviews of participatory research, case studies and participant observation are included in the research design in chapter three. An outline of the literature review in chapter two follows.

The literature of drama-in-education theory spans three decades with each decade being represented by one major theorist. Dorothy Heathcote is one of the principle theorist/practitioners of drama as a learning medium. She was the doyenne of drama in education in the 1970's and is still revered as one of the most important contributors to this field. Wagner (1980) gives an account of the principle ideas of her work with practical examples. She followed in the footsteps of Brian Way who was the principle exponent of drama in education in the 1960's. Way (1967) is an important work on the use of drama as an experiential educational method for developing the whole person.

Gavin Bolton (1984) was the major theorist on the use of drama in education in the 1980's. His book, Drama as Education , provides a detailed consideration of drama and learning from a historical perspective starting from the early twentieth century until the present day. Although Way, Heathcote and Bolton are all British and their examples are based there, their contribution to the literature and theory of drama as an educational medium is invaluable. Bolton is one of the contributors to Learning Through Theatre: Essays and Casebooks on Theatre in Education, a collection of essays edited by Jackson (1980). Although these essays by practitioners and educationists provide examples of practical theatre in education for facilitating learning in school children, the ideas can be extrapolated out to apply to adults too.

Another useful collection of papers on drama in education is Exploring Theatre and Education edited by Robinson (1980). This collection of papers documents the events of a working conference held in London entitled: "Theatre - Education: An Exploration". Such luminaries as Dorothy Heathcote and Gavin Bolton contributed papers on the sessions they ran at this working conference. Guidelines on the use of drama as an educational medium will be extracted from the above-mentioned sources.

The work of Paulo Freire and Augusto Boal is then considered as they are the two main influences on using drama in adult education in marginalised communities. The influence of Freire's "Pedagogy of the Oppressed" is considered along with his theories of conscientisation, problem-solving education and his use of cultural activities in adult learning. His influence on the development of Popular Education is also considered. Augusto Boal's work in Popular Theatre grew out of Freire's influence on Popular Education. Boal's (1979) Theatre of the Oppressed is a seminal work on the use of drama techniques to help educate and liberate adults in oppressed communities. The focus of attention in the literature review then turns to the use of drama and theatre-for-development in Africa.

One of the few studies of drama in Africa is The Development of African Drama. In this book Etherton (1982) outlines the idea and uses of drama in traditional African society and more modern times. This is a seminal work on the way African drama has developed historically in African societies. The history and development of drama in education in Africa, from the travelling theatres of the 1960's to the theatre-for-development of the 1970's, is discussed.

The use of drama in adult education as a means of facilitating social change in Africa was primarily initiated by Ross Kidd. His ideas are set out in his seminal work on popular theatre-for-development in Kidd (1982). He is the most prolific writer of the very few educationists who make a direct link between drama and adult education in Africa. Kidd also joined forces with Martin Byram to initiate and document a non-formal adult education project in Botswana: Laedza Batanani. Kidd and Byram (1982) provide a case study of Laedza Batanani and how it attempted to follow a Freirian model. One of the key features of this programme that made it critical for this research was the use of popular theatre as the medium for encouraging participation, raising issues, fostering discussion and promoting collective action.

There are a small number of case studies available detailing where theatre-for-development has been used in various African countries. The successes and failures of these cases served to provides guidelines for implementing theatre-for-development in adult education in South Africa as well as providing criteria for assessing the relative success of Akanani. Examples of case studies of work done in Sierra Leone, Nigeria, Kenya, Lesotho and South Africa are reviewed.

The Sierra Leone experience has been extensively covered by Malamah-Thomas (1987). He is also very interested in the work of Ross Kidd and includes a case study of Laedza Batanani as well as a rationale for using theatre-for-development in Africa in his writings. In a follow-up article, Malamah-Thomas (1988), tries to arrive at some theoretical perspective of theatre-for-development in Africa. He also includes an interesting account of using drama as a means of conducting participatory research.

Malamah-Thomas' attempt at a rationale for using theatre-for-development as well as his use of participatory research methods made this a particularly important document for this research.

In Nigeria theatre-for-development is termed "popular theatre" and a number of case studies have been written up. Aruha (1984) provides a case study of the use of theatre-for-development, or "Popular Theatre" as he terms it, as a means of facilitating awareness of and involvement in local government among rural people in the village of Igyura in Nigeria. Bappa (1981) documents the use of drama as a medium for adult literacy teaching in the Maska Project, also in Nigeria. He believes that theatre-for-development can lead to community action and social change. In Kenya the experiences of the Kamirithu community and the playwright Ngugi wa Mirii demonstrate that empowering a community through the use of drama can be perceived as a threat by an oppressive government.

Continuing the journey southwards down through Africa, the use of theatre-for-development in rural Lesotho is recorded by the man who initiated the Marotholi Travelling Theatre, Dr Zakes Mda. The Marotholi Travelling Theatre was an alternative development communication initiative implemented in rural Lesotho. Mda (1990 & 1993) and Lawrence (1991) explain this use of "theatre-for-development".

The use of drama the trade union movement in South Africa as an organising and empowering medium for participants, is also reviewed. von Kotze (1988) documents the rise of cultural activity as an educating force in the trade union movement in Natal. It is also a fascinating account of a research project conducted using participant observation in South Africa from which guidelines for conducting a similar research method can be garnered.

The only comprehensive study of the use of drama as a means of facilitating learning in the rural areas of South Africa was conducted by Professor Lynn Dalrymple (1991) of the University of Zululand. Professor Dalrymple used drama as a means of disseminating information and awareness on AIDS to rural communities in Zululand. Lynn Dalrymple is also chairperson of SAADYT (Southern African Association for Drama and Youth Theatre) and is very concerned with the use of drama in rural education which was the focus of her Ph.D. thesis.

The literature documenting the six workshops held by the International Popular Theatre Alliance has a bearing on this research as it outlines the aims, principles and guidelines of the Popular Theatre Alliance and the work it has done in promoting the use of popular theatre or theatre-for-development around the world. There were also very useful lessons to learn from the case studies of theatre-for-development in action, especially the work done by the Sistren Theatre Collective in Jamaica and the SOS Sahel Drama Unit in Mali. The International Popular Theatre workshops held at Chalimbana, Zambia in 1979; Bangladesh in 1983 and at Murewa, Zimbabwe also in 1983, are reviewed. The workshop held at Rehoboth, Namibia in 1991 is documented in chapter four as a case study.

The trends of using drama in education with children, theatre-for-development in Africa and the international use of popular theatre are then compared to the aims of adult

education as advocated by theorists such as Malcolm Knowles and Stephen Brookfield. The use of drama as a means of facilitating empowering education is then discussed in a South Africa context and theoretically by considering the work of Jack Mezirow (1981 & 1991). Mezirow's ideas about the role of the adult educator in facilitating empowering education are also reviewed. The literature review concluded with a discussion of one of the problems facing educators who wish to use drama as a methodology, namely the paucity of formal training opportunities. A rationale for using drama in adult education in the rural areas of South Africa which points out its advantages, is offered in conclusion. Following from the examples of case study research outlined in the literature review, a case study which is researched by means of participant observation appeared to be the most appropriate research methodology.

1.5 Research Design

The strategy for conducting this research will now be discussed. A table outlining the research design is attached as Appendix D. The research design is fully considered in chapter three and includes literature reviews of participatory research, which was the overall approach; case studies and participant observation, both of which were used in conducting the research. The approach to answering each research question will be examined in turn.

1.1.1 What is the nature of drama as a means of facilitating adult learning, especially in the South African rural context?

This question was answered in three different ways. It was answered by means of an in-depth literature review of documents, reports and journals on drama in education, theatre-for-development in Africa, the International Popular Theatre movement, the aims of adult education especially that which has empowerment of participants as a focus and the educational needs of adults in the rural areas. It was also addressed by means of personal observation and participant observation of workshops and seminars on this topic held in South Africa. SAADYT (Southern African Association for Drama and Youth Theatre) holds annual conferences at which workshops and seminars of a nature relevant to this research are conducted. The researcher attended three such conferences.
It was also answered by conducting case studies of the use of drama at Akanani, a rural development project operating in the rural areas of the far northern Transvaal. The findings from all three sources were analysed and compared leading to an attempt at providing guidelines for the use of drama as a means of facilitating adult education in the rural areas of South Africa.

1.1.2.1 How has theatre-for-development been used in Africa for community development and empowerment?
1.1.2.2. Why has theatre-for-development been used in Africa for community development and empowerment?

These two questions are inextricably linked and so were considered together. They were answered using three sources of information. This use of triangulation was to ensure the validity and reliability of the data collected as well as to obtain a comprehensive view of the phenomenon. A meta-analysis of all the case studies and

other relevant literature about the use of theatre-for-development in Africa was conducted in an attempt to derive some guidelines for practice. The facilitators at Akanani were then interviewed using semi-structured interviews to determine how and why they are using theatre-for-development for community development and empowerment in Africa. A series of case studies was then conducted of the use of drama at a rural development project in South Africa where theatre-for-development is the principal methodology employed, namely Akanani in the far northern Transvaal.

Akanani uses drama in all three of its projects which are: a building project, a literacy project and a project for establishing co-operatives. This use of drama as the dominant methodology in "education for production" projects is unusual. After a preliminary investigation it appeared that the method was very successful as the projects were flourishing. These factors coupled with the facilitators' enthusiasm for both the method and this research made Akanani a particularly good site to conduct a case study. The researcher spent two periods of time in residence at Akanani. During this time she compiled the case studies by means of participant observation of the use of drama at Akanani, by watching unedited video footage of previous uses of drama, by reading all available documentation and by conducting semi-structured interviews with the facilitators of the project, namely Mike Abrams, Themba Mavimbela, Aboe Nayiluma, Marc Wegerif and Astrid Wicht. All these methods were used to gather information about Akanani and to compile the case studies by using illuminative evaluation.

A case study appeared to be the most appropriate way to research this area for many reasons. Firstly, much of the research that has already been conducted in the use of drama in adult education in Africa has taken the form of case studies, for example , Bappa (1981), Kidd and Byram (1982), Aruha (1984), Malamah-Thomas (1987), von Kotze (1988), Kamlongera (1989) and Mda (1990). Secondly, a case study allows an intensive study of a selected instance of the phenomenon in which one is interested and in this area of research there are very few examples of the phenomenon at all. Thirdly, researchers "working in relatively unformulated areas, where there is little experience to serve as a guide, have found the intensive study of selected examples to be a particularly fruitful method for stimulating insight and suggesting hypotheses for research" (Sellitz cited in Cole, 1987: 117). Fourthly, the purpose of a case study is seen as "to probe deeply and to analyse intensively the multifarious phenomena that constitute the unit with a view to establishing generalisations about the wider population to which that unit belongs" (Cohen & Manion, 1989: 99). For the above-mentioned reasons a case study appeared to be most suited to this research. The case studies were compiled using a modified version of Coombs' (1974) model as a guide. (See Appendix C)

Illuminative evaluation was used to gain insights into the case studies. Illuminative evaluation (Hamilton & Parlett, 1977) is the holistic study of a situation by means of open-ended exploration followed by focused enquiries. In the search for useful information a participatory research approach is suggested because it is collaborative and provides valuable insights. Illuminative evaluation is particularly useful in a field/case study because it is situationally responsive, phenomenological, adaptable and naturalistic as it is based on the actual programme activity (Cole, 1987). The contextual research is inductive as the issues are defined on the basis of empirical findings and the answers to the preliminary questions form the next stage of the research. In inductive research the researcher tries to make sense of the situation without imposing pre-

existing expectations on the research setting. For this reason semi-structured interviews were used with the facilitators at Akanani.

This type of interview was appropriate because these people are in a particular situation and thus the researcher was able to construct an interview guide which set out the major areas for inquiry. This type of interview focuses on the subjective experience of people exposed to the situation under study in an effort to ascertain their definitions of the situation. The questions asked are open-ended to allow flexibility and unanticipated responses. See Appendix E for a copy of the guidelines used in conducting the interviews but the areas outlined in Coombs' model for compiling a case study (See Appendix C) were also covered in the interviews.

This use of a variety of research methods is known as triangulation. Triangulation, a term coined by Denzin (1978), refers to the use of multiple methods of data collection in order to increase the reliability of the observations. By employing different methods of data collection one is attempting to compensate for the limitations and shortcomings of the individual methods. Triangulation is also used to ensure a depth of understanding: "triangular techniques in the social sciences attempt to map out, or explain more fully, the richness and complexity of human behaviour by studying it from more than one standpoint" (Cohen & Manion, 1991: 208). Thus in an effort to reach a holistic view of this research area, triangulation was used.

1.1.3.1 Is drama a successful methodology as it is used at Akanani in the rural areas of the far northern Transvaal?
1.1.3.2 Is drama perceived to be an appropriate methodology for adult education in the rural areas of South Africa?

These questions were answered by using the same methods as for the research questions mentioned above. The case studies of the use of drama at Akanani which are detailed under the second research question together with the researcher's illuminative evaluation and participant observation of that project provided the answers to these questions.

1.1.4 What guidelines can be deduced for the use of drama as a methodology in adult education in South Africa, especially in the rural areas?

The lessons learned from the literature review and from the case studies of the different uses of drama at Akanani, namely The AIDS Drama, Drama in Literacy Programmes, Drama in the Winter Schools, Networking in the Drama Field and Drama in the Organisational Workshop are presented as the results of this research and an attempt has then been made to provide some guidelines for the use of theatre-for-development and drama as adult education methods in the rural areas of South Africa. Each of the various sources are commented on to arrive at the guidelines which constitute an assessment of the value and appropriacy of drama as a means of facilitating adult education in the rural areas of South Africa.

CHAPTER 2 - LITERATURE REVIEW

There is a dearth of literature on the use of drama as an adult learning methodology in the rural areas of South Africa. However, there are three areas from which illumination may be gathered. These are the literature of drama-in-education as it developed, the literature of the history of theatre-for-development in Africa which sometimes overlaps with the third area, the literature about the work being done in the International Popular Theatre movement. The lessons from these three areas have been considered in terms of the aims of adult education and an attempt has been made to deduce appropriate uses of drama in adult education the South African rural context.

2.1 Drama in Education

The concept of using drama in education has its roots in the theories of play (Way, 1967). Children's play forms a significant part of their learning and development so the conscious inclusion of this natural learning behaviour in classroom activities seemed educationally sound. The formal idea of drama-in-education (d-i-e) arose in the 1960's in Britain along with a general change in social norms. Until then education had been based on a transmission model where students learned from the masters, but in the 1960's the shift towards child-centred and learner-centred approaches helped make experiential learning techniques such as drama acceptable classroom practice. The potential of drama as an enquiry-based methodology that drew on the experiences of schoolchildren was explored and developed.

The literature of drama-in-education theory spans three decades with each decade being represented by one major theorist. Brian Way (1967) was the principle exponent of drama in education in the 1960's. Way concentrates on the use of drama as an experiential educational method for developing the whole person basing his ideas primarily on Piagetian theories of play. Two important features of play are the exploration of oneself and of one's context, drama-in-education promoted both aspects by providing situations for children to "pretend in order to learn". Dorothy Heathcote was the doyenne of drama in education in the 1970's and is still revered as one of the most important contributors to this field. She is one of the principle theorist/practitioners of drama as a learning medium and in 1985 she ran a series of workshops in South Africa under the auspices of the Southern African Association of Drama and Youth Theatre (SAADYT). She encouraged the use of drama to allow children to engage in a process of discovering and developing their own ideas and finding new ways of understanding their experiences. She also developed the concept of "teacher-in-role". Prior to her work, role-playing was perceived as something done by the children with the teacher acting as a director. Heathcote promoted the idea that the teacher could take on a variety of roles thus guiding the drama while relating to the students in a range of different ways.

Gavin Bolton (1984) was the major theorist on the use of drama in education in the 1980's. He maintains that drama is an educational experience that may help learners' understanding of themselves in relation to the world they live in to be reinforced, clarified

or modified as well as allowing them to gain skills in social interaction which includes the ability to communicate their understanding and feeling. He claims that educational drama is able to stimulate the kind of imaginative awakening at community level which is a prerequisite for social, political, and personal growth, development and change. Although Way, Heathcote and Bolton are all British and their examples are based there on their work with children, their contributions to the literature and theory of drama as an educational medium are invaluable. The two main influences on the theory of using drama in adult education, Augusto Boal and Paulo Freire, both come from Brazil.

Boal and Freire are friends who are both committed to the use of culture in education. They have similar theoretical and political ideas - Freire advocates "Pedagogy of the Oppressed" while Boal advocates "Theatre of the Oppressed". For Freire, one of the aims of adult education is to encourage both cultural action and conscientisation. Freire also sees critical consciousness or "conscientisation" as a vital aspect of empowerment. He sees a synthesis of individual and collective analysis of experience as vital for his purpose of "conscientisation," by which he means the process of bringing underlying assumptions about the world into critical consciousness. Freire insists on a link between personal and social liberation through conscientisation that revolves around praxis so that neither theory nor action is uninformed. He advocates a process of "problematising" which involves the educator in proposing "problems about the codified existential situations in order to help the learners arrive at a more and more critical view of their reality." (Freire, 1970a: 17)

Freire (1970b: 27) defines conscientisation as a process whereby learners "achieve a deepening awareness of both the sociocultural reality which shapes their lives and of their capacity to transform that reality through action upon it." Whether people are at the level of intransitive consciousness where their main concern is to fulfill biological needs, or at the level of semi-transitive consciousness where the situation is not perceived to be within their control, or at the level of semi-transitive consciousness where people question their lives naively, or whether they have reached a level where they can participate in praxis (the simultaneous occurrence of reflection and action) to bring about social change - all these people can participate in and benefit from drama.

Freire's ideas of problem-solving education for empowerment and his focus in Cultural Action for Freedom on the use of cultural activities for participatory learning underpin the philosophy for using drama as a method in adult education. Drama can be used as a method to realise Freire's idea that "the adult literacy process demands among teachers and students a relationship of authentic dialogue" (Freire, 1970a: 12) Using drama as a methodology could provide the medium for both the problem-posing and problem-solving involved in this approach. "The expansion of (man's) consciousness and therefore of his power over himself, his environment, and his society, must therefore, ultimately be what we mean by development ... the skills acquired by education should be liberating skills." (ibid.: 43) The use of a cultural form such as drama could facilitate this sort of development.

Freire also believes that only through participation in democratic learning environments will people assimilate democratic habits: "They (the Brazilian people) could be helped to learn democracy through the exercise of democracy; for that knowledge, above all others, can only be assimilated experientially." (Freire, 1973: 36). One of drama's most effective aspects is that it is participatory and experiential, thus it would be appropriate to use drama "to challenge the existing social relations which determines some of the basic components of social life such as access to land, water, housing and income." Drama can be used to expand people's awareness, to enable them to look at their reality and to see below the surface of their actions to the meaning (Wagner, 1980). This view of drama in education is one which sees it as a conscientising and liberating force; a view popularised by Freire. The participants identify, through the medium of drama, what their problems are, why the problems exist and how they can change the situation. One of the advantages of using drama is that these participants do not need to be literate to be actively involved. Drama can thus be an enabling, mobilising tool for development which is not prescriptive.

Freire's literacy training programmes in Brazil in the 1960's spawned the concept of Popular Education. This developed further in other parts of South America with the growth of mass-based movements for social change. Popular Education is a form of non-formal education aimed at marginalised adults where self-development and community initiative to deal with the community's own needs are important factors. Popular Education techniques are used with a group to encourage democratic participation; develop critical thinking; help them express, and represent and understand their daily reality; and to encourage follow-up action in dealing with a problem. The main elements of Popular Education are: discussion, co-operation, questioning, problem-posing, dialogue, active learning, collective experience and critical thinking. The Popular Education approach includes many techniques such as: drama, role-plays, sculpture, mime, dancing, drawing, cartoons, collage, music, songs, photo-essays and story-telling. For example acting out a problem that is being experienced in the community helps the participants to see and start to understand their daily reality. The preparing and performing of the role-play helps the participants to develop a group identity and to think and act collectively. In the 1980's Popular Education was used extensively in Central America, especially in Nicaragua where its use was encouraged by the Sandinista government. Popular Theatre emerged as part of Popular Education.

Boal's work in Popular or People's Theatre developed from experiments carried out in Peru's literacy campaign which was using Popular Education methods derived from Freire to "teach literacy in both the first language and in Spanish without forcing the abandonment of the former in favour of the latter, and to teach literacy in all possible languages, especially the artistic ones, such as theatre, photography, puppetry, films, journalism, etc." (Boal, 1979: 121) Boal was a participant in the theatrical sector of this campaign which "tried to show in practice how the theatre can be placed at the service of the oppressed, so that they can express themselves and so that, by using this new language, they can also discover new concepts." (Boal, 1979: 121)

Boal uses the word "Spect-Actor" to describe the role of anyone involved in theatre because he believes that all people should be both actors "he or she who acts" and spectators. He wants to break down what he sees as the divisions between actors and audience/spectators in what he terms "bourgeois" theatre. He maintains that this division in the theatre mirrors the divisions in society and gives one group i.e. the actors, power and takes it away from the spectators. His use of drama follows four stages to transform people from mere spectators to being actors not only in the theatre but also as actors i.e. capable of taking action, in their own lives. The four stages are knowing the body, making the body expressive , theatre as language and theatre as discourse. The first two involve a series of games and exercises which help one get to know one's body and use it as a means of expression. The third stage, theatre as language, has three steps namely: Simultaneous Dramaturgy, Image Theatre and Forum Theatre.

Simultaneous Dramaturgy is the technique used when the start of a play is performed and then the action is stopped and the audience is required to offer suggestions as to how the play should progress or how the action should be resolved. The suggestions of various audience members are tried out by the actors thus starting to remove the division between actors and spectators. In Image Theatre one person acts as sculptor who shapes the other participants into a sculpture or image that represents a theme or an issue that the participants wish to explore. The first image or sculpture that is created is the *actual* image portraying the situation the way it is. Then a second sculpture is created of an *ideal* image portraying the situation the way people would like it to be. Finally a third sculpture is created of a *transitional* image portraying how to get from the *actual* image to the *ideal* image. The third step in discovering theatre as a language is Forum Theatre. Forum Theatre involves a similar start to Simultaneous Dramaturgy in that a play is presented and then changes are invited but the difference is that the participants who choose to make a change must physically take the place of the person in the play whose actions they wish to alter. From the moment the "spect-actor" takes on the role, the other actors have to become or intensify their actions as agents of oppression. This is to prevent the notion that overcoming oppression is easy. The fourth stage of theatre as discourse involves various forms of theatre which allow the "spect-actor" to experiment with various options, discuss certain themes or rehearse certain actions.

Ultimately if one follows these stages, Boal argues, one will end up with a theatre of the oppressed rather than a theatre of the bourgeoisie. He claims that audiences of theatre of the oppressed "are interested in experimenting, in rehearsing, and they abhor the 'closed' spectacles (of bourgeois theatre). In those cases they try to enter into a dialogue with the actors, to interrupt the action, to ask for explanations without waiting politely for the end of the play. Contrary to the bourgeois code of manners, the people's code allows and encourages the spectator to ask questions, to dialogue, to participate." (Boal, 1979: 142)

Boal believes that Theatre of the Oppressed is a means of freeing the "spectators"/the oppressed to take action. As he says: "Theatre is a form of knowledge; it should and can also be a means of transforming society. Theatre can help us build our future, rather than just waiting for it." (Boal, 1992: xxxi) Theatre of the Oppressed's intention is: "to

transform the spectator into the protagonist of the theatrical action and, by this transformation, to try to change society rather than content ourselves with interpreting it." (Boal, 1992: 224)

These theorists and practitioners of drama in various types of education inform the use of drama in South Africa. Another area that informs the use of drama in adult education in the rural areas of South Africa is the work done in theatre-for-development throughout Africa.

2.2 Theatre for Development in Africa

"Since ancient times in African theatre the whole community has been involved. This is a total theatre where music, dancing and mime take an important place next to the spoken word." (Schipper, 1982: 153)

In 1960 a report entitled "Investment in Education", issued in Nigeria, heralded a new way of looking at the role of education in development in Africa. The report emphasized "the intimate relationship which exists between education and economic development." (Thompson, 1981: 82) There was wide-spread belief that education was the cure for a whole range of social, economic and political problems, commensurate with this was the assurance that large investments in education would pay off in economic terms. Unfortunately the job market, which was developing at a slower pace, was unable to accommodate so many educated people. Another problem was the "Westernising" effect of the education. Many young people left the rural areas for the cities to seek employment. Scarce resources had been expended on their education in order to promote economic development. Now it appeared that not only were many of them unable to repay the cost of their schooling by engaging in productive activity but they represented a major drain on the resources of society through the funds and energies diverted to their upkeep and through the social problems presented by their large numbers in the towns. The schools were subjected to a barrage of criticism: that the contents of their syllabi were urban-oriented, that children were being taught "to despise rural occupations and encouraged to aspire to white-collar occupations, and that by increasing the probability of obtaining paid employment education was encouraging migration to the towns." (Thompson, 1981: 92)

Among other things this crisis resulted in a call for a distinctively African development technique. The criticism levelled at the methods in use was that they introduced Western values, exposed traditional societies to the influence of commercialism and materialism, and posed a threat to the distinctive cultural identities of Africa. There was a demand for a development strategy that used African techniques to deal with African problems and to achieve African objectives.

The focus was now on more appropriate development strategies and on the development of the rural areas where the majority of the populations of the African countries lived. The emphasis had shifted from the development of the small industrial urban sector and rural

development, which was concentrated on large scale cash crop developments which could feed the modern sector of the economy most efficiently, to developing the rural poor. The idea seemed to be to encourage the rural poor to develop themselves through education. "To be an effective agent of change education must engage the active commitment and participation of adults. Apathy, poverty, disease and hunger can be eradicated only by making people aware of what causes them and how to conquer them. Social improvement and adult education are thus complementary." (Hall & Stock, 1985: 13)

One of the methods seen as being appropriate for rural development in Africa was drama. Historically, traditional African drama includes enactments of hunts and re-enactments of historical events, especially battles. Traditionally there is little or no setting and dramas may wander around the village or region with the spectators defining the acting area. There is usually musical accompaniment which often takes the form of singing as well as some improvisation and interaction with the audience. As many as five major traditional festivals are held in a year with some lasting as long as a month but festivals are not only annual. Some festivals correspond to stages in the life-cycle too.

African theatre has always been functional in that it serves a purpose in the community. African theatre has its roots in ritual, seasonal, religious and communication dramas. A two or three hour play is a Western concept. In Africa the festival plays last for days and sometimes even weeks. It is also an Aristotelian notion to have a beginning, a middle and an end so there may never be a "final" version of any African play as it is constantly changing and evolving to suit the people participating.

Drama is an attractive tool to the governments of under-developed countries. It can be appreciated by everyone in a community, literate or not, and it is not only cheaper than film but adaptable to local concerns. "Live theatre differs significantly from film, television and radio in being a medium of live or present communication. More than any other medium it can allow an immediate dialogue to take place. Listeners can themselves become speakers." (Etherton, 1982: 320)

Julius Nyerere, the president of Tanzania, argued that "people cannot be developed. They can only develop themselves. For while it is possible for an outsider to build a man's house, an outsider cannot give a man pride and self-confidence in himself as a human being. Those things a man has to create in himself by his own actions. He develops himself by what he does; he develops himself by making his own decisions, by increasing his understanding of what he is doing and why; by increasing his own knowledge and ability, and by his own full participation - as an equal - in the life of the community he lives in. Thus for example, a man is developing himself when he grows or earns enough to provide decent conditions for himself and his family; he is not being developed if someone gives him these things." (cited in Thompson, 1981: 113)

This is where using drama for development really comes into its own. Drama is a powerful means of facilitating participation in communicating and exposing the problems of our society. Drama is a means to get people to think about and understand politics - to

conscientize them - and it is a means of mirroring the problems which beset our societies. Theatre can be used for conscientization and mobilization - in other words using theatre as a vehicle for conveying ideas and also as a means of encouraging co-operation and community participation .

Theatre is not just a part of Africa's history, it is widely used in contemporary Africa. On the contrary countries like Nigeria have huge commercial theatres but there are no theatre troupes and little patronage. This is the result of trying to impose First World Commercial theatre on Third World countries with Third World economies. However, in any discussion of drama or theatre in Africa a clear distinction needs to be drawn between Commercial Theatre, which is a colonial legacy, although it now often uses the lingua franca, and Theatre for Development. It is the latter that is of interest to Adult Educators. Commercial Theatre is sometimes called Art Theatre while Theatre for Development is also called Community, People's or Popular Theatre. Etherton (1982) refers to theatre that intends to lead to greater understanding and conscientization as "Popular Theatre".

Historically, drama has been used in Africa as a way of dealing with community issues which uses the existent culture as a means of facilitating adult learning. Although the use of drama in Africa is an ancient practice with its roots in ritual, seasonal, religious and communication dramas; the use of theatre-for-development in Africa as a conscious method only dates back to the 1960's. For the last three decades using the people's own cultural traditions has been seen as an appropriate way to disseminate knowledge and to analyze the problems of rural people in Africa. Theatre-for-development can also be seen as a weapon against oppression and exploitation. It can be seen to serve the struggles of the marginalized sectors of the societies. In this kind of drama participants can exchange ideas and aspirations through songs, poems, dances, role-plays and dramatic skits. This view of drama sees it as a conscientizing development process.

In the 1960's, the decade of African countries gaining their independence, "travelling theatre" projects from the Universities of Chikwakwa in Zambia, Ibadan in Nigeria, Makerere in Uganda, Nairobi in Kenya, Zomba in Malawi and Yaounde in Cameroon were established. Students took the plays, which were mainly concerned with the conflict between traditional and modern societies, on free tours of the rural areas. These projects were attempts by the Students' Unions to make the impact of the University felt outside the ivory towers and to counter the criticisms of elitism being levelled at the Universities. Travelling Theatre groups were not a new concept for the rural people. For example, the Yoruba in Nigeria had had travelling theatres since the sixteenth century. Many of these travelling theatre groups came together in 1969 at a Festival of Popular Theatre which was held in Senegal.

In the 1960's tensions developed between some playwrights and governments. In Nigeria the main antagonist of the government was Wole Soyinka, while in Kenya this role was played by Ngugi wa Thiong'o and in Sierra Leone the role was played by Amadu Maddy. The theatrical critics of the governments in African countries tended to retreat to the relative safety of the universities where they were protected by the ideal of academic

freedom. It must be noted that this association with elite institutions such as universities somewhat contradicted their criticism of the "elite" states.

In the 1970's there was a concerted effort to "Bring theatre to the people, not people to the theatre." Some examples of this were productions such as "Big Berrin" by Amadu Maddy in Sierra Leone and "Resign" by Stephen Chifunyise in Zambia. These plays were about real social issues, for example "Resign" was about impoverished rural people. The familiar characters of traditional dramas and festivals were used in these dramas. An example of this use of familiar characters was in the 1970 drama created by the Nigerian Family Planning Association. In Sierra Leone the Planned Parenthood Association and other health educators, CARE (Co-operative for American Relief Everywhere) and LEARN (Local Educational Activities for Rural Networks) also used drama. Although the plays that were developed were about social issues, the plays presented dramatised solutions to problems rather than involving the people in identifying and solving their own problems. This is the major criticism of these types of theatre: they do not involve the active participation of the learners. The problem was that the theatre was taken to the people and given to them. It was realized that what was needed was theatre which actually involved the people in its making.

Theatre-for-development in Africa really began in 1974 in Botswana where the use of drama in adult education as a means of facilitating social change was primarily initiated by Ross Kidd. The aim was to equip communities with the ability to analyse their situations and to collectively solve their problems. The idea was that the dramatisation of local issues would bring people together, create a forum for collective discussion and "generate a process of community decision-making and collective action." (Malamah-Thomas, 1987: 61) Drama was also supposed to transform the role of the community extension worker from that of a giver of knowledge to that of a facilitator in a community process. As Kidd himself expressed it:

> drama is "a means of bringing people together, building confidence and solidarity, stimulating discussion, exploring alternative options for action and building a collective commitment to change: starting with people's urgent concerns and issues, it reflects on these issues and suggests possible strategies for change." (Kidd, 1982)

Kidd joined forces with Martin Byram in 1974 to initiate and document a non-formal adult education project in Botswana: Laedza Batanani. Laedza Batanani, which loosely translates as "Wake up. Let's come together and work together." or "Community Awakening", arose from the annual festival of the same name. During this festival the community came together in an attempt to understand and assess their socio-economic situation and to discuss what could be done about it. Community issues were dramatised and used to communicate issues to the people in a way they understood. This included post-performance discussions to facilitate a process of community education and collective action. The name Laedza Batanani comes from the title of the theme song of the festival:

The sun is already up
It is time to come and work together
Build your villages together;
Leave staying on the lands and build homes;
Attend meetings and hear what's happening in your country.
Men should work and give money to their wives.
Leave fighting and the Gumba-Gumba,
Teach your children to respect adults
Awake and come together to build Botswana.

Laedza Batanani was influenced by the Zambian Chikwakwa Theatre and by Paulo Freire. Zambia's Chikwakwa Theatre, which was founded by Michael Etherton in the early 1970's, did drama workshops to impart theatrical skills to the participants. Chikwakwa, which means grass roots, developed from the travelling theatre of the University of Zambia and was dedicated to creating a truly Zambian theatre for the people using existing social and cultural traditions. Laedza Batanani's aim was also to use the cultural traditions and to show extension workers how to use popular theatre for community and village renewal programmes. One of the key features of this programme was that it set out to use popular theatre as the medium for encouraging participation, raising issues, fostering discussion and critical consciousness as well as promoting collective action.

The focus in Kidd & Byram's campaign was to foster participation and self-reliance as well as "the Freirian objective of motivating people to improve their lives through improving the life of the community." (Etherton, 1982: 344). For Freire "It is crucial, that the peasants must help devise the very ways in which they are going to learn and this starts with basic literacy." (Freire cited in Etherton, 1982: 342). However, this idea that "peasants must help devise the very ways in which they are going to learn" proved to be a stumbling block. There was a contradiction in that middle-class, urban-based trainers and organisers were taking the leadership role in initiating popular theatre activities and trying to encourage the participation of the grass roots people. This proved to be a serious drawback because although the Laedza Batanani campaign emphasized participation it did not include all the villagers in the key stages of data analysis and drama-making. It was only the community leaders and the educated development workers who participated in the planning workshops and the actors' workshop. The very poor villagers who were in most dire need were simply the passive audience for a prescriptive dramatisation. The dramas also tended to represent the concerns of dominant groupings in the society. This limited participation meant that the organisational momentum, so necessary for community conscientization and follow-up action, was absent.

The organizers of Laedza Batanani themselves have realised the limitations of the campaign. After organising the first International Popular Theatre workshop in Chalimbana, Zambia in 1979, Kidd returned to his native Canada where he, together with Byram, reflected on the process used at Laedza Batanani and wrote a critique of the experience: "Demystifying Pseudo-Freirian Development: The Case of Laedza Batanani" (Kidd & Byram, 1982). They criticized their own programme and how it attempted to

follow a Freirian model. In their critique Kidd & Byram acknowledge that apart from the problem of the degree of participation, many of Freire's ideas had been given different meanings. Critical consciousness, for instance, was being used to mean an awareness of local problems and a means of solving them. This is a watered-down version of Freire's concept which includes historical understanding and analysis of the cause of the problems. Also, for Freire, authentic dialogue must lead to action, However, the performances at Laedza Batanani led to hardly any action of a collective nature. As Mda (1993: 15) comments "Community action was expected somehow to follow from the heightened interest generated by the performances, an unrealistic view of the power of popular theatre."

In Nigeria the Theatre Collective of Ahmadu Bello University, with the guidance of Michael Etherton, tried to act on the lessons learnt from the experiences of Laedza Batanani when they set up the Maska Project "to explore the possibilities of using drama as an effective medium of teaching illiterate adults" (Bappa, 1981:24) The Theatre Collective of Ahmadu Bello, like Laedza Batanani, developed from the traditional festivals. Nigerian festivals were open-air performances where social and political evils were often criticized. Critical questions were asked and songs sung in which the audience enthusiastically participated. The main Nigerian festival was called "Kalankuwa". It was originally a harvest festival called Alarinjo but in later years it developed into a more critical social event. In African cultures the artist was often a social critic so this role of the festivals is not surprising. In Africa drama could not be separated from political, economic and social life.

Although the workshop was called the Maska Project, Wasan Maska was only one of three villages in Hausaland where the workshop took place. The other two villages were Wasan Samaru and Wasan Bomo which co-incidentally was the original Kalankuwa village. The two-week workshop was organised "to explore the possibilities of using drama as an effective medium of teaching illiterate adults." (Bappa, 1981: 24). The organisers of the workshop saw drama as meaning "popula eatre developed through improvisation, using local material, the local dialect, and members of the community" (Bappa, 1981: p. 24). The organisers of the workshop, having learnt the problems of non-participation from the Laedza Batanani campaign, realized that they could not just transmit ideas without involving "the otherwise passive audience in the task of acting, discussing and charting out change" (Bappa, 1981: 24) so The Theatre Collective of Ahmadu Bello involved villagers "from establishment of rapport and mutual confidence to follow-up action" (Malamah-Thomas, 1988: 105) in their workshop. This was an attempt to make their drama more truly participative and effective.

The workshop was aimed at introducing adult educators to the use of popular theatre as an educational medium and also as a means of raising political consciousness. The organisers believed that drama could go deeper and explore issues more closely than conventional educational methods. The workshop attempted to provide adult educators with ways of translating an abstract problem into a concrete play that explored the contradictions within the situation. The participants were shown that "an improvisation

could take an issue, sometimes an abstract one, analyze it, then put it into story form before rendering it into drama." (Bappa, 1981: 27)

The adult educators went from the University into three local communities, Wasans Maska, Samaru and Bomo, where they collected data around which to build improvisations. The villagers were vocal and co-operative and the gathered data was then analyzed. Another objective of the workshop was to facilitate social education. This means that through drama the participants would become conscious of the forces at work in their society and attain a more holistic view of their society. Three plays were developed; one around illiteracy, another around hygiene and another around fertiliser. The actors in each play articulated different perspectives in an attempt to highlight aspects which were perhaps not previously apparent to the audience. This could be seen as promoting critical thinking, another valuable adult education aim.

One of the most positive outcomes of the Maska Project happened unintentionally. The academics from Ahmadu Bello University mainly spoke English while the participants largely spoke Hausa. In order to communicate, the concepts of drama had to be pared to their essentials to facilitate translation. This often involved the use of concrete examples to try and express the essence of the concept. This meant that the terms were seen for what they really were rather than as mystifying, high-brow academic concepts. The attempt to use drama thus broke down barriers and encouraged participation between the academics and the villagers before any acting had taken place.

Although adult educators might sing the praises of drama in education not all African governments appreciated the increase in critical thinking that sometimes occurred with the use of Theatre for Development. In the late 1970's in the Kamirithu region in Kenya there was great poverty and dislocation as a result of government "resettlement" policies which left many people landless and jobless. These people had become "alienated beings" and many resorted to cheap local liquor as an escape. One member of the community, Ngugi wa Mirii, tried to reactivate the community centre by starting adult literacy classes but the reading material was irrelevant so the learners were discouraged.

In a further attempt to uplift the community Ngugi wa Mirii formed a committee of concerned members of the community. One member of this committee was the then unknown playwright and novelist Ngugi wa Thiong'o. The committee decided that a drama production would be the best means of facilitating and consolidating adult literacy and of creating an alternative so[illegible] self-realisation and entertainment for the depressed community. Ngugi wa Mirii an[illegible]ugi wa Thiong'o were given the task of writing a play. They did this in the form of "N[illegible]hika Ndenda" (I will marry when I want). However, in the course of producing it they found that the participants changed the script and improvised new scenes as they became more involved. The community was now so vibrant and full of energy that they not only produced many more dramas about their predicament but also built a three thousand-seater, open-air theatre. Members of the community started by making a match-stick model of the theatre and then went through the process of physically building the theatre. The resultant structure was an excellent

theatre venue and the achievement was even more significant because it was built mainly by peasants who had never seen a theatre before. Unfortunately the government were not so impressed by this achievement and did not approve of the activities of Kamirithu as the dramas were becoming increasingly more critical of the Kenyan administration. In 1977 Ngugi wa Thiong'o was detained. This did not stop all the activities of the community centre and adult literacy classes continued.

In 1981 the Kamirithu community, with the assistance of Ngugi wa Thiong'o, now released from detention, developed another play in the Gikuyu language called "Maitu Njugira" (Mother Cry for Me). The community had acquired a confidence out of the knowledge that they, simple peasants, were the daring creators, and not just the passive consumers, of culture. "Maitu Njugira" relied on song, mime and dance as the major vehicles for conveying the message so it communicated effectively even to non-Gikuyu speakers. The government obviously still felt threatened by the use of theatre and through the Provincial Commissioner issued a statement that theatre did not contribute to development. The statement was followed by the Community Centre being de-registered and then, even more tragically, in March 1982, the open-air theatre at Kamirithu, the pride of the community, was razed to the ground.

In Sierra Leone Theatre for Development did not have such tragic consequences as it did in Kenya. In Sierra Leone the mass media does not reach the "marginalized and impoverished people who need to discover how they can raise the quality of their lives" (Malamah-Thomas, 1987: 60) so "Theatre for Development" evolved as a means of addressing this problem. Its proponents claim that it is "a compelling means of fostering participation of, and dialogue with, rural people by using their own media and art forms as tools for development communication" (Malamah-Thomas, 1987: 60). This use of drama in adult education in Sierra Leone is a form of community theatre which aims to encourage rural development. "Community Theatre for Integrated Rural Development" also claims to engage its participants (the learners) in collective attempts to solve problems. Drama is thus seen as a method for education and conscientisation.

The educational philosophy underlying the use of drama includes the idea that one cannot just teach "facts", one also needs to teach understanding. This philosophy also holds that the best context for learning is one where the learner is strongly, dynamically and actively involved. This helps with the developing of attitudes and values. These values include behavioural values which means learning that it is important to hear other ideas; procedural values which means that one learns to weigh up the evidence in order to arrive at a conclusion; and substantive values which means one learns to question why one believes in something. Drama provides a mirror in which people can examine their world.

In 1983 a workshop organised by the Benue State Arts Council in Nigeria was held which proved to be significantly more successful than any previous attempts to use Theatre for Development. The Benue Popular Theatre Workshop for Development was designed to be a "know-through involvement" workshop that did not include the usual presentation of papers or "the diarrhea of words from academicians that normally follows such papers."

(Aruha, 1984: 121) The target group was an impoverished Nigerian village. The village of Igyura was rural and traditional and the people's morale was low as they felt that the local authorities neglected them. The organisers of the workshop went into the village with the intention of trying to lead the villagers from passivity to involvement and action through dramatic presentations. The organizers believed that "provoking thought on problems ultimately leads to initiating solutions and actions" (Aruha, 1984: 123).

The two main problems that the Igyuran people identified were to do with getting fertiliser and with divorce. Involving the villagers at this early stage helped to establish the credibility of the organisers. However, this village posed a particular problem in that the women were not allowed to speak without their husband or father's permission and thus were excluded from any decision-making. However, once the village was convinced of the credibility of the organisers, the chief granted permission to the women to participate in a limited way. This compromise was accepted by the organisers because they rationalised that in two weeks they could perhaps help to solve one immediate problem i.e. the need for fertiliser, but it was not their place or intention to start a social revolution!

The process of dramatising the problem was started and lively debate and criticism accompanied the workshop. However, after a week of dramatising and analysing the problems associated with getting fertiliser, the villagers decided that drama was not enough; they needed action. They decided to approach the Ministry for Rural Development and Co-operatives. Although the Ministry was situated only seven kilometers away from Igyura the Minister claimed to have never heard of the place and his response to their plight was that a lot of information had been available for some time which would solve their problems. It was then pointed out to the Minister by the organisers that the information was disseminated by means of newspapers, radios and televisions which were totally inappropriate media for illiterate rural people with no access to technology. On top of that most of the communications from the Ministry were in English, a language that was unknown to most villagers. The Co-operative Officer attended the Igyuran druma and afterwards said that popular theatre was the "most relevant technology for imparting information and knowledge to the poor helpless masses." (Aruha, 1984: 126) This particular venture was very successful and the villagers got their fertiliser. In Igyura the use of drama continues but now it is more of a method of relaxation and entertainment at the end of a day's work. The Igyura now see that performance is a social act and that "Each drama is ... a corporate and social act reflecting a collective experience." (Etherton, 1982: 55)

In Sierra Leone the government and various other national and international development aid agencies co-opted the use of drama in rural development programmes with little success. Their use of drama was based on the rationale that it was appropriate to use popular culture in educational programmes. However, the supporters of "Community Theatre for Integrated Rural Development" claim the government was exploiting the culture of the people and saw the failure of these projects as being the result of the government's top-down approach. Apparently the urban government bureaus where these programmes originate are out of touch with the needs and aspirations of the rural

population. The solving of problems is seen by the urban bureaucrats as being a technical issue controlled by "experts".

"Community Theatre for Integrated Rural Development", a form of popular or participatory theatre, is a response to the top-down, directive, authoritarian governmental approach. Its supporters claim that Popular Theatre is a two-way communication tool and that "by its communal and fictionally imaginative nature (it) can provide a graphic and vivid forum where such dialogue can take place without the kinds of antagonisms that might well result in directly 'real' situations" (Malamah-Thomas, 1987: 61). "Community Theatre for Integrated Rural Development" is accessible to many, based in local social and cultural realities and expressed in the people's art forms using the local language and idioms, music, drumming, singing and dancing, miming and story-telling. This use of drama meets the need to tap rich cultural legacies in overcoming oppression.

In Sierra Leone the Institute of Adult Education at the University of Sierra Leone held the first "Community Theatre for Integrated Rural Development" workshop in November 1986. The workshop included input on the theory and practice of theatre for community development as well as "hands-on" sessions and, even more importantly, it taught participants to respect villagers and to listen to them and learn with them. The procedure of the two-week workshop included working out plays about the problems and then taking them back to the villages where solutions were discussed and then plays demonstrating possible solutions were then taken back and performed for the others. Thus inter-village communication was effected. This resulted in "swopping" performances. This constant interaction and dialogue between villagers created "transformational drama" where the audiences were not just passive. It was successful in that there was collective action in solving the dramatised community problems, such as the construction of pit latrines and water-wells to reduce the incidence of diarrhea and other water-related diseases. Another success was that the development workers were conscientised into realising that they were working *with* and not *for* the villagers.

A similar transformation in the attitude of development workers has been recorded by Zakes Mda (1993) in his study of the work of the Marotholi Travelling Theatre in Lesotho. Mda considers theatre-for-development as a means of communication. He looked at the present state of development communication in Africa and described it as communication that is centralised in the urban areas and then disseminated to the rural periphery. His argument is that there needs to be communication from and between people in the rural periphery and he proposes theatre as a suitable medium to achieve this. The main ammunition supporting his argument comes from a case study of the Marotholi Travelling Theatre of which he was the director for a number of years.

Mda examined the existent development projects in Lesotho and discovered that the attitude from development agencies is that they are benefactors aiding an ignorant peasantry. The people in turn saw themselves as recipients dependent on hand-outs. This was quite a different view of development to Mda who defines development as "a process through which a society achieves greater control of its social, economic and political

destiny. The process allows the individual members of society to have control of their institutions, which leads to a liberation from all forms of domination and dependency." (Mda, 1993: 42)

Marotholi started out in 1982 as a Theatre-for-Development Project at the National University of Lesotho in Roma. Its goal was to initiate and support community development and self-help programmes through the use of theatre. Marotholi has changed its approach to using theatre over the years with increasing villager participation and Mda documents the progress of this change. The first play was a production called "Kopano Ke Matla!" (Unity is Strength) about co-operatives which used popular cultural forms of communication such as poetry, songs and dance to get the message across. There was no active involvement of the villagers in this theatre which was very message-oriented. This kind of theatre simply reinforced the existent development ethos that the development worker is an external agent with superior knowledge who can present solutions to the villagers' problems. The next play was about rural sanitation. It had similar problems to "Kopana Ke Matla" although this time at least the dialogue of the play was improvised according to the specific conditions of the particular areas where it was performed.

The next play, the Agro-Action Play, tried to involve the villagers to a greater extent and thus used Boal's method of Simultaneous Dramaturgy in a series of plays around the problems caused by food aid when it is offered as a reward for participation in development programmes. In Simultaneous Dramaturgy the start of a play is presented but at a critical point in the action the audience is requested to suggest how the action should progress or what solutions to the problem are possible. The actors then perform whatever course of action the audience community has decided to take. The next play, the Trade Union Play, moved even closer to involving the villagers in every step of the theatre process. This time Boal's method of Forum Theatre was used where the audience not only suggests possible solutions but actually acts them out themselves. The Trade Union Play was the first play that was created at the request of the villagers. It was a play about the participation of miners in trade unions that cost them their jobs. The last play documented by Mda is the Alcoholism play which involved the active participation of the audience in every stage of the process. It was what Marotholi termed a "community-generated' or "Comgen" play that developed when Marotholi workers spent two-weeks with a rural community equipping them with theatre skills so they would be able to create and perform plays on their own. The villagers were in control of the process from the outset and the highest degree of audience participation of any Marotholi play was achieved.

Mda (1993: 181) analyses the effectiveness of theatre-for-development as demonstrated by the Marotholi Travelling Theatre and concluded that "Through theatre the villagers were able to analyse the structures of domination and dependence, to make their own resolution in response, and to decide the best methods of implementing the resolutions. Theatre proved to be most suited to this task because it enabled the villagers to produce and distribute messages from their own perspective."

As far as the use of theatre-for-development in South Africa is concerned, not much is documented. However, drama has been used in the trade union movement in South Africa as an organising and empowering medium for participants. von Kotze (1988) documents the rise of cultural activity as an educating force in the trade union movement in Natal. When actor/workers play managers then all the anger and frustration of working life is directed at the characters. "Here is a chance to do what is often too dangerous in real-life situations." (von Kotze, 1988: 12) is a recurrent comment from workers participating in drama. Creating a play gave the workers the chance to share their experiences through discussion and improvisations. It allowed for different viewpoints to be discussed and debated in a non-threatening way. It also drew them together as a group while the individuals gained a sense of self-worth and self-confidence. von Kotze identifies two uses of drama in worker education: "plays for mobilisation" which generate support for a specific struggle and "educational plays" to educate the worker public about a number of issues.

The only comprehensive study of the use of drama as a means of facilitating learning in the rural areas of South Africa was conducted by Professor Lynn Dalrymple (1991) of the University of Zululand. Professor Dalrymple used drama as a means of disseminating information and awareness about AIDS to rural communities in Zululand. She ran a pilot project in a rural school in Zululand with the aim of effecting "a change in the knowledge and attitudes of secondary school pupils (about AIDS), and contributing towards changing behaviour patterns" by using what she termed "a drama approach" (Dalrymple, 1991: 1). The research started by administering a questionnaire to a sample of pupils from the school in order to determine their knowledge, attitudes and behaviour patterns relating to AIDS prior to the drama approach being implemented. The project then made a three-phase intervention in the form of a theatre presentation, drama lessons and an open day. The whole process was then evaluated through questionnaires and interviews, however there was ongoing evaluation through the use of participatory action research techniques.

The drama approach to educating around AIDS was based on the rationale that in dealing with health issues where a change of attitude and behaviour is sought, "it is necessary to involve the whole cognitive-affective-behavioural being" in an experiential learning situation such as drama.(Dalrymple, 1991: 20) Dalrymple (1991: 23) says she uses the drama approach because it has certain unique features:

a. Drama functions on two levels simultaneously - the actual and the symbolic. If a willing suspension of disbelief is achieved among the participants then an exploration of 'real' attitudes and behaviour without 'real' consequences occurs.
b. Drama allows for the experience of the other, or of being in someone else's shoes, and thinking and feeling from their point of view.
c. Drama involves the whole being and is unique in that it provides a way of thinking with the body as well as with the mind and emotions. Body awareness and the skillful use of a wide vocabulary of body language build self-esteem.
d. Drama sets up opportunities for spontaneous expression which can release inchoate ideas. It provides a way of liberating the imagination.

This particular drama approach had three phases. The first phase was the presentation of a play that portrayed the kinds of situations involving AIDS with which students could be involved, based on the information gleaned from the initial research. The play also educated about AIDS. The use of humour and local idiom captured the audience's attention and a questioning environment was created by the question and answer session at the end of the play. The second phase was a series of drama lessons that involved the students. The drama lessons had two purposes: firstly, to enable the students to devise their own plays about AIDS to be performed for the community on Open Day and, secondly, to expose students to a variety of expressive forms through which to explore the issue of AIDS. The teachers were also trained in using drama methods as part of the project. The experience with using the drama approach for the AIDS issue gave teachers a working example of how to use drama methods in practice. This training of members of the community means that drama can continue to be used for a variety of purposes although participating teachers felt that they will need further in-service training in using a drama approach. The third phase was an Open Day during which the performance of the plays devised by the students as well as various other activities such as singing, dancing, speeches and students reading their own poems were used to convey information about AIDS and to explore community attitudes to AIDS. Dalrymple, in discussing the applicability of the project to other contexts, cautions that "the drama approach ... is not a formula ... it is a process which demands flexibility and the ability to adjust to the particular circumstances." (Dalrymple, 1991: 7)

These examples of the use of theatre-for-development in Africa provide useful lessons when trying to devise guidelines for the use of drama in adult learning in the rural areas of South Africa. The last area that was considered for illumination was the work done by the International Popular Theatre groups.

2.3 International Popular Theatre

In August 1979 the first International Popular Theatre Workshop was held in rural Zambia at a place called Chalimbana. Adult educators, development workers and theatre workers from Zambia, Tanzania, Botswana and Lesotho participated in the two-week workshop organized by the International Theatre Institute in Zambia and Ross Kidd to learn about the use of theatre as a communication process. The workshop was a practical "learning-by-doing" experience in planning, running and evaluating a theatre-for-development programme in rural areas. Six groups of eleven or twelve people used Participatory Research methods in order to identify the issues to be presented theatrically in a process similar to the Freirian dialogue process. One of the outcomes of the workshop was the consolidation of participatory research as a method for investigating and analysing issues from communities. (Mwansa, 1991a: 4) This workshop was also part of a new movement of dialogue, exchange and workshops among popular theatre practitioners and users of so-called "folk" media in the Third World.

This new movement was also given a voice in 1979 at the World Conference on Agrarian Reform and Rural Development (WCARRD). The participants reached the conclusion that the majority of development efforts had failed to meet the needs of the rural poor, mainly because poor people did not participate in the planning and implementation of programmes. The message of the WCARRD was that development would only succeed by involving the rural poor in the development process. It was realised that the poor and oppressed remain poor and oppressed because they have no way of influencing the direction in which their societies are moving. At the crux of the right to develop lies participation. This new movement owed much to the philosophies of Paulo Freire.

Kidd also organised a further four International Popular Theatre Workshops: in Berlin in 1980; in Thunder Bay, Canada in 1981; in Bangladesh in 1983; and in Murewa, Zimbabwe in 1983. The second workshop held in Berlin in 1980 focused on "The Use of Indigenous Social Structures and Traditional Media in Non-Formal Education and Development". This workshop was "a reflective one and involved presentation of quite detailed case studies of a large number of countries" (Mwansa, 1991a: 4) The third workshop held in Thunder Bay, Canada in 1981 saw the involvement of popular theatre workers from the Caribbean as well as participants from Africa and Canada. Links between Caribbean and Canadian popular theatre workers were strengthened and led to increased interaction, for example, in 1982 the Sistren of Jamaica toured in Canada.

Sistren is a women's theatre collective which was established in Jamaica to "perform drama about how women suffer and how men treat them bad" (French, 1982: 1) Although Sistren is an urban-based group, a great deal of their most important work has been conducted with rural women. One example is the work Sistren did in using drama to motivate and organise a group of rural women living in an area called Sugartown to act around their own concerns. "Sistren's decision to operate in the area arose from an interest in exploring the conditions of rural women and in particular female sugar workers, sugar being the oldest and most important agro-industry on the island." (French, 1982: 2) In their first session the women of Sistren used a scene from their play "Domestic", which is about rural-urban migration, to stimulate a discussion and thus collect data about the lives of the women of Sugartown. The scene was obviously familiar to the women and they started recounting their own life experiences enthusiastically because they said this "was the first time they had been involved in anything that seemed to apply to them specifically." (French, 1982: 4) The information gathered from the women was worked on with the women over a number of months to build a play about women's lives in the sugar region. Through this process the Sugartown Women's Organisation was founded. A film was made of the play and this generated further interest in the Organisation's work. By this stage the group had grown in size from five to thirty.

Sistren then worked with the group to decide on a new issue that they could dramatise and try to change. Of the issues raised, they decided to work on the water problem. The first session saw the women doing an exercise which involved using their bodies to simulate a machine; the idea being to stress co-operation, "how different actions and motions (skills and tasks) should be co-ordinated in order to produce a meaningful result" (French, 1982:

6) At the end of the exercise one piece had to malfunction demonstrating that the whole machine then collapsed. The women then developed skits that demonstrated the different problems the lack of water was causing in the community. In the ensuing discussion the participants identified the information they needed before they could act and how best to act to solve the problem. They decided to send a delegation to the local councillor who was responsible for dealing with local problems. The second session centred around role-playing the delegation's meeting with the councillor in order to prepare the delegation for all eventualities. Then the real visit occurred and it was successful in getting a water-truck sent to the area twice a week. This positive response created a feeling of achievement in the group and they were encouraged to launch into the next part of their plan: getting the water pump fixed. This was eventually achieved. The whole process gave the women the confidence to take over the control of their organisation from Sistren. Initially there were some hiccups and Sistren still had to step in to render assistance but gradually the women "came to appreciate what elements were necessary for good organisation and programme implementation." (French, 1982: 9) Through the use of drama a group of rural women were empowered not only to take control of their own development on a single issue: the solving of the water problem, but also more generally to organise themselves to take collective action against any problem or issue that adversely affected their lives.

The fourth International Popular Theatre Workshop was held in Bangladesh in February, 1983. The network of popular theatre workers was now extended to included participants from South East Asia. The major outcome of the Bangladesh Workshop was the creation of the International Popular theatre Alliance (PETA) with its headquarters in the Philippines. The largely Third World participants had a number of aims in forming PETA and its regional committees. The committees aimed at promoting the linking of popular theatre to people's organisations in order to support the struggles for liberation in the various countries represented. They also aimed to support and promote the people's cultural struggles and to strengthen popular theatre work at the national level so that the international solidarity work was anchored in clear national networks. They also wished to "expose the imperialist framework operating in Third World countries" (Bekele, 1984: 68). Unfortunately PETA did not function properly as an international co-ordinating body because of the political turmoil that erupted in the Philippines.

The International Popular Theatre Alliance issued a number of recommendations as to the role Popular Theatre should be playing. One of these recommendations is very revealing of the political position of this organisation: "Popular Theatre workers should deepen their analysis of the societal structure in which they operate. A clearer understanding of the workings of our respective political economies can enrich the cultural work that we do, both in the education that is integral to popular theatre activities and in the plays that we produce. We should never be involved in using theatre to reinforce the culture of silence; rather we should be conscious of our contribution to the liberation struggle." (Bekele, 1984: 70) The basic tenet of the International Popular Theatre Alliance is that popular theatre can either be used as a tool for liberation or co-opted by the ruling elite for their own purposes. In order to avoid being co-opted or reactionary, popular theatre workers

must work closely with popular organizations committed to the struggle against the social, economic, political and cultural oppression of the people.

The fifth Workshop was held in Murewa, Zimbabwe later in 1983 in August. "The workshop was meant to learn fr[illegible] Zimbabwe's cultural experiences used during the freedom war." (Mwansa, 1991a: 7) It was predominantly an African workshop but it was also the first workshop where reports were made about the state of Popular theatre internationally. Ross Kidd wrote a diary of his experience at this workshop and tried to develop a model for using theatre for development out of this experience, however he came to the conclusion that it is not possible to set up a prescriptive model for such a context bound methodology. Another important lesson to be learned from this Workshop was the use of people's own performance traditions, as Kidd (1984: 75) points out: "Much theatre-for-development work in Africa has undervalued indigenous performance forms and the indigenous organisation of cultural activity." In Murewa the people from the local community used dance and song extensively for a variety of rituals and purposes but they did not use plays as such. The songs and dances were incorporated into the work which helped to build the participants' self-confidence because "they saw that they had relevant skills and experience to contribute and that their ideas and thinking were crucial to the process" (Kidd, 1984: 33) while adding in the use of theatre. This two-way communication of knowledge and skills from the villagers and the theatre-for-development workers helped to establish a genuine dialogue. The Zimbabwe Workshop thus had important outcomes but in terms of encouraging the building of an International Alliance, the trend at the Zimbabwe Workshop was for people to organise and work regionally rather than to develop and network as an international movement. (Mwansa, 1991a: 8)

The sixth Workshop was held in Rehoboth, Namibia in 1991. Aboe Nayiluma from Akanani attended the Workshop and it is written-up as a networking case study in the Results section of this report. One of the important contributions to the literature of Popular Theatre to come out of this Workshop was the paper about the SOS Sahel Community Environment Project Drama Unit's work in Tominian in Mali delivered by Eressi Malboro (1991). The unique aspect of SOS Sahel's work is that they use drama as a data-gathering method to hear the grievances and communications from the villagers. SOS Sahel defines its principle objective as being:

> To be in dialogue with the villagers through theatre - examining problems as they arise and evaluating development work in progress; to listen to the voice of the villagers expressing and identifying their own needs, and to use scenarios and dance sketches to develop a critical understanding of the problems facing both villagers and project workers. (Malboro, 1991: 1)

SOS Sahel has tried to offer the community a means of expression through theatre-for-development. In trying to delve deeper into the meaning of a particular performance, they use the forum theatre method developed by August Boal. Forum Theatre involves the audience in replaying the action of a play as they feel it should have happened; either because they feel it is a more accurate representation of reality or as a suggested solution

to the problem. SOS Sahel operates on the assumption that theatre is a language that enables a community to express and analyse itself, but also facilitates a communal addressing of any problems and participation in finding solutions.

Having considered the literature of drama-in-education, the history of theatre-for-development in Africa and the literature about the work being done in the International Popular Theatre movement, it is important to relate the lessons gleaned from these three areas to the aims of adult education and consequently to attempt to deduce appropriate uses of drama in adult education in the South African rural context.

2.4 Using Drama in Adult Education

"Theories of learning through theatre and drama have generally not been tested in a way that could be considered rigorous or scientific. This no doubt contributes to the marginalisation in this country (South Africa) of educational drama and theatre in formal education." (Dalrymple, 1991: 4) Using drama in adult education in South Africa seems to be appropriate if one considers the trends in drama in education, theatre-for-development and popular theatre and compares them with the trends in the aims of adult education.

Drama taps the life experience of the adult learner which would gain the approval of adult education theorists like Stephen Brookfield and Malcolm Knowles. Drama is one of the participatory experiential techniques Knowles (1984) advocates for andragogy as it utilises the adults' experience and organises their learning around real life problems. However, Knowles' focus is on education that promotes individual autonomy rather than on education for social change so his use of drama as a methodology would have a narrower, more Western approach than the broader use of drama for community development used in Africa. However, Knowles is concerned that adults should have more control over their lives and he does urge the use of dialogue and a spirit of inquiry in learning situations which are facilitated through the use of drama.

Brookfield (1985: 46) asserts that "Adult education ... is that activity concerned to assist adults in their quest for a sense of control in their own lives, within their interpersonal relationships, and with regard to social forms and structures within which they live." He proposes that in adult education "all involved assist each other to identify the external sources and internalized assumptions framing their conduct, and to be ready to assess these critically." Brookfield sees the development of this kind of critical thinking as a central feature of adult education. He defines critical thinking as: "Calling into question the assumptions underlying our customary, habitual ways of thinking and acting ... in being ready to think and act differently on the basis of this critical questioning." (Brookfield, 1987: 1) He determines that this "critical reflectivity" has occurred when the learners "realize that the belief systems, value frameworks and behavioral prescriptions informing their conduct are culturally constructed, not divinely ordained." (Brookfield, 1985: 46 - 47) He sees the development of the learners' sense of personal power and self-worth as vital prerequisites for an atmosphere conducive to the development of critical

reflectivity. He identifies four components of critical thinking: identifying and challenging assumptions, developing an awareness that context (time, place and culture) influences behaviour, imagining and exploring alternatives, and becoming skeptical of claims of universal truth. (Brookfield, 1987: 4 - 5)

Brookfield also maintains that adult education should: be collaborative, involve praxis, prompt adults to consider alternative ways of thinking and behaving, and should nurture adults who see themselves as proactive. Drama can be used as a methodology to promote all these aims by stimulating and empowering people to become critical thinkers. Drama could help develop a sense of individual empowerment and raise the person's self-esteem as well as provide a safe environment for testing out ideas and challenging previously uncriticised notions.

Drama as a means of facilitating empowering adult learning and the aims of certain types of adult education, for example a Freirian model, would appear to have many elements in common. Both emphasise experiential learning, learner-centred learning experiences, learning with a problem-solving focus and empowering the learners to take control of their own learning.

An empowering educational methodology is one that starts with the concrete experiences of the learner. The educator then facilitates the learner's ability to decode the experience, critically reflect on the experience and helps the learner learn to analyse the social realities. When learners understand how gender, race, ethnicity, values and culture are given or denied status or power by the society, then education begins to be demystified and they start to take charge of their own learning

> "Arguably drama is the most dynamic and social of cultural forms. Where there are areas of conflict in world view, and tensions between the forces of dominance, acceptance and revolt, theatre often serves to illuminate self-understanding and to articulate precise needs and aspirations." (Kaarsholm, 1990: 246)

Drama is an educational medium that may lead to greater understanding, conscientisation or community involvement, through participation. It is an empowering agency that has the potential to give people a new sense of control over their lives. Drama is a powerful means of communication and of exposing the problems of a society. Drama is a means to get people to think about and understand their situation, to conscientize them, and it is a means of mirroring the problems which beset our societies. Drama can be used for conscientisation and mobilisation, in other words, theatre can be used as a vehicle for conveying ideas and also as a means of encouraging co-operation and community participation.. Drama can be used to expand people's awareness, to enable them to look at their reality and to see below the surface of actions to their meaning. Dramatising a possible solution to a problem "helps us to explore the feel of the experience and thus decrease our anxiety and increase our control over it." (Heathcote cited in Wagner, 1980: 16) There is a safeguard built into drama as the "fictional component protects the

participants from censure because they can claim that experience is acted-out rather than real" (Dalrymple, 1991: 78). This allows sensitive issues to be explored.

The aim of drama may be to expose a social problem, or to reinforce cognitive learning, or to provide information and ideas in a stimulating way. Drama promotes listening and observing, provides a safe way for participants to express what they think and feel, stimulates the use of the imagination and the development of creativity, as well as encourages participants to work together in a team. It helps participants to learn about organisation and co-operation. It extends people emotionally and linguistically. Drama also has the advantage that it involves the whole being: mind, emotions and the body; and that for most participants it is enjoyable. It can be argued that drama is the ultimate experiential learning technique. It is not only experiential but experimental as one can "experiment" with life without the sometimes terrifying implications if the same exercise were conducted in reality. It is a sort of reality without the pain where drama becomes a "rehearsal for life" (Dalrymple: 1991). In this capacity drama offers an appropriate outlet for the release of feelings and tensions. Sylvia Ashton Warner in her book Teacher (cited in Wagner, 1980) says "I see the mind ... as a volcano with two vents, destructiveness and creativeness. And I see that to the extent that we widen the creative channel we atrophy the destructive one." In the violent times that we live in in South Africa this is indeed a strong motivation for using drama in adult education.

2.5 Drama As A Methodology For Empowerment

Another motivation for using drama in adult education in South Africa is that all people of South Africa need to be empowered to critique the status quo and their own social reality if South Africa is to forge a new society. Empowerment is often concerned with helping groups who are marginalized in the society to recognise their potential power and agency. Adult education for empowerment in South Africa would, ideally, promote a sense of self-worth that would motivate people to contribute to improving their society. Drama as a methodology in adult education offers one means of facilitating that empowerment, which is also referred to as conscientisation, perspective transformation, critical consciousness and critical reflection.

In its simplest definition, empowerment is enabling people to do something. Graeme Bloch (1987) in his address to a conference on "People's Education for Teachers" describes empowerment as people moving towards a situation where they take control and define their own alternatives. He also refers to it as giving people "a sense that they have worth, that they have a contribution to make." Zacharakis-Jutz (1988) debates the meaning of empowerment as he feels the word is overused and comments that while it is the giving of power it is also, more accurately, the taking of power by those to whom it was previously denied. He argues that empowerment "occurs when oppressed people come together and initiate collective action" (1988: 46). Learners need to be equipped not only to become aware of the oppressive situation and what it means, but they also need to become aware of ways of taking control over it and changing it. Only if there is some possibility of action has real empowerment occurred.

In South Africa the idea of "empowering" education, called "People's Education for People's Power", was formally promulgated at the meeting convened by the Soweto Parents Crisis Committee (SPCC) on 28 December 1985 at which the National Education Crisis Committee (NECC) was formed. This is not to suggest that the idea had not existed prior to this time as Alexander (1989) cautions. In one of the resolutions of that meeting "People's Education for Peoples' Power" was to be promoted as an educational process that would "eliminate capitalist norms of competition, individualism and stunted intellectual development and (be) one that encourages collective input and active participation by all, as well as stimulating critical thinking and analysis." Learning was to be a collectively determined process with the concerns and situations of the learners as the starting point with the development of a critical and questioning attitude as an integral part of this process.

Mezirow (1991: 129) calls empowering education a perspective transformation which he maintains "involves not only becoming critically aware of habits of perception, thought and action but of the cultural assumptions governing the rules, roles, conventions and social expectations which dictate the way we see, think, feel and act. Critical awareness or critical consciousness is 'becoming aware of our awareness' and critiquing it.". He sees individual perspective transformation as the starting point for possible social action "Transformation theory - and adult educators - can promise only to help in the first step of political change, emancipatory education that leads to personal transformation, and to share the belief that viable strategies for public change can evolve out of this." (Mezirow, 1991: 210)

Drama is a form of learning that could help people "think their way through problems, dilemmas and issues of social and personal relevance" (Nixon, 1987: 5) and thus become empowered. Drama has often been advocated in education as a means of facilitating the personal and emotional development of the individual. However, that is not its only strength. It affords people the opportunity to work together co-operatively. It develops skills of compromise and negotiation. It is a secure way to challenge ideas and explore reality. It reveals a divergence of view and creates a forum in which to raise and attempt to resolve conflicts. In this regard it has been used in trade union education and development work around the world and especially here in Africa. It is a useful mode of enquiry and means of exploring social problems and experience as well as controversial issues like sexism and racism. It encourages reflection and appraisal. It develops social interaction, collaborative effort and negotiation through listening to others, articulating and expressing one's own views and develops the ability to reach consensus on how to proceed. The use of drama as a social and empowering tool becomes a method whereby problems can be explored, analysed and better understood. Drama "must concern itself not only with the personal experience of the participants, but with the context which frames and informs the experience." (Nixon, 1987: 48)

2.6 The Role of the Adult Educator

In order for a democratic process to evolve then the educator needs to help the learners to articulate, identify, interpret and assess the significance of their experiences. Most learners come to the educational situation with the dominant ideologies inculcated in their value and belief systems. It is the educator's job to help them challenge the dominant ideologies and to enable them to go beyond the present situation. The educators "have to become catalysts that unleash the latent creative powers of their students." (Alexander, 1989: 11) As Bloch (1987) points out, we need to start developing the educator as "a resource for critical and creative thinking, as somebody who is able to co-ordinate and facilitate, to bring together the involvement and participation of students". This is a form of teaching that empowers the learners.

"While there can be no question about the primacy of the learners' experience and of the issues that face them in ordinary life, the crucial dimension that we as teachers have to guide them towards is the critical analysis of that experience." (Alexander, 1989: 12) This means that without questioning the validity of that experience, the educator must facilitate critical reflection on that experience. The resultant critical consciousness is a heightened self and social awareness and an increased ability to examine issues critically. Educators need to design and structure learning situations which will engage the learners in such reflection and help them to recognise the significance of that experience. In this process the learners' deficits are underplayed while the power relationships in the society are revealed. This critical consciousness is the first step in emancipating a person.

Mezirow (1991: 210) describes the educator's role very nicely when he says:

> The social action educator's role is limited to fostering critical awareness and insight into the history and consequences of accepted social norms, cultural codes, ideologies, and institutionalized practices that oppress learners; to helping learners discover options for action and to anticipate the consequences of these options by becoming familiar with previous efforts to bring about change; to building solidarity with others similarly oppressed; and to helping learners develop the confidence and the ability to work with others to take collective action, to interpret feedback on their efforts, to deal with adversity, and to learn direct-action tactics for dealing with the system.

Mezirow cautions that adult educators should "beware of placing learners in a vacuum by making them aware of the need for collective source change without helping them acquire the information and skills needed to implement it." (Mezirow, 1991: 211) Wright (1980) agrees with Mezirow that adult educators have a responsibility to arm learners against solely depending on subjective experiences as the subject of a drama experience. If the educator provides other sources of information then it gives the learners more control in the situation as they are making more informed decisions.

One of the issues in an empowering education relationship is the status of the "educator". Freire himself addresses this and says that equality between educator and learners is impossible but that the "necessary difference between the teacher and the students (cannot be permitted) to become 'antagonistic'" (Shor & Freire, 1987: 93). Adult educators need to help and assist learners to become critical thinkers by directing and designing learning environments where that will be encouraged. Individuals develop within a social and cultural context, so in order to empower people, adult educators need to help learners examine the power relations in their society and the way that their actions influence that society. In Marshall (1987) the point is made that the marginalised need to be persuaded "that their ways of seeing and saying are valid, useful and worth communicating to others. Unchaining the words of people who have been relegated to the margins, convinced of their own incapacity and stupidity, is a task that involves deconstructing one sense of self and building up another."

As has been seen in the examples of the use of drama from Africa and elsewhere, the level of participation is one of the keys to the successful use of drama in education. It is the primary responsibility of the educator to create a learning environment where participation occurs and to facilitate progress towards collective action. A piece of theatre that is being used as an alternative to another form of mass media may not make a lasting impact or change behaviour if the needs of the villagers have not been considered. A play that merely provides information in a dramatic form without a follow-up strategy will attract the attention of the villagers and entertain them but they will not necessarily be educated except in a fairly superficial way. By working with people through theatre, collective solutions can be found to community problems. The community is more likely to feel committed to a solution if they have been involved in the identification, presentation and discussion of those problems.

2.7 Conclusion

One of the areas that needs to be addressed is the lack of teacher training available in using drama as a teaching methodology. There are only nine universities that offer Drama Studies as a teaching methodology and eight Colleges of Education. Significantly it is only offered at one "black" College of Education, namely the Giyani College of Education in Gazankulu. This is part of the apartheid legacy that "bantu" education was essentially for training artisans and consequently no attention was paid to any form of "arts" education as drama is often perceived.

The Southern African Association for Drama and Youth Theatre, SAADYT (1993), advocates the inclusion of drama in all teacher education programmes as a means of improving the teachers' communication skills and increasing their repertoire of powerful teaching tools. They also motivate for its inclusion on the basis that it is economically viable and flexible so it can be used in any classroom. SAADYT is actively lobbying in this field and had developed two models for the inclusion of drama in teacher training courses. The first model proposes a compulsory course for all student teachers in "Drama for Personal Development and Communication Skills". This course would use

improvisation and role-play to develop a confident, creative and well-developed teacher who can use drama as a medium of instruction. (SAADYT, 1993: 21) The second model proposes a compulsory course for students majoring in drama and an optional course for students majoring in other subjects in "Drama as a Teaching Method". This course would introduce student teachers to the theory and practice of drama as a teaching method.

The present lack of trained personnel who can use drama as a learning methodology is not the only problem in using drama. It is also very time-consuming and there is the danger that drama can be seen simply as entertainment rather than as a learning situation. The role of the educator is vital in this case to ensure that critical reflection on the process occurs. Gunner (1990: 200) states that drama "is a potent expressive vehicle in both the urban and rural context in Southern Africa. It is an empowering agency which in both urban and rural contexts can give people a new sense of control over their own lives." Drama has the potential to provoke critical thought, awareness and insight into the problems faced by contemporary society. It is a collaborative learning process through which we can explore our past, present and future experiences and try to make sense of our world and the role we play in it. Drama is one of the key ways in which people can gain an understanding of themselves and others. It allows people to gain confidence in themselves as decision-makers and problem-solvers and allows the exploration within a safe environment not only of a range of emotions but also a whole spectrum of social situations and moral dilemmas.

As Masikela (1990) describes: "We have to create the climate that will enable us to tap into the treasures of all the diverse cultures of South Africa to create a fresh and innovative culture of renewal. The chasms erected by apartheid practice must be bridged, the isolation of communities from one another must be ended. The walls of deliberate ignorance must be broken down so that the fresh air of reconciliation can energise us for democratic reconstruction." Drama as a strategy in adult education for empowering people through the development of critical thinking could be the "fresh air" that South African society needs to help it bridge the chasms that threaten to destroy this country.

Drama could be a useful unifying strategy in South Africa. South Africa is so fraught by divisions in every sphere that anything that will unify is important. The very process of rehearsing a play becomes, for the group, a process of unification as well as the rehearsing of broader political and cultural relations and conflicts. When knowledge is transformed into action and experience it is more easily assimilated than when gained merely by reading and hearing. The latter avenues are not open to all sectors of a community which causes dissension. Drama can overcome this problem by being equally accessible to both the literate and the illiterate, thus drama can break down divisions and unify.

Drama has many advantages in that it is cheap, mobile, simple to present because it uses the skills of the participants, as well as being immediately accessible to many people at one time. Yet another advantage is that this mass participation includes illiterate people. Using drama in adult education is "Where education begins and entertainment continues."

(Malamah-Thomas, 1988) Using drama in adult education in the rural areas of South Africa seems an appropriate way to conscientise, unify, mobilise and educate people.

This literature review has attempted to make links between the use of drama in the education of children, the use of theatre for development in Africa, the use of popular theatre internationally, the aims of adult education especially where the goal is the empowerment of the participants and the educational needs of people in rural areas. It has tried to directly address three of the research questions that this report is concerned with, namely:

What is the nature of drama as a means of facilitating adult learning, especially in the South African rural context?

How has theatre-for-development been used in Africa for community development and empowerment?

Why has theatre-for-development been used in Africa for community development and empowerment?

CHAPTER 3 - RESEARCH DESIGN

3.1. Overview of the Approach

The strategy for conducting this research is discussed in this chapter. A table outlining the research design is attached as Appendix D. The research design considers the best way to answer the research questions outlined in the introduction and also includes literature reviews of participatory research, case studies and participant observation. The approach to answering each research question is examined in turn and then the literature reviews of the three research approaches and methods are presented.

Akanani is a rural development project situated in the far northern Transvaal that uses drama as its principle methodology. The study of the use of drama at Akanani is intended to be an evaluation and documentation of both the project and the methodology for the interest of both the adult education community more widely and the Akanani community more specifically. The research has resulted in the development of general guidelines for the use of drama in adult education in rural areas and it is hoped that these will make a useful contribution to adult education practice. The research will be a means of development for the Akanani project as they wish to evaluate their progress and critically reflect on their activities. The situation seemed to be ideally suited to the use of a participatory research approach by means of a case study conducted using overt participant observation as one of the techniques.

The staff of Akanani's enthusiasm for both the method and this research made Akanani a particularly good site to conduct participatory research in order to develop case studies. The researcher spent two periods of time in residence at Akanani compiling the case studies. Participant observation, illuminative evaluation and semi-structured taped interviews with key personnel at Akanani, namely Mike Abrams, Themba Mavimbela, Aboe Nayiluma, Marc Wegerif and Astrid Wicht, as well as observing unedited video footage and reading all available documentation were used to gather information about Akanani. The approach to answering each of the research questions will now be discussed and then the suitability of using participatory research, case studies and participant observation for answering the research questions outlined in the introduction will each be considered in turn.

What is the nature of drama as a means of facilitating adult learning, especially in the South African rural context?

This question was answered in three different ways. It was answered by means of an in-depth literature review of documents, reports and journals on drama in education, theatre-for-development in Africa, the International Popular Theatre movement, the aims of adult education especially that which has empowerment of participants as a focus and the educational needs of adults in the rural areas. It was also addressed by means of personal observation and participant observation of workshops and seminars on this topic held in South Africa. SAADYT (Southern African Association for Drama and Youth Theatre)

holds annual conferences at which workshops and seminars of a nature relevant to this research are conducted. The researcher attended three such conferences. It was also answered by conducting case studies of the use of drama at Akanani, a rural development project operating in the rural areas of the far northern Transvaal. The findings from all three sources were analysed and compared leading to an attempt at providing guidelines for the use of drama as a means of facilitating adult education in the rural areas of South Africa.

How has theatre-for-development been used in Africa for community development and empowerment?
Why has theatre-for-development been used in Africa for community development and empowerment?

These two questions are inextricably linked and so they were considered together. They were answered using three sources of information. This use of triangulation was to ensure the validity and reliability of the data collected as well as to obtain a comprehensive view of the phenomenon. A meta-analysis of all the case studies and other relevant literature about the use of theatre-for-development in Africa was conducted in an attempt to derive some guidelines for practice. The facilitators at Akanani were then interviewed using semi-structured interviews to determine how and why they are using theatre-for-development for community development and empowerment in Africa. A number of case studies of the use of drama were then conducted of the use of drama at a rural development project in South Africa where theatre-for-development is the principal methodology employed, namely Akanani in the far northern Transvaal.

Participant observation, illuminative evaluation, viewing video footage, reading all the relevant literature and semi-structured interviews with the facilitators of the project, namely Mike Abrams, Themba Mavimbela, Aboe Nayiluma, Marc Wegerif and Astrid Wicht were used to gather information about Akanani.

Illuminative evaluation was used to gain insights into the case studies. Illuminative evaluation (Hamilton & Parlett, 1977) is the holistic study of a situation by means of open-ended exploration followed by focused enquiries. In the search for useful information a participatory research approach is suggested because it is collaborative and provides valuable insights. Illuminative evaluation is particularly useful in a field/case study because it is situationally responsive, phenomenological, adaptable and naturalistic as it is based on the actual programme activity (Cole, 1987). The contextual research is inductive as the issues are defined on the basis of empirical findings and the answers to the preliminary questions form the next stage of the research. In inductive research the researcher tries to make sense of the situation without imposing pre-existing expectations on the research setting. For this reason semi-structured interviews were used.

Cole (1987: 47) identifies five stages and three rules associated with an illuminative evaluation. These result in the progressive focusing of the investigation. The five stages are: setting up the evaluation; open-ended exploration; focused enquiries; interpretation

and reporting on the evaluation. The three basic rules of an illuminative evaluation are: the problem defines the method - not vice versa; different techniques are combined to illuminate a problem, not just one research method - a process refefred to as triangulation; and the evaluation progressively focuses on specific aspects of the context.

Semi-structured interviews were used with the facilitators of Akanani. This type of interview was appropriate because these people are in a particular situation and thus the researcher was able to construct an interview guide which set out the major areas for inquiry. This type of interview focuses on the subjective experience of people exposed to the situation under study in an effort to ascertain their definitions of the situation. The questions asked are open-ended to allow flexibility and unanticipated responses. See Appendix E for a copy of the guidelines used in conducting the interviews but the areas outlined in Coombs' model for compiling a case study (See Appendix C) were also covered in the interviews.

Apart from being the method suggested by illuminative evaluation, participant observation has also been used successfully to evaluate the use of drama as a means of empowerment in South Africa by von Kotze (1988) and by others in Africa, for example Malamah-Thomas (1988). Participant observation allows a comprehensive, in-depth picture of the situation being studied to be developed. The role of this researcher was as a "participant-as-observer" in which both researcher and subjects are aware of the fact that theirs is a fieldwork relationship" (Ackroyd & Hughes, 1981: 107). Drama is such an experiential learning medium that participant observation where the researcher participates in and observes the process simultaneously seemed to be a logical method of data collection.

This use of a variety of research methods is known as triangulation. Triangulation, a term coined by Denzin (1978), refers to the use of multiple methods of data collection in order to increase the reliability of the observations By employing different methods of data collection one is attempting to compensate for the limitations and shortcomings of the individual methods. Triangulation is also used to ensure a depth of understanding: "triangular techniques in the social sciences attempt to map out, or explain more fully, the richness and complexity of human behaviour by studying it from more than one standpoint" (Cohen & Manion, 1991: 208). Thus in an effort to reach a holistic view of this research area, triangulation was used.

Is drama a successful methodology as it is used at Akanani in the rural areas of the far northern Transvaal?
Is drama perceived to be an appropriate methodology for adult education in the rural areas of South Africa?

These questions were answered by using the same methods as for the research questions mentioned above. The case studies of the use of drama at Akanani which are detailed under the second research question together with the researcher's illuminative evaluation and participant observation of that project provided the answers to these questions.

1.1.4 What guidelines can be deduced for the use of drama as a methodology in adult education in South Africa, especially in the rural areas?

The lessons learned from the literature review and from the case studies of the different uses of drama at Akanani, namely The AIDS Drama, Drama in Literacy Programmes, Drama in the Winter Schools, Networking in the Drama Field and Drama in the Organisational Workshop are presented as the results of this research and an attempt has then been made to provide some guidelines for the use of theatre-for-development and drama as adult education methods in the rural areas of South Africa. Each of the various sources are commented on to arrive at the guidelines which constitute an assessment of the value and appropriacy of drama as a means of facilitating adult education in the rural areas of South Africa.

The main approaches used in this research viz. participatory research, case studies and participant observation will now be considered in-depth.

3.2 A Review of Participatory Research

Participatory research is a form of research for development. This research approach began to be used in Africa, and other developing regions, in the 1970's as a research process of "progressive social change for the betterment of the people" (Kassam & Mustafa, 1982: 4) The need for what became known as participatory research arose out of the disjunction between traditional social research methods and the needs and problems of Third World societies: "the glaring contradiction between, on the one hand, the super sophisticated, politically sterilised, technicist social research practice and the persistent poverty snd entrenched underdevelopment on the other" (Kassam & Mustafa, 1982: 68) At the time, humanistic concerns for the development of Africa, for instance to encourage increased food production and literacy, were being considered in conjunction with the need for liberation in the anti-imperialist struggles. The social researcher thus became part of a process that saw development and liberation as being its synonymous goals. The climate for this kind of thinking was encouraged by the ideas about education and development being published at the time by such influential figures as Paulo Freire and Julius Nyerere.

Participatory research also developed as part of a reaction to the quantitative approach of traditional social research. Participatory research was part of the qualitative approach which developed to counter the quantitative approach which was accused of "reducing human beings to scores on socio-economic indices to facilitate computer tabulation. The qualitative approach was advanced in an attempt to study human beings multi-dimensionally." (Kassam & Mustafa, 1982: 69) "The argument rests very much on the contention that social life is constructed in and through meanings which cannot be studied in terms of deterministic laws, but must be understood interpretively: a process made possibly only by some form of participation in, and experience of, that which is to be understood." (Ackroyd & Hughes, 1981: 104) Participatory research was a reaction to so-called "objective" social research which tried to study human beings as static objects

acting according to a set of rules with no dependence on context. Participatory research is premised on the belief that the study of human beings cannot be value -neutral and in fact participatory research "is explicitly subjective being dependant upon the individual researcher's political views, sensitivity, knowledge and insight." (Kassam & Mustafa, 1982: 74)

Participatory research has its roots in adult education and thus espouses the idea that adults participate actively in their situation and can decide what they want to learn and how best to do so. Participatory research is a " research and educational approach which has a commitment to the learning process of those engaged in the research. It is also committed to action which demands involvement rather than detachment from those concerned." (Walters, 1983: 171) Participatory research is collaborative and provides valuable insights that can be translated into action for both the researcher and the researched. "The researcher is perceived as a commited social actor, who must seek to combine his critical insight and knowledge with the understanding and resources of the local people to trigger new awareness of contradictions facing them." (Kassam & Mustafa, 1982: 70) Participatory research is thus a process of joint analysis though problem-centred dialogues between the researcher and the researched which constitutes an educational process through which knowledge is created. Participatory research holds that knowledge is the reult of praxis, it is "an emergent property of inquiry not predetermined by abstract and socially unengaged intellectualising." (Ackroyd & Hughes, 1981: 122) The participatory researcher is trying to combine investigation, education and action in a research for development process that involves the active participation of the community in the entire process.

One of the aims of participatory research is to establish a more equal relationship between all those involved in the research process, to try to destroy the division between mental and manual labour. Participatory research "stipulates respect for the people's own capability and potential to produce knowledge and analyse it. Knowledge creation as being the monopoly of professional researchers alone, as commonly practised by conventional researchers, is challenged" (Kassam & Mustafa, 1982: 71). The ideal, according to Walters (1983: 172), is a form of co-operative enquiry between all involved in which:

1. all, together, identify the problem
2. the educational value in the process is maximised
3. the control of the research lies with the people involved
4. awareness in people of their own abilities and resources is strengthened
5. those with specialised knowledge and skills, often from outside the situation, are committed participants and learners in a process which leads to militancy rather than detachment
6. critical and collective analysis that establishes and maintains control in the hands of the people and explicitly rejects manipulation is advocated.

Ellis (1990: 25) believes that both the researcher and the researched "should collect, analyse, reflect on and use the data generated to help them understand their social reality better and to act collectively to bring about desired change in their existing situations."

Education is a highly contested arena in South Africa with many groups of people being marginalised. The distinction between "educated" researchers and those being researched needs to be eroded. Marginalised and undereducated adults need to be allowed to exercise control over their situation and to participate in the decision making that will directly affect their lives. Participatory research is an important tool in this regard.

Nicholas Kuhanga, the Tanzanian Minister of National Education, had the following to say when he opened the African Regional Workshop on Participatory Research:

> In Tanzania we believe, and experience has shown, that response to the implementation of programmes is greater when the people have been involved at all stages of planning, identification of the problem, finding possible solutions and finally drawing up programmes aimed at solving the problem." (Kassam & Mustafa, 1982: 8)

He also added a word of warning to academic researchers:

> We cannot continue to engage in research activities as mere academic exercises. The money our poor countries are investing in research, whether it be from local resources or grants from outside donors, must produce tangible results and benefit the people involved in the activities directly. The act of publishing the outcome of research as learned articles in international journals, or as conference papers or dissertations in order to show one's academic excellence should be of secondary objective, even if this is also important. ... What we should aim at is to extend the people's active participation in planning and decision-making to research activities, so that, consequently, through dialogue and discussion, and not through questionnaires and interviews alone, research process becomes also an educational process for the people, raising their critical awareness and at the same time mobilising human resources to solve problems." (Kassam & Mustafa, 1982: 9 - 10)

Although participatory research has many admirable "democratic" qualities, it is time-consuming . The researcher first needs to develop the research questions with the researched. Then the research must be conducted with the researched and the findings returned to the subjects of the research. In other words, a complete loop needs to occur. Furthermore, in order for this type of research process to work in practice both the researcher and the researched need to benefit from the process. This will ensure their committment. The situation at Akanani was very co-operative and open to having this research conducted but that may not always be the case. The researcher may encounter conflict and a lack of co-operation. This conflict needs to be overcome and some sort of consensus agreed upon as to how the research will proceed. There also needs to be some sort of consensus on the type of social change that is envisaged. Although all advocates of participatory research envisage social change there are different versions of what that

entails and how one goes about achieving that. This is at the root of one of the major debates in participatory research with the historical materialists and the so-called idealists each having their own theory of social change and their own research methodology.

The historical materialists adopt an essentially Marxist perspective analysing society on a macro scale according to the mode, forces and relations of production. They criticise the "idealists" for being idealistic, pragmatic, ad-hoc and eclectic in their approach (Kassam & Mustafa, 1982: 3). The accusation of being idealist is levelled because "idealists" operate at a micro-level allegedly without considering the class relationships in the wider society. Historical materialists believe this means the oppressed are romanticised and that the participatory research approach of the "idealists" can easily be hi-jacked by reactionary interests because it has no specific political agenda. This would appear to be a strength rather than a weakness because it allows the "idealists" to operate in a range of socio-political settings. Also the idealists, or pragmatists as they are also called, are more concerned with dealing with specific situations and problems at a micro-level.

The "idealists'" eclectic and ad-hoc manner of employing various research methodologies is also condemned by the historical materialists as lacking in the necessary theoretical rigour. However the historical materialists are in turn criticised for being too theoretical, too rigid and too abstract in their approach. The historical materialist approach lacks the flexibility necessary to cope with specific and immediate problems. It also imposes a specific view and pre-determined analysis on the reality of the oppressed when participatory research is supposed to be (according to the definition used by the historical materialists): "research conducted by the democratic interaction of the researcher and the oppressed classes of people and takes the form of a dialectical unification of theory and practice reciprocally between the researcher and the oppressed classes." (Kassam & Mustafa, 1982: 4)

In summary then, participatory research is a response to a dissatisfaction with the status quo, a desire to improve the social conditions of the oppressed and a commitment to a research and education process which involves the active participation of local people. Ellis (1990: 32) neatly sums up the advantages of participatory research when she writes that it "is not simply a matter of collecting and analyzing data or of learning new knowledge and skills, it is the process by which knowledge is generated and how skills are acquired."

"Both popular theatre and participatory research aim to understand problems from the viewpoint of the community." (Kassam & Mustafa, 1982: 173) Both help towards achieving the ideal of people's participation in development. Akanani has a people-centred approach to development and believes in including the community as much as possible in development programmes with the aim of the community taking control of those programmes. The use of participatory research was thus particularly appealing to both the researcher and the staff at Akanani.

3.3 A Review of Case Studies

A case study occurs when the phenomenon to be studied is observed in great detail. It is an in-depth investigation of a given social unit that should result in a complete, well-organised picture of that unit. The researcher gathers pertinent data about the present status, past experiences and situational factors that contribute to the individuality and behaviour of the unit. After analyzing this data and considering the interrelationships between the various factors, the researcher should construct a comprehensive, integrated picture of the social unit as it functions in society.

The purpose of a case study is "to probe deeply and to analyse intensively the multifarious phenomena that constitute the life cycle of the unit with a view to establishing generalisations about the wider population to which that unit belongs." (Cohen & Manion, 1991: 125)

Case study research methodology tends to emphasise the process rather than the product. The process is one of exploration and discovery though a study which is descriptive, analytical, particular and small-scale. "Close description both of practice and the social context is an important part of the study. Such descriptions provide opportunities for more of the complexity of educational experience to be grasped and articulated." (Simons, cited in Atkinson & Delamont, 1985: 28)

Case studies have been characterised as being *particularistic*, *descriptive*, *heuristic*, *holistic* and *inductive* (Merriam, 1988) A *particular* phenomenon is *described* in detail so that insights may be gained from the *holistic* view of that phenomenon and through *inductive* reasoning new concepts and understanding may arise *heuristically*. Case studies are an appropriate research method when the intention is "to gain an in-depth understanding of the situation and its meaning for those involved." (Merriam, 1988: xii) A case study allows an intensive study of a selected instance of the phenomenon in which one is interested. Case studies are appropriate for researchers "working in relatively unformulated areas, where there is little experience to serve as a guide, (they find) the intensive study of selected examples to be a particularly fruitful method for stimulating insight" (Sellitz cited in Cole, 1987: 117). A case study is primarily an attempt to *understand* a particular situation. A case study may also pioneer new ground by highlighting important variables, processes and interactions that warrant further investigation.

The unstructured nature of case studies " allows the researcher to adapt to unforeseen events and change direction in pursuit of meaning." (Merriam, 1988: 37) The opportunity to use multiple methods of collecting data is another major strength of case study research. This often entails the use of methodological triangulation where various methods are used to study the same phenomenon. This has two advantages in that biases can be checked out and the strengths and weaknesses inherent in every data-gathering method can be compensated for by the use of various methods.

This use of a variety of research methods is known as triangulation. Triangulation, a term coined by Denzin (1978), refers to the use of multiple methods of data collection in order to increase the reliability of the observations. By employing different methods of data collection one is attempting to compensate for the limitations and shortcomings of the individual methods. Triangulation is also used to ensure a depth of understanding: "triangular techniques in the social sciences attempt to map out, or explain more fully, the richness and complexity of human behaviour by studying it from more than one standpoint" (Cohen & Manion, 1991: 208). Thus in an effort to reach a holistic view of this research area, two levels of triangulation were used: within each case where various data-collecting techniques were used to develop each case, and across the cases where the guidelines were developed by comparing the cases to one another and to any related theory, and by considering the trends that emerged from the five cases in the Results section.

The various methods that were used were interviews, participant observation watching video footage and reading all relevant documents. These were conducted within a participatory approach so a variety of different inputs will also help guard against the researcher's bias. Interviews were used to find out about those activities that could not be observed, for instance the interviewees' feelings about events, their opinions and about events that have already occured. As Patton (1980: 196) comments "We cannot observe situations that preclude the presence of an observer. We cannot observe how people have organised the world and the meanings they attach to what goes on in the world - we have to ask people questions about those things. The purpose of interviewing then, is to allow us to enter into the other person's perspective."

The reason for using participant observation will be dealt with in some detail later on but briefly it had two advantages specific to this context. Firstly because participatory research was the general approach, the researcher, who is an outsider, as a participant observer noticed aspects of the situation that the everyday participants had become so used to that they did not even notice them anymore. Secondly participant observation allowed firsthand experience of the situation rather than the "hearsay" accounts gained from interviews. This was important in checking out the validity and reliability of the information gained from the interviews.

Merriam (1988) identifies four types of case studies in education: ethnographic, with a focus on the cultural context; historical, with a focus on the time dimension; psychological, with a focus on the individual; and sociological, with a focus on the social context. In terms of the end product any of these types of case study can be primarily descriptive, interpretive or evaluative. Descriptive case studies are useful "in presenting basic information about areas of education where little research has been conducted. Innovative programs and practices are often the focus of descriptive case studies in education. Such studies often form a data base for future comparison and theory building" (Merriam, 1988: 27) Interpretative case studies are more analytical and linked to theory, where an inductive form of analysis is used to interpret the situation. Evaluative case studies "involve description, explanation, and judgement." (Merriam, 1988: 28)

There is a need for a systematic building up of knowledge in any new and developing field. Adult education in South Africa is not sufficiently documented so case studies are important in this field. Adult education needs descriptive case studies to develop its pool of knowledge in South Africa. A descriptive case study can also be used when a situation is unique and is a particularly useful way to document educational innovations. These are further reasons why it was appropriate to use a case study to study Akanani as Akanani is the only project of its kind in South Africa that uses the innovative methodology of "theatre-for-development". Case studies have another advantage in that they use a "common language approach". "Using common language, as opposed to scientific or educational jargon, allows the results of a study to be communicated more easily to nonresearchers." (Merriam, 1988: 31)

Some of the limitations of case studies are that they are time-consuming and the case study report is often very lengthy. However if the case study is part of a participatory research approach then the process of gathering data is a learning exercise - the case study report will then be the documentation of the process.

However, because of their narrow focus, case studies are said to be limited in their representativeness. There is an argument that no valid generalisations are possible from a single case study until follow-up research using proper sampling methods has been conducted. This is a positivist argument that judges a qualitative research method using quantitative criteria. Case studies are also criticised for being too subjective. The one side of this accusation is that the case may not be typical but rather be a dramatic example of a phenomenon or a good example to prove the researcher's theory. The other side to the subjective accusation is that the researcher's interpretation of the observed behaviour will be subjective and biased. Subjective interpretation is inevitable as the relative importance of data, for example, is a subjective judgement. However, the researcher needs to be aware of his/her own biases and how these influence his/her interpretation. As Guba & Lincoln (1982: 148) advise "the best cure for biases is to be aware of how they slant and shape what we hear, how they interface with our reproduction of the speaker's reality, and how they transfigure truth into falsity." When gathering data and when analysing them a real effort needs to be made to recognise those data that may be misperceptions, clouded judgements or even deliberate misrepresentations in order to "prove" the researcher's preconceived notions. The researcher also needs to guard against over-emphasising the unusual and dramatic at the expense of the ordinary and perhaps more typical behaviour. Stake (1985) criticises the case study method for losing perspective by stressing detail rather than the overall picture. His criticism can be summed up with a modification of a well-known proverb: case study researchers cannot see the wood for the trees which they wish to examine in minutiae.

The role of the researcher in case study research carries with it a great responsibility as he or she is the "primary instrument for data collection and analysis. Data are mediated through this human instrument ... rather than through some inanimate inventory, questionnaire, or machine." (Merriam, 1988: 19) The underlying philosophy of case study

research assumes that "meaning is embeddded in people's experiences and mediated through the investigator's own perceptions." (Merriam, 1988: 19) The researcher obviously has the responsibility to accurately reflect the situation and needs to be a skilled observer and interviewer. Unfortunately these skills are often not taught and the researcher has to be largely self-reliant and learn to think on his/her feet.

Case studies are conducted by means of observation of which there are two main types: participant observation, where the researcher is involved in the activities that s/he is simultaneously observing, and non-participant observation, where the researcher is simply a detached observer. Observation can either be overt, where the subjects are aware of the researcher's role, or covert, where the researcher's true role is concealed from the subjects. The 'participant-as-observer' role is when both participating researcher and subjects are aware that theirs is a fieldwork relationship.

The choice of observational role depends, at least partially, on the setting. If a case study is to be conducted in a natural setting then overt or covert participant observation would be most appropriate. In an artificial setting a non-participant observer would be more readily acceptable. The methods used in gathering data by observation can be quantitative, e.g. an observation checklist schedule, or qualitative, e.g. an ethnographic account of a subject; structured, e.g. a structured questionnaire, or unstructured, e.g. taking notes. As Akanani was studied in its normal functioning and the researcher had the co-operation of the people at Akanani, covert participant observation appeared to be the obvious choice.

A case study appeared to be the most appropriate way to research this area for many reasons. Firstly, much of the research that has already been conducted in the use of drama in adult education in Africa has taken the form of case studies, for example , Bappa (1981), Kidd and Byram (1982), Aruha (1984), Malamah-Thomas (1987), von Kotze (1988), Kamlongera (1989) and Mda (1990). Secondly, a case study allows an intensive study of a selected instance of the phenomenon in which one is interested and in this area of research there are very few examples of the phenomenon at all. Thirdly, researchers "working in relatively unformulated areas, where there is little experience to serve as a guide, have found the intensive study of selected examples to be a particularly fruitful method for stimulating insight and suggesting hypotheses for research" (Sellitz cited in Cole, 1987: 117). Fourthly, the purpose of a case study is seen as "to probe deeply and to analyse intensively the multifarious phenomena that constitute the unit with a view to establishing generalisations about the wider population to which that unit belongs" (Cohen & Manion, 1991: 99). For the above-mentioned reasons a case study appeared to be most suited to this research.

3.4 A Review of Participant Observation

Participant observation allows a comprehensive, in-depth picture of the situation being studied to be developed. Cohen & Manion (1991: 123) cite four advantages to participant observation:

1. Observation studies are superior to experiments and surveys when data are being collected on non-verbal behaviour.
2. In the observation study, the investigator is able to discern ongoing behaviour as it occurs and is able to make appropriate notes about its salient features.
3. Because case study observations take place over an extended period of time, the researcher can develop a more intimate and informal relationship with those he is observing, generally a more natural environment than those in which experiments and surveys are conducted.
4. Case study observations are less reactive than other types of data-gathering methods. For example, in laboratory-based experiments and in surveys that depend upon verbal responses to structured questions, bias can be introduced in the very data that the researcher is attempting to study.

"The basic methodological arguments for observation, then, may be summarised as these: observation (particularly participant observation) maximises the inquirer's ability to grasp motives, beliefs, concerns, interests, unconscious behaviours, customs, and the like; observation (particularly participant observation) allows the inquirer to see the world as his subjects see it, to live in their time frames, to capture the phenomenon in and on its own terms, and to grasp the culture in its own natural, ongoing environment; observation (particularly participant observation) provides the inquirer with access to the emotional reactions of the group introspectively - that is, in a real sense it permits the observer to use *himself* as a data source; and observation (particularly participant observation) allows the observer to build on tacit knowledge, both his own and that of members of his group." (Guba & Lincoln, 1982: 193)

However, participant observation is often criticised as being: "subjective, biased, impressionable, idiosyncratic and lacking in the precise quantifiable measures that are the hallmark of survey research and experimentation." (Cohen & Manion, 1991: 129) Another disadvantage of participant observation is that it is time-consuming. Participant observation has been described as a "process of waiting to be impressed by recurrent themes that reappear in various contexts." (Cohen & Manion, 1991: 134) Unfortunately there is no time frame for that waiting period, and another problem is that the researcher may not even be there on the occasion that would provide the most insight. Indeed, the very presence of a participant observer may change the "usual" situation, adding a new dimension to the group which may influence the behaviour of the group. A further problem is that the researcher may, conceivably, become so involved in the role of participant that the original advantage, of bringing an "outside" perspective to the situation, is lost. Participant observation can be an ambiguous role as the researcher tries to achieve a balance between active participation and active observation without leaning too far to either side.

Wolcott (cited in Cohen & Manion, 1991: 137) describes participant observation as "high-risk/low-yield" research. He explains that it is "high-risk" "because unless the fieldwork is eventually translated into a significant, readable (and read) monograph, the only possible

gain is that made by the researcher in terms of his own research experience. The participant observer approach is low yield because of the considerable investment of time and personal effort that has to be made in order to obtain basic and often commonplace data." The "high-risk" is basically obviated if one uses participant observation as part of a participatory research approach as the researcher and the researched will be constantly involved in interpreting the observed situation together. The process of the research then becomes more important than the final result in the form of a case study report.

Naturally, those subscribing to a more positivist view of social science reject participant observation. Some of the criticisms are that "the method relies far too heavily on unsystematic techniques of data collection, leaves too much to the whims of a single researcher, and fails even to approximate to the canons of objectivity and validity required by an effective science." (Ackroyd & Hughes, 1981: 113)

The subjective nature of a case study using participant observation raises questions about the validity and the reliability of the research:
- Does it have *internal validity*? In the traditional sense, are the findings of this research real, do they reveal what is really there?
- Does it have *external validity*? In the traditional sense, are the findings of this research applicable to other situations, are they generalisable? (transferability)
- Does it have *reliability*? In the traditional sense, are the findings of this research replicable?

Does it have *internal validity*?

In a case study using participant observation it must be remembered that what is being observed is a reality as perceived by the researcher. When this type of research is being conducted within the participatory research paradigm then the "realities" are the perceptions of all the participants in the situation. It is very difficult to "scientifically" determine the internal validity of people's perceptions of their reality, even though one is trying to determine the nature of people's reality in this type of research. Perhaps then the question of internal validity is inappropriate and what researchers should be doing is trying to achieve a "truth value" for the participants. Lincoln & Guba (1985)(quoted in Merriam, 1988: 168) argue that "judging the validity or truth of a study rests upon the investigator's showing that he or she has represented those multiple constructions (of reality) adequately, that is, that the reconstructions that have been arrived at via the inquiry are credible to the constructors of the original multiple realities." If one conducts participant observation as part of participatory research then internal validity or "truth" is assured in this way because analysis and interpretation is done in consultation with the researched anyway.

Merriam (1988: 169) determined, through her own research experience and through an overview of the qualitative research literature, that there are six basic strategies that a participant observer can use to ensure internal validity. These are:

1. Triangulation - using multiple investigators, multiple sources of data, or multiple methods to confirm the emerging findings.
2. Member checks - taking data and interpretations back to the people from whom they were derived and asking them if the results are plausible.
3. Long-term observation at the research site or repeated observations of the same phenomenon.
4. Peer examination - asking colleagues to comment on the findings as they emerge.
5. Participatory modes of research - involving participants in all phases of research from conceptualising the study to writing up the findings.
6. Researcher's biases - clarifying the researcher's assumptions, worldview, and theoretical orientation at the outset of the study.

It should be obvious that the case study of Akanani conducted by means of participant observation as part of a participatory research process included all these strategies so the internal validity of the study should be very high.

Does it have *external validity*?

In conducting an in-depth study of one case, the problem of generalisability arises. This is a concern with the external validity of the research - to what extent can the findings of one study be applied to other situations? This benchmark would appear to be inappropriate for a study whose very aim is to understand the particular in depth rather than to discover what is generally true. In order for any form of generalisation to occur the researcher has to provide a very detailed picture of the situation. Lincoln & Guba (1985,quoted in Merriam, 1988: 177) stipulate that this "rich, thick description (is necessary) so that anyone else interested in transferability has a base of information appropriate to the judgement".

Does it have *reliability*?

Reliability is based on the assumption that there is a single reality which if studied repeatedly will yield the same results. Merriam (1988: 171) argues that achieving reliability in the traditi l sense is impossible and "fanciful" because" what is being studied in education is assumed to be in flux, multifaceted, and highly contextual, because information gathered is a function of who gives it and how skilled the researcher is at getting it, and because the emergent design of a qualitative case study precludes a priori controls". Merriam suggests that because reliability in the traditional sense is an inappropriate aim the researcher should aim for "dependability" or "consistency". "That is, rather than demanding that outsiders get the same results, one wishes outsiders to concur that, given the data collected, the results make sense - they are consistent and dependable." (Merriam, 1988: 172) Some of the techniques that ensure internal validity also ensure dependability (reliability). So it is appropriate once again to use triangulation, to acknowledge the researcher's biases and to report in great detail.

In response to the positivist arguments many researchers using participant observation use the argument of symbolic interaction viz.: "Sociological knowledge and understanding cannot be acquired through methodological formulae but must be a result of being in the world: knowledge is the result of praxis. Efforts to reduce methodology to a routine enquiry by defining concepts precisely, rigorously, and, if possible, quantitatively, merely serve to distort the social world in fundamental ways." (Ackroyd & Hughes, 1981: 122)

In participant observation the researcher is the primary instrument, the primary means of gaining understanding and producing knowledge is as a result of the researcher "being in the world" of the situation to be researched. If one accepts as a given the fact that this type of instrument has inherent biases (and which instrument does not?) then one must look to the many advantages of this instrument. When the research aim is an understanding of the complexity of human interaction then "the most sophisticated instrumentation we possess is still the careful observer - the human being who can watch, see, listen, question, probe, and finally analyze and organize his direct experience." (Guba & Lincoln, 1982: 213) Ellis (1990: 26) agrees that the researcher is an important instrument in the research process if "she uses her sensitivity, responsiveness and adaptability to advantage".

Ethnography, the anthropological approach to the study of people based on descriptive measures, uses participant observation. This data-gathering method allows research of different cultures and life-styles to be conducted in the natural setting. The ethnological approach by participant observation is especially effective for the study of groups whose members are illiterate. At Akanani many of the participants are illiterate which is one of the reasons that theatre-for-development is used as the principle methodology as it also does not require the ability to read or write. Participant observation was a useful method to employ here within the participatory approach as everyone could contribute to the creation of knowledge through this type of research process. This was empowering for all participants and the illiterate were not excluded or marginalised as they so often are in research.

Apart from being the method suggested by illuminative evaluation, participant observation has also been used successfully to evaluate the use of drama as a means of empowerment in South Africa by von Kotze (1988) and by others in Africa, for example Malamah-Thomas (1988). Participant observation allows a comprehensive, in-depth picture of the situation being studied to be developed. The role of this researcher was as a "'participant-as-observer' in which both researcher and subjects are aware of the fact that theirs is a fieldwork relationship" (Ackroyd & Hughes, 1981: 107). Drama is such an experiential learning medium that participant observation where the researcher participates in and observes the process simultaneously seemed to be a logical method of data collection.

Another question directed at participant observation is whether it is ethical or not. Ethics are an important factor in the observation of human beings. Should we observe people without their knowledge or consent? Consider one-way mirrors, hidden video cameras or tape recorders being used by the covert participant observer conducting research on you.

Would you feel violated? Would it make it acceptable if, after being the unwitting subject of covert research, the researcher sought your permission to use the data? Would you feel you could trust again a participant who turns out to have been a "spy", a "traitor"?

However, if people are aware that they are being observed will they behave naturally and normally? By extension, if research is only conducted on those who give their consent does that not contain an inherent bias? Can we obtain meaningful, generalisable data from willing volunteers? The presence of an acknowledged participant observer may, without the researcher's knowledge, produce some negative consequences or at least some difference in the subjects' behaviour. The Hawthorne effect, when people are aware that they are being observed and react differently, may come into effect. Should we conduct covert observation to avoid this bias?

Issues of privacy and anonymity are often ethical problems of case study research but because of the co-operation and the public nature of the relationship between the researcher and the researched in the case of Akanani none of these issues arose. Generally speaking though ethical issues can be dealt with by ensuring that one treats the researched with respect and honours their way of life and right to privacy.

Ellis (1990: 23) points out that a researcher's approach to research and choice of methodology is as much "conditioned by her view of the world, her philosophical and ideological position, and by the socio-political context of which she is a part ... as it is by the purpose of the research and of the particular problem it is attempting to address." This researcher's particular stance together with the review of the relevant research literature combined to support the use of participatory research methods to construct case studies of the use of drama at Akanani.

What guidelines can be deduced for the use of drama as a methodology in adult education in South Africa, especially in the rural areas?

The case studies are presented as the findings of this research and an attempt has then been made to provide some guidelines for the use of theatre-for-development. Each of the various sources has been commented on to arrive at the conclusions which constitute an assessment of the value and appropriacy of drama as a means of facilitating adult education in the rural areas of South Africa.

CHAPTER 4 - RESULTS - CASE STUDIES OF DRAMA AT AKANANI

Akanani, meaning "to build each other", is an association of integrated rural development projects situated in the village of Shirley, near Elim, in the far northern Transvaal. It is an independent, non-governmental organisation (NGO) that is funded by European donors and works in an area that includes the bantustans of Gazankulu, Lebowa and Venda. It aims "to provide education and services that build self reliance and democratic organisation for the economic, social and political development of people in the Northern and Eastern Transvaal." (pg. 1 of Akanani Annual Report 1991 - 1992) Akanani considers development to be a political issue but they are operating in a fairly conservative rural environment where the local community leaders tend to be reactionary. Akanani also believes in people-centred development so they encourage local communities to build themselves up and fight poverty.

Akanani's siting in a rural area is no accident. Many of the staff at Akanani are from urban areas and they feel that in order to build an understanding of and a lasting relationship with the rural community, it is necessary to live and work in the rural area. The people living in the rural areas of the far northern Transvaal suffer from multiple problems including unemployment, poverty and lack of water. According to the Development Bank of Southern Africa's (DBSA) 1992 statistics, the northern Transvaal, which is referred to as Region G, is the most impoverished region in South Africa. Of the approximately 5 million inhabitants only 760 000 are economically active. The real Gross Geographical Product (GGP) is the lowest in the country at R872 per annum. The next lowest GGP is R1826 for the Eastern Cape and the highest is the urban PWV area with R5900 per annum. The land is over-crowded and in poor condition, with severe erosion in many places. The large distances and lack of efficient transport make travelling problematic. Communication is difficult as the normal channels for communication like telephones and postal services are poor and scarce. The technological difficulties of communicating are compounded by the three different cultural groups that inhabit this region, each speaking a different language viz. SePedi, ChiVenda or Shangaan/XiTsonga. There is also a lack of resources such as buildings and books. This lack of resources makes efforts to counter one of the largest problems, namely the low levels of literacy, very difficult.

Staff at Akanani feel that in order to work with the local people it is necessary to identify with their situation and to build up relationships with them, this is why they feel it is essential for Akanani to be situated in the rural area itself. Akanani believes in people-centred development and wants to help people to take control of their own lives and thus raise their living standards. They wish to pursue this personal development of people through programmes that can eventually be run by local people but in order to do that they need to help people uncover their strengths and learn new skills. It is felt that using drama is contributing to this type of adult learning for development especially in building confidence which many interviewees identified as a major barrier to learning in rural adults.

Akanani's development approach sees the need for working on three different levels simultaneously viz.:

1. establishing development projects which meet people's real and immediate needs,

2. using education and organisation to conscientise and strengthen the participants in projects so that they can also engage in working for larger, more fundamental changes, and
3. lobbying at a regional and national level for rural development issues.
Their motto sums up their approach: "Unless we organise we will be washed away just like the soil and rocks are washed away."

Akanani is organised into three programme sections: Twisisa Learning Programme (TLP), Technical Aid Service (TAS) and Enterprise Development, all supported by the Administration. The personnel in TLP are Paul Moropane, the Programme Co-ordinator; Andrew Kotane, the Resources Centre Co-ordinator; Mike Abrams, who is involved with organisational development; Aboe Nayiluma who is involved with popular education; and Nandi Ndalane who is involved with literacy. The personnel in TAS are Alphons Dube, who is the Programme Co-ordinator as well as the Agricultural Worker; Astrid Wicht and Peter Dunckley, who are architects; and Vicky Muvhale, who is the Building Facilitator. The only member of Enterprise Development is the Programme Co-ordinator, Joseph Mashimbye because this programme is under development, having changed from being a support programme for co-operatives to a programme encouraging income-generating programmes. The Administration includes the new Co-ordinator, Themba Mavimbela, and the outgoing Co-ordinator, Marc Wegerif; Dora Gija, the Assistant to the Management Team and Council; Shumani Luruli, the secretary; Freddy Muvhale, the Centre and Vehicle Maintenance; Rosalina Khosa, the Centre Manager; Colin Mhlongo, the Bookkeeper; and Nomsa Nzimande, the Administrator.

The Twisisa Learning Project (TLP) is Akanani's department of adult education and is concerned with literacy, organisational development, and cultural development projects especially in awareness campaigns that use drama to make people aware of issues such as AIDS and voter education. TLP offers literacy classes in XiTsonga/Shangaan and chiVenda, the two local languages, at two levels: Beginners and Advanced, as well as in English, also at two levels. The methodology used in the literacy classes is based on popular education and culture. Popular education uses a Freire-inspired dialectical methodology to help the "popular classes" to develop a critical consciousness of their own practical experience and to use this understanding as the basis for strategic action. It is a collective process involving people in teaching each other and in learning by doing. Popular education is participatory in that it demands the full involvement of people in research, education and organisation, but it is also creative, using cultural forms such as drama, drawing, music and story-telling, as educational tools.

The Technical Aid Service has two prongs, the building side and the agricultural side. The building side helps voluntary and democratic groups in Gazankulu, Venda and Lebowa to design and build community structures such as creches, markets and health centres. The agricultural side helps groups such as the Tiyani Farmers, the Xikonbiso Agricultural Project and the Pfunekani Farmers' Association with agricultural training. In this agricultural training drama is often used to teach people how to prepare seed-beds, how to transplant seedlings and how to market their produce. The Enterprise Development offers training in basic business skills such as book-keeping, project management and marketing to six co-operatives and self-help projects in the region: Hulisani Weavers, Khwathelani Knitting Project, Tiakeni Silk-screening Co-operative,

Kwoni Sisal and Candle making, Twananani Batik Textiles and Tiyiselani Fence-making Project.

Akanani started in 1978 as ITSIDU (Intermediate Technology and Small Industries Development Unit) run by a husband and wife team, Rob and Anne Collins. The local priest in Elim had been supporting a women's group doing needlework but he was leaving and he requested that Anne and Rob Collins, who had been doing silk-screen printing in Johannesburg, come and start a silk-screen printing co-operative with this women's group. The group developed into the Tiakeni Silk-screening Co-operative. In 1980 they secured funds from Bread for the World, a German church organisation, to support Tiakeni and to develop further co-operatives in the area. The next co-operative was established in 1984 and that was Twananani Batik Textiles Co-operative in Mbokhota. The other areas of Akanani's work grew out of the co-operatives. In trying to teach the people how to run a co-operative the high illiteracy rate of the local population became a problem and so literacy and adult basic education (ABE) were necessary. This ABE happened within the co-operatives and because of the emphasis on economic viability it was a form of education around production. The Technical Aid Service started when Twananani needed a building and when that was built the co-operatives at Pfananani in Venda, the Hulisani Weavers and the Khwathelani Knitting Project, requested one too. From there the requests for building services grew and TAS was born.

By 1990 there had been such expansion that the organisation's aims had been redefined as being to provide educational services that build self-reliance and democratic organisation for the economic, social and political development of the people of the Northern and Eastern Transvaal. With all this expansion it became obvious that ITSIDU was no longer an appropriate name for the organisation and they decided to change it to Akanani which means "to build each other" as they believed that they stood for building each other through organisation..

Akanani has recently moved in organisational structure from a collective based on participatory democracy to a management structure. This is partly a response to a greater number of staff, there are now eighteen full-time members and partly a response to problems experienced in the collective. When the collective first started, after Rob and Anne Collins had left, there were five staff members. In the collective the monthly staff meeting was the highest decision- making body but although decisions were taken there, as the organisation grew, it was not always possible for these to be implemented in practice and so smaller groups or individuals often had to make their own decisions. Now Akanani is working on implementing a more integrated planning approach for the whole organisation steered by a management team. Each of the three sections now has regular meetings and a five person co-ordinating committee with representatives from each section makes up the management team which meets fortnightly to integrate plans and to decide whether Akanani will take on new projects.

Akanani's isolated situation in a rural area means they have to work very hard to keep in touch with what is going on at a national level because a lot of debate happens around and between the urban areas. In an effort to counteract this rural isolation Akanani is very involved with networking both with grassroots projects and with other

organisations involved with development issues on a national or regional level. In the area of literacy they communicate and share materials with the National Literacy Co-operative (NLC) and the African Association of Literacy and Adult Education (AALAE). The Business Enterprise Development is involved with the regional Craft Association, which is looking at marketing, as well as with SACNET (Southern African Co-operatives Network), which involves projects from Botswana, Zimbabwe and South Africa sharing their experiences in co-operative development. Akanani as a whole is involved in the Northern Transvaal Regional Development Forum which consists of approximately forty different development groups concerned with more progressive, people-centred development. They are also an active member of FOSACO (Federation of South African Cultural Organisations).

Akanani has recently been researched by various groups as they are perceived to be unusual in that they are situated in a rural area, are multi-disciplinary and have black management. The existence of black people in management positions has arisen as part of a conscious decision at Akanani to empower historically oppressed groups such as black people, rural people and women. There are two forums at Akanani which were created to discuss the imbalances that exist in society and how they can be addressed, namely the Black Caucus Forum and the Women's Caucus Forum. Their objective is to ensure that black staff and women staff at Akanani are confident enough to participate in the decision-making process and that everyone's voice is heard in the organisation. They were created to balance the imbalances that existed in the organisation and also to enable every staff member to develop. Themba Mavimbela pointed out how unique Akanani's attention to empowering normally marginalised groups is when he said "I think we are one of the few organisations in South Africa that has been able to address these issues." They are also unusual in that, although Akanani is a development organisation, they use drama as a dominant methodology. This is unique because everywhere else development and drama are functions of separate and different organisations.

They use drama to such an extent at Akanani because they believe that more traditional teaching methods like lecturing are ineffectual with people who are functionally illiterate. Marc Wegerif, the outgoing co-ordinator of Akanani, sums up a number of the reasons why drama is used at Akanani in the following comment:

> The crucial thing to me is confidence in education. I believe that all people have the potential to develop and what stops that development is the blocks that get in the way and a lot of that is lack of confidence. If we can develop people's confidence then that is a starting point where people actually start learning. In our methods of teaching we have to find some way to build people's confidence because unless a person is confident they are not going to engage with the process of learning, they are not going to struggle or grapple with the issues, they're not going to try and find solutions themselves - they're not going to learn basically. Through engaging people in drama, games, exercises, and small group discussions where they are given space to speak and be heard, that's all part of building confidence which is crucial. I think another reason we use drama is that it's enjoyable and that certain individuals at Akanani are particularly interested in it - they come from a drama background so they want to continue, so it's a mixture of practical and objective

organisational reasons and individualistic reasons. (Interview with Marc Wegerif)

The staff at Akanani believe that drama and theatre-for-development are particularly suited to facilitating adult education in rural areas for a number of reasons. The first reason is because it is an inexpensive methodology to implement. This is a compelling reason when trying to promote education in these under-resourced areas. Mike Abrams outlines the second reason: "in the rural areas the community cultural practices, where the community gets together and does cultural things, are still widespread and there's a cohesion that there sometimes isn't in the urban areas." (Interview with Mike Abrams) To use a cultural form with which the community is familiar and comfortable as a vehicle for learning makes sound educational sense. The third reason, according to Aboe Nayiluma, is that "in rural areas people have the time to sit and discuss together". The time factor is often the argument given against using drama in the urban areas because it can be a lengthy process but in the rural areas life happens at a much slower pace and people seem to enjoy spending time creating plays and discussing the issues raised. Generally the opinion of the Akanani staff members is that the rural community is more receptive to the use of drama than to other methodologies. Mike Abrams expresses this quite concretely when he comments about comparing urban and rural people: I find (rural) people are freer. It's so much easier with games, you don't even have to warm people up or anything. You just say let's take a character and make a role play and people get into that quite easily." (Interview with Mike Abrams)

The staff at Akanani use the terms drama and theatre-for-development interchangeably to describe their use of drama in development work. They consider drama to include dance, song, poetry and story-telling as well as plays. They see theatre-for-development as a component of popular education but extend the definition of theatre-for-development to include any dramatic event that is empowering and helps people to look at their lives. They are concerned to facilitate learners becoming empowered and taking control of their own learning. They use cultural action for transformation such as theatre-for-development because it is enjoyable, starts where people are and is participatory . They see theatre-for-development as an organising tool that can facilitate leadership skills and consider the use of drama to be a starting point for the process that will facilitate the development of people. Mike Abrams comments:

> We're doing theatre where we try to use it to educate people and to build confidence, to empower people, to address issues, to get people to think about issues and to have the confidence to stand up in front of an audience and do whatever they're going to do. (Interview with Mike Abrams)

The use of drama at Akanani developed from a play about the difficulty of writing exams after being released from detention based on the real experience of Nomsa Nzimande, which Nomsa, Mike Abrams and Themba Mavimbela enacted. Mike and Aboe are pioneers in the use of theatre-for-development and they believe that its development and use at Akanani is largely a result of their personalities and the way they interact. Traditionally there has been a divide between development organisations and theatre-for-development groups but Akanani is trying to bridge that. They believe

that drama and theatre can be used in development work for education, which they define as being about raising consciousness; for training, which they define as teaching hard skills; and for organisational development.

Five case studies of the use of drama at Akanani have been conducted. These consider the AIDS Education Play, Drama in Literacy Programmes, Drama in the Winter Schools, Networking in the Drama Field and Drama in the Organisational Workshop. The case study of the networking that Akanani engages in in the drama field is not a case of drama in action but illustrates how Akanani's use of drama has been influenced by attending conferences and sharing ideas with other people both locally and internationally. Each case study will be documented in turn.

4.1 The AIDS Education Play

One of the areas where drama is used is in educating around AIDS. In 1991 Akanani saw AIDS as an issue and approached the newly formed Elim Hospital Aids Committee to explore setting up a joint AIDS project. It was decided that drama would be used as the method with Akanani providing that expertise and that the hospital group would provide a trained support worker, training for counsellors and condoms. It was also decided that the NPPHCN (National Programme of Primary Health Care Network) would initiate a workshop to set this in motion. Unfortunately this did not happen as the NPPHCN insisted on the trainers having a matriculation certificate. Akanani felt this was untenable and wanted to develop various interested parties regardless of their educational qualifications. As a result, Akanani was left to develop the play alone, with the NPFHCN funding one set of performances.

Akanani started to advertise for people to audition for a play about a health issue by putting up handbills around the area. Although initially there was a response, when people realised the "health issue" of the advertisements was AIDS, they dropped out to avoid the stigma they believed would result. This is indicative of the attitude towards AIDS in the area and highlights the need for education about AIDS. The only respondent was Aboe Nayiluma who went on to become a full-time employee of Akanani. Eventually Akanani decided to use Aboe Nayiluma and their own TLP staff to develop a play about AIDS which was and is performed around the Northern and Eastern Transvaal. The TLP staff acted in the play for approximately eight months in order to get the project going but gradually more and more other people, especially from the literacy groups, were drawn in and replaced the TLP staff. This involvement of other people was the result of increased tolerance for AIDS issues which the play had promoted. Now the AIDS Drama Group is a Primary Health Care Project in its own right funded by Christian Aid, using drama as a method to educate around Primary Health Care issues.

The AIDS play has no clear end as audience responses shape the procedure of the play. It starts off like a "soap opera" of sorts in which the use of condoms as a means of preventing AIDS is advocated. Then the audience is volved in a part about the different myths surrounding how one contracts AIDS. This is done by one actor who "has AIDS' attempting to shake hands with the audie.. e and trying to share a cup with them. From the response of the audience it is clear that people with AIDS tend to be ostracised in these communities and part of the mission of the play is to educate people

as to how AIDS can be contracted and to conscientise people into accepting people with AIDS in their communities. The outcome of the play differs according to the issues raised by the audience.

In one case viewed, part of the audience suggested that people with AIDS be removed from the community and sent off to live somewhere else with other people with AIDS. The actors then used Boal's Forum Theatre method and called on members of the audience to play the government coming to tell a person with AIDS (one of the actors) that he must move. The role of the actor in such cases is to counter every irrational argument raised with logical responses, information and education about the true nature of AIDS. For example, in this case, the logical response was that if someone had tuberculosis the community would not be treating them in this way, the information was that there are 300 new cases of HIV infection (the virus that leads to AIDS) every day in South Africa so putting them in a separate community is not logistically viable and the education was that one cannot contract AIDS through normal social contact.

The use of drama in the AIDS play had a number of different purposes. At the simplest level the AIDS Education play had the basic function of providing a vehicle through which information about AIDS could be disseminated. However, the use of drama allowed the education to go further than simply delivering a message. The use of drama also facilitated education and conscientisation around a sensitive subject that has many taboos. The involvement of the audience as "spect-actors" through the use of the Forum Theatre method allowed people's prejudices and misinformed ideas about AIDS to be challenged. Another education method would not have allowed this interaction and challenging people's misperceptions may have been seen as a threat and thus resisted. The use of drama allowed people to confront their own fears about AIDS and conscientise them by letting them play out their solution thus revealing the untenable consequences of putting their misinformed ideas into action. It is hoped that two outcomes of the play will be an attitude change in dealing with people with AIDS and a behaviour change in acting to prevent the further spread of AIDS. The attitude change is seen to the extent that people are no longer afraid to participate in the AIDS drama and that the stigma of AIDS is reduced. The behaviour change is not as easy to see although the number of condoms being requested has increased and people talk of practising safe sex and having monogamous relationships.

The AIDS play also exposed another function of drama, that it can be used as a data-gathering method. Through engaging the audience in Forum Theatre where they have to act out the suggestions they have for the possible outcomes of the play, the AIDS play unearths prejudice and community perceptions about AIDS This facilitates the gathering of data about rural attitudes to AIDS. Drama is a particularly good data-gathering method for finding out about attitudes, an area that is notoriously difficult to research, because with drama people act out what they really feel, rather than what they think the researcher might like to hear.

4.2 Drama in Literacy Programmes

Another area where drama is used at Akanani is in the literacy programmes. There are eighteen literacy groups under the auspices of Akanani. Each group must have not less

than ten members and not more than forty. There are 32 tutors because each group offers four courses viz. XiTsonga/Shangaan (these terms are used interchangeably for the same language) beginners and advanced; and English beginners and advanced, and not every tutor is able to teach all four. There are two men tutors and the other thirty are women. The groups are identified by the community and the tutors are chosen from within the group. The tutors receive a week long training course at Akanani and are then monitored by the Akanani staff. The tutors are trained in the use of popular education methods which include drama.

Akanani has run workshops for the literacy tutors in the use of drama and popular education. These workshops have two goals. Firstly, to show how to use drama in literacy for education not just entertainment, in other words so that learners are active not passive, and secondly, to improve the drama skills of the tutors in areas like getting a sense of space, voice projection, body language and using theatre in the round. The popular education is based on the principle that for education to bring about social change it has to have a problem-solving focus and it needs to be creative. Some of the methods used in the literacy classes are based on using newspaper articles and building conversations from individual words.

I observed the use of drama as a means of introducing a new literacy course. The group, consisting of approximately twenty women between the ages of 30 and 50, were given marimbas, xylophones and drums and encouraged to make music and to sing. The music spontaneously led to dancing with many women running to fetch their shivhulanis (the bustle used in traditional dancing). The researcher and the tutors were also supplied with shivhulanis and taught the rudiments of the dances. In the music-making and the dancing the women were actively involved in doing something that they all know and are good at, which they could "teach" to the tutors. This was an important learning process as it demonstrated that these women had extensive knowledge and expertise that the supposedly "educated" tutors lacked. After a while the "drama" was stopped and the women divided into groups. Each group was given newsprint and a pen and they had to draw pictures of what had been happening. The drama had created a collective experience on which there could be collective reflection. Then each groups' pictures were tacked up on a hut door and as a whole group they tried to write the Tsonga names of the things they had drawn. With the help of the facilitators, the English names were also written for words like drum, dance and music. For photographic documentation of this process, see Appendix B.

A very important part of the use of drama in the literacy programmes is the work done by the literacy group at the Elim Market. Elim is the nearest town to Akanani and it has a thriving market association of one hundred hawkers who sell vegetables and fruit. Since winning the right to occupy and own the site of the market four years ago, making it one of the first worker-owned markets in South Africa, the women have been organising the construction of a permanent market building. The market will include stalls, a hall, a taxi rank, a cafe, a storeroom and a classroom where the literacy group can meet. Approximately 20 women form the Elim Market literacy group. They have done a number of plays which started in 1989 when they did an oral history project as part of their literacy group's activities. The play developed out of the interviews Nomsa Nzimande from Akanani conducted to reconstruct the history of the Elim Market.

The play about the history of the development of the Elim market starts in the 1970's and documents the women's struggle to withstand the harassment by the Transvaal Provincial Administration (TPA) who insisted the women must have a licence to trade at a time when no licences were issued to black women. The women were arrested on a number of occasions and the ensuing court scenes appear in the play. These scenes include the legendary, but true, tale of the market woman who pretended to be insane to get out of being fined. The play proceeds to a scene in which a meeting is held to discuss the building of a market. The Gazankulu government was prepared to build the market but there were insufficient funds so the market women each contributed to the building fund. They raised R9000 and the government contributed the remaining R20000. The architect brought the plans but it took six months before construction started and the play relates the market women's feelings at this time; that they had been cheated. The whole play lasts 30 minutes with each scene being separated from the next by a song. One of the often repeated songs has the refrain: "We are not fighting anyone, we are fighting poverty." The play was devised by the women themselves and the songs and dances were also the women's creations.

The play was first performed at the 1989 International Literacy Day celebration held in Johannesburg by the National Literacy Co-operation. Mike Abrams comments about other performances of the play:

> It was performed a lot after that at the Market so that the local people could learn the history of that place and also at the bi-annual Hluvukani literacy festivals. Then people started getting tired of the play and said the market women must get other plays because they were coming back three or four times with the same play. So they did that, they made other plays. (Interview with Mike Abrams)

Once a week the Elim Market literacy group would meet and discuss different topics that were raised either by the group or by the tutor. The group would act out the situations discussed and then jointly reflect on the situations and how they could be addressed. One of the plays that emerged from this process was a play about the labour ward at the Elim Hospital and the problems the market women have with the nurses. The nurses are of a higher social class than the market women and when the market women give birth at the Elim Hospital they are treated very badly by the nurses. This situation was enacted and it was suggested that they show the play to the nurses, however, that suggestion met with a lot of resistance. They elected a delegation to go and request a meeting with the nurses but the delegation did not have the confidence at that stage to go and confront the nurses. Aboe Nayiluma comments on this situation as follows:

> I don't think taking that play to the nurses was the main aim but the aim was to sit down and reflect on that type of situation. It might have been a tactic to take the play to the nurses but the fact that the issue has come out and been dealt with meant it has raised consciousness and built people's understanding about what is actually happening, so people get aware - it's like opening people's eyes. (Interview with Aboe Nayiluma)

Mike Abrams offered another view of the value of the use of drama with the Elim Market literacy group:

> I would say that what we were doing at that phase was building the leadership of the market and I think people have taken a lot of leadership through the literacy and the cultural afternoons and plays. So when I think of development I think of it building leadership. I think we must be careful not to try and romanticise something: the market women find it difficult to go and confront those nurses because there's a class difference and you can't wish it away easily. So if people can realise and see where the limits are and build that consciousness then that's the sense of that play. The other thing about that play is that lots and lots and lots of people watched us because we had it in this little room in the market and everybody would crowd around as they moved through the market. I think it helped to popularise the whole idea of drama. (Interview with Mike Abrams)

From these examples it can be seen that drama is used in the Akanani literacy groups for a number of different purposes. Drama is used as an energising and ice-breaking technique, this is how it was used to introduce a new literacy class into a community. Drama is also used as a vehicle for conveying information and giving people a voice. In this case the women of the Elim Market told their history through the medium of drama and thus their story was heard. The Elim Hospital labour ward play used drama as a means of exploring a difficult issue and helping the group to analyse a problem that they faced in their lives. That play raised a consciousness about class differences and the role they play in oppression of one group by another. The whole process of drama has increased the confidence of the participants to speak out and make themselves heard, a real development for one of the most marginalised groups in the rural society: illiterate women.

4.3 Drama in the Winter Schools

For the last two years Akanani has run a Winter School for a week in July at which local standard ten students are given extra tuition in their school subjects as well as provided with lunch-time programmes dealing with important extra-curricular issues. In 1992 the local branch of the ANC Women's League was given three one-hour lunch time sessions to present any issues they felt were relevant to the students. They decided to perform three plays on different forms of sexual harassment of women. The three plays covered the issues of gang rape, men teachers taking advantage of women students and the abuse of women within the family. The three plays were watched over three days and then small group discussions were facilitated around the following questions:

- What did you see in the dramas?
- What did you think/feel about what you saw in the dramas?
- What are the trends? (Why do these things happen?)

The small groups then joined together in a plenary session in which many of the issues raised by the dramas were discussed. This was a use of drama to raise controversial and difficult issues and thus stimulate discussions around important topics that are often ignored.

In 1993 the literacy tutors were given the task of presenting the lunch-time programme for the week. Various activities were planned but the one that was observed was two tutors doing a 30-minute session on the difference between a capitalist and a socialist economy. As this was lunch-time many students sat around eating their lunch in the classroom. The tutors started off by calling for a song which people then sang. This was followed by a prayer and the tutors introducing themselves. The tutors then gave the students a brief outline of capitalism vs. socialism. They then called for volunteers to enact situations where a capitalist economy was in force and one where a socialist economy was in force. The six volunteers then left the room and consulted with the tutors. On their return they performed their amusing role-plays and then a short discussion on the pro's and con's of each system was facilitated. These role-plays were concrete enactments of two theoretical perspectives and thus difficult concepts were translated into more easily understandable scenarios.

An important part of the school syllabus programme of the Winter School that uses drama is the adaptation of the students' prescribed Shakespeare play that is performed. In 1992 a drama group of 5 trainee teachers from the nearby Lemana College of Education, calling themselves "Things Do Happen", undertook to present "Romeo and Juliet". The setting for these productions is very typical of Shakespearean times. In Shakespeare's day the audience would be playing cards and eating when the play started. There would be no curtain to indicate that the play had started and as it took place in an open-air theatre it was daylight, so dimming the lights also did not indicate the start of the play. Shakespeare wrote his plays for this kind of context which is why all his plays start off with some kind of "attention-grabbing" speech or incident. "Things Do Happen" had similar circumstances to contend with. There was no stage or lighting system, the performances took place at lunch-time so people were eating and talking and it was the cast's first job to get the audience's attention. This they did by coming on singing a freedom song with a difference - substituting Shakespeare's characters and incidents from the play for the South African politicians and events.

The production of "Romeo and Juliet" was such a success that they undertook to perform "Julius Caesar" in 1993. The play was presented in modern English which the actors scripted themselves and was contextualised in a South African setting. "Julius Caesar" is very pertinent to modern South Africa as it is also concerned with political power, ambition and assassination. Through their adaptation, "Things Do Happen" were trying to highlight two areas for debate: Should we as ordinary citizens question our political leaders? and, Is it wise to use violence to achieve political ends? A stop/start technique was used with a narrator asking questions of the audience before a scene started as to what they thought was going to happen or stopping the action and clarifying with the audience what had just occurred. As well as this questioning, the actors used song and dance and a great deal of audience participation throughout to get the audience involved. The audience of standard ten students was used in the play both collectively and individually. For example, in "Romeo and Juliet" the whole audience was issued with masks and participated in the masked ball scene and in "Julius Caesar" some of the actors sat in the audience and involved them in the crowd scenes. In both plays volunteers were requested from the audience to play minor roles and those who did not oblige were "helped" to volunteer by the narrator. After a murder was committed in the play the action was stopped and a "judge" character entered who questioned each character as to what had happened and then asked the

audience to suggest what course of action should be taken against the person who had committed the murder. At the end of the play each actor came on as their character and answered any questions from the audience as to motivation etc. The level of participation from the students was remarkable and a greater understanding of the issues that Shakespeare explores was developed. It was also useful as a learning experience for the trainee teachers who learned to use a very dynamic way of teaching a setwork.

Drama is mainly used in the lunch-time programmes of the Winter Schools as a vehicle for conveying information and as a means of exploring difficult issues. In the adaptations of Shakespeare's plays, drama is used to make the literature setworks more relevant and to involve the students in thinking about and discussing the pertinent social issues raised by the plays. It is also, obviously, a way to help students understand the plays they have to study for their matriculation examinations. In this case there was an off-shoot in that the use of drama became a real and practical teaching experience for the trainee teachers of Lemana College of Education who were involved. The positive response from the students has encouraged those student teachers to use drama more widely in their classroom practice despite not learning about drama as a methodology at college.

4.4 Networking in the Drama Field

Akanani's physical location in a remote rural area has made the need to network crucial. Networking in the drama field is an attempt to limit Akanani's isolation and to exchange ideas both nationally and internationally so that the use of drama at Akanani can develop. Staff members from Akanani have attended international conferences on the use of popular theatre, organised conferences locally and been involved with exchange programmes, all in an effort to learn about the use of drama in order to improve their own practice and to share their experiences with others.

4.4.1 International Popular Theatre Workshop in Namibia

From 1 - 14 August 1991 Aboe Nayiluma from Akanani attended the International Popular Theatre Workshop held in Rehoboth, Namibia. The workshop was organised by the International Council for Adult Education (ICAE) and the African Association of Literacy and Adult Education (AALAE). A report on the proceedings was written up by Dickson Mwansa, the workshop facilitator, and Aboe Nayiluma also wrote a report on his experiences at the workshop. These documents, together with an interview with Aboe Nayiluma, form the basis for this case.

This was the sixth major International Popular Theatre Workshop and was attended by 87 people from fourteen countries. The first International Popular Theatre Workshop was the Chalimbana Workshop in Zambia in 1979, followed by the Berlin Workshop in 1980, the Thunder Bay Workshop in Canada in 1981, the Bangladesh Workshop in 1983 and the Murewa Workshop in Zimbabwe in 1983 (See Literature Review). The 1991 Rehoboth Workshop' s general purpose was to take stock of developments in the use of Popular Theatre since 1983 and to develop Namibian, Southern African and International Popular Theatre networks. (Mwansa, 1991b: 1)

The Rehoboth Workshop had six objectives:
1. To train artists and community workers in participatory research and artistic skills
2. To review the work of popular theatre internationally
3. To support Namibian cultural workers in launching a national popular theatre organisation
4. To promote the creation of further regional and international networks.
5. To strengthen the link between Namibian adult educators and adult educators within the region and from outside.
6. To hold a two-day cultural festival of representative groups within the Southern African region. (Mwansa, 1991b: 2)

The workshop was divided into three stages. The first stage consisted of presentations from representatives of various countries and regions on the state of culture and Popular Theatre in their area. Presentations were heard over two days from representatives from Australia, Europe, Canada, the Caribbean, Mali, Namibia, the Philippines, South Africa, Swaziland, the United States of America, Zambia and Zimbabwe. The second stage lasted for six days and consisted of developing Popular Theatre which addressed community issues and problems with the community in Rehoboth. The third stage involved setting up networks, which took place over four days .

The workshop was opened by the Namibian Deputy Minister of Education who said in his address that "popular theatre can contribute to national development through its ability to arm people with participatory research at a profound and humanistic and intimate level". The Minister added that he considered popular theatre to be a medium for nation building and educational development particularly in countries like Namibia with high levels of illiteracy. He contended that the government could not wait until every adult had learnt how to read and write before community and national development could take place. He also commented that one of the major advantages of popular theatre was that it includes all persons from all sectors of the community regardless of educational qualifications. (Mwansa, 1991b: 5)

The first stage of the workshop consisted of presentations on the practice of Popular Theatre in twelve different countries and regions. According to the presentations, in Europe Popular Theatre is used for conscientising people about their rights but it is fighting a popularity battle with modern media such as radio and television. In Canada Popular Theatre is being used to address various social issues especially in the form of travelling theatre companies who tour Canada making presentations about issues like race relations. In the Caribbean networking among theatre and cultural workers is important because of the number of islands in the region. In the Philippines theatre has been used extensively for social action especially because Popular Theatre has been part of the school curriculum since 1965. The Popular Theatre movement is anti-Marcos and much of the recent work has been to search for a national Phillipian identity emerging from the approximately 7000 disparate islands in the region and to empower people who have been disempowered by the Marcos regime. In Zambia the Zambian National Theatre Association (ZANTA) with the slogan "Take theatre to the people, then people will come to the theatre" has been active since 1974. The biggest problem they are facing is how to encourage pride in the traditional African forms of theatre especially among the youth who aspire to Western cultural expression.

ZANTA is working towards achieving a balance between foreign and local culture. The South African presentation was conducted by three people viz. Aboe Nayiluma from Akanani, Shameelah Francis from Action Workshop in Cape Town and Bobby Rodweli from the Performing Arts Workers' Equity (PAWE). Each one presented on the work being done in their different regions. Aboe Nayiluma reported on the northern Transvaal and rural areas more broadly, Shameelah Francis reported on the Cape Town environs and Bobby Rodwell presented on the PWV area. (Nayiluma, 1991: 1 - 7) Three broad categories of popular theatre emerged from the presentations: popular theatre as an art with a focus on entertainment, popular theatre as a mission of exploring social, political and economic contradictions, and popular theatre as an educational process. (Mwansa, 1991b: 6)

For the second stage of the workshop, which entailed developing Popular Theatre with the community in Rehoboth, participants were initially briefed about the community they were going to be working with by a person who had grown up in Rehoboth. The participants were then divided into eight groups according to interest areas i.e. a group for people interested in using dance, another for those interested in using puppetry etc. Each group had eight to ten members, two of whom were the group's facilitators who had experience in the use of popular theatre in multi-cultural contexts. The groups were to go out into different sections of the local community and conduct research on the nature of the problems experienced by the local people. The process that was outlined was that they should start off by introducing themselves and their intentions to the community by way of letters given to schoolchildren to take to their parents. The groups were then to go into the community and attempt to identify the important issues for the community by conducting participatory research with the community. The groups would then return and try to analyse the essential issues from the information gathered. They would then go back into the community and help and encourage those communities to act out some of those problems through drama, puppetry and songs. The next step was to be the performance of these presentations in the local language, Afrikaans. The final two steps were discussions about what had been seen by the community and what the community should do about what had been seen. (Nayiluma, 1991: 8)

The initial attempts to conduct participatory research were met with fear and mistrust from the community because the letters that the organisers had said they would send out had not been sent. The groups were left on their own to devise strategies for introducing themselves which caused apprehension on their part too. (Nayiluma, 1991: 16) However, gradually, as the sight and intentions of the groups became more familiar, people were willing to participate. The main issues that were distilled from the research were: alcoholism, unemployment, gangsterism and a generation gap. Each of the eight groups chose an area to focus on with the people in the section where they had conducted their research. Aboe Nayiluma was in group 6 which decided that in order to produce a play students should be recruited to perform the play which would not only present some of the identified problems but would also make some suggestions about possible solutions. The students and some volunteer adult members of the community workshopped and performed the play. The performance was advertised by posters and going around the area singing. (Nayiluma, 1991: 9 - 11) The performance was presented within the section of the community where it was devised. Initially the intention of the workshop co-ordinators was that all

the groups would come together and perform but the group facilitators decided against that. In fact, not every group produced a product; some groups preferred to invest their time in the research process and in sharing artistic skills. (Mwansa, 1991b: 11) In the sections where a performance was given, when the local community saw that the role-plays were about their problems then they got involved in discussions about how to address those issues. When the workshop finished, the Namibian participants were left to continue addressing all the issues that had been raised.

The third stage of the workshop, the establishing of networks, entailed three network groups viz. the Namibian, Southern African and International groups, meeting and discussing developing and strengthening networks. The discussions were then presented in a plenary session. The Namibian group consisted of the 48 Namibian workshop participants and they resolved to further the work begun in Rehoboth and to establish the Namibian Association for Community Theatre. The International network group issued the following statement of purpose: "Due to the inactivity of the International Popular Theatre Alliance created in 1983, a steering committee has arisen from the Rehoboth workshop to revive the work of an international popular theatre organisation, to examine past mistakes, build on previous experiences and strengthen new links to meet the needs of international popular theatre organisations today." (Mwansa, 1991b: 17)

The Southern African Network group consisted of people from Botswana, South Africa, Swaziland, Zambia and Zimbabwe. It proposed that a steering committee should convene and raise funds for a regional workshop. The Southern African group would operate from Zimbabwe and under the umbrella of AALAE. The South Africans felt that the internal networking in South Africa was the poorest in the region and that needed to be addressed. The ICAE and AALAE acknowledged that they had not been organising in South Africa because of the cultural boycott This raised the idea of a Popular Theatre Workshop being held in South Africa which would try to establish a network. The conference organised in Venda in March 1993 was envisioned as the starting point for that network.

In the evaluation of the workshop participants felt that it had been successful in bringing together a large number of people from both Namibia and the outside world and that they had benefited from the experience of sharing knowledge and skills. The Namibian participants expressed the opinion that the workshop had been an eye-opening experience which set them well on the road to a democratic way of communicating and of initiating social change. The international participants saw the workshop as an important step in the broadening of linkages across cultures. (Mwansa, 1991b: 14) Some of the criticisms were of the organising of the workshop as some of the logistics were not properly thought through and some were of the outcomes of the workshop. Although participants acknowledged the success of the workshop, they felt that one of the workshop's objectives had not been met. This was that the training of artists and community workers in participatory research and artistic skills was not properly achieved.

The workshop participants then travelled to Windhoek for a two-day Cultural Festival. The Festival consisted of performances brought by workshop participants from Canada, Namibia, South Africa, Zambia and Zimbabwe. The Festival and workshop

concluded with a plenary session to discuss future plans and to make recommendations out of this experience. One of the recommendations was that all ICAE Regional affiliates should include representatives of recognised popular theatre organisations. This action was intended to draw popular theatre groups into the adult education movement and hopefully to imbue them both with the spirit and philosophy of adult education. (Mwansa, 1991b: 18)

This workshop was useful to Akanani in that it helped them become familiar with the uses of popular theatre around the world. It also gave Aboe Nayiluma the opportunity to practise using theatre-for-development techniques in the field, skills which he brought back and used at Akanani. Aboe Nayiluma also made valuable contacts both regionally and internationally who will help to keep Akanani abreast of the latest developments in the field as well as putting Akanani on the international popular theatre map.

4.4.2 The Venda Conference

On March 12 and 13, 1993, a two-day conference on the use of drama and theatre in education and development in South Africa was held in Venda. This conference was jointly organised by Akanani, Handspring Puppets, The Market Laboratory, the Performing Arts Workers' Equity (PAWE) and the Soyikwa Institute of African Theatre. Community theatre groups, development agencies and non-governmental organisations (NGOs) were invited to come together to encourage the use of theatre for education and development. It was a Transvaal-based conference but participants were invited from the Cape, Natal and the Orange Free State to come and develop and communicate their skill as the organisers did not want to bring in "experts" but rather to use the expertise of the group. The entire workshop was video-taped, a documentation sponsored by HIVOS Small Projects fund which supports one-off workshops. The unedited footage together with interviews with key participants provided the information for this case study.

One of the opening sessions was a discussion led by Patrick Mofoteng on the difference between Popular Theatre, Community Theatre and Theatre-for-Development. In discussing a document written by Mike van Graan, Mofoteng referred to three types of Popular Theatre:
1. a play on a national issue that is created, for instance, in Soweto and then taken elsewhere;
2. a play that is created by going to a specific place and asking the people there questions and then working with the issues raised to make a play; and
3. a play that local people are stimulated to perform about their own lives and for their own community.
The purpose of Popular Theatre was seen as theatre for development and liberation in that communities would use drama as a tool to liberate themselves.

He then suggested that Community Theatre should reflect the issues that face people daily and that it should be done by the community for the community. It was seen as being very different from Commercial Theatre in that Community Theatre is free and thus can reach people on a wide scale. A long debate ensued about what constitutes a community and the only consensus that could be reached was that it did not include

"outsiders". Opinions ranged from those that felt a community was a local, geographically defined concept to those that believe a community is a wider concept that does not have to be local but can be any group that has a common interest or identity. That common identity could be in terms of place but could also be in terms of language or circumstance, for example the fact that the whole group was in prison together.

The difference between drama-in-education (d-i-e) and theatre-in-education (t-i-e) was briefly discussed with the general view being that d-i-e is process oriented and t-i-e is product oriented. D-i-e would be the kind of drama process used in a classroom or community setting which breaks the transmission method of education. T-i-e would be the performance of a production in order to educate around an issue, for example, AIDS plays and plays about Voter Education. A special consideration in t-i-e in South Africa is that the language needs to be appropriate to the audience if the educational message is to be conveyed as effectively as possible. The discussion then moved to Theatre-for-Development which was suggested to be a step beyond Popular Theatre and Community theatre in that it is more progressive. This definition did not meet with the approval of all participants. This debate around terminology dominated the conference and was revisited on several other occasions.

A series of Skills Workshops was then held. Participants chose which of four groups they would join: Drama, Story-telling, Dance or Puppetry. Each group prepared a presentation for the rest of the conference participants on the basis of what they learned in the workshop.

A paper on the Process for Creating Community Theatre by Ngugi wa Mirii and Kemane Ditaba was then presented. Three approaches to creating Community Theatre were discussed. These were similar to the three types of Popular Theatre identified by Mike van Graan in the opening session. The methods were:
1) Through travelling theatres or visiting outside groups; this is when people at a centre work on what they perceive to be a community problem, develop a play which they rehearse and then take around to various places.
2) Through an outside team workers approach; this is when people from outside come into a community and do research in the community about the problems being experienced there. After gathering the data they then return to their place of origin and develop a play which they rehearse and bring back to the village.
3) Through a community development approach; this is when people in a community identify their own problems and want to produce a play to express their problems but because they do not think they have the skills to create their own play, they call in drama experts to help them. The outsiders then work as facilitators to create a play which is performed to the rest of the community. The play then facilitates a community discussion on the issue that was raised and the sort of action that could be taken.

The discussion once again turned to the question of terminology and this time the term "Theatre for Social Development" (TSD) was added to the nomenclatures. With TSD the idea is to use drama and integrate theatre into development processes so that the problems in development can be addressed and understood and ultimately changed. TSD also uses theatre and drama to build awareness of the need for a certain type of

development before it is implemented, in other words it is used to make communities more receptive to change. The people who developed TSD wanted people to be able to identify their own problems and not to be reliant on outside resources whether in the form of people or money. Through TSD it was hoped to bring people to a state of critical consciousness. The developers of TSD wanted to exploit people's theatre forms and bring them back to the people. They wanted to empower the community to be part of the decision about what gets brought into their community and not just to be at the merey of donors. Proponents of TSD see theatre as a social form that brings people together in the creation and consumption of the play and provides a forum for the exchange of ideas. They want to use theatre to facilitate education and development.

The Venda Conference had two important outcomes for Akanani. Firstly, the staff of Akanani were able to participate in the topical debates in the drama field especially those around terminology. The staff of Akanani had felt they were not part of those debates previously but still expressed the concern that the people from the urban areas were too busy talking to do much while the people in the rural areas, such as those at Akanani, were too busy doing to get involved in debates about what to name what they were doing. The second important outcome was that it brought cultural workers and theatre practitioners and educators from the urban areas to the rural periphery and consequently awareness of the situation in rural areas was heightened.

4.4.3 International Popular Theatre Workshop in Australia

In April 1993 an International Popular Theatre Exchange took place in Sydney, Australia. The aim of this gathering was to facilitate exchanges between groups whose focus of work is with developing communities using theatre as a tool to address social justice issues and community problem solving. Akanani tried to arise funds for Mike Abrams and Aboe Nayiluma to attend this exchange but were unsuccessful. USAID offered to help if a group went so a group of fourteen people was organised, however, USAID then said they could only send five people. The original exchange was to be to Mali, the Philippines and then to Australia but USAID would not sponsor anyone going to the Philippines and then said they would only sponsor one person. The group elected Mike Abrams as that person but sponsorship was not forthcoming because he is "white". It was then decided to send a black woman and Kentse Makgae from Lebogomo ("Back to Roots") in Lebowa was sent. Her report on that workshop was not available at the time of writing this report.

4.4.4 Festival of Theatre of the Oppressed in Brazil

In July 1993 three literacy tutors from Akanani went to the Festival of Theatre of the Oppressed in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil for three weeks. This Festival was jointly organised by the Institute for Theatre of the Oppressed, The National Bank of Brazil and the City Council of Rio de Janeiro. Theatre of the Oppressed is the kind of drama originated and advocated by Augusto Boal whose work is documented in the literature review. Forty countries sent representatives to the Festival. Norah Khomane, Thomas Manyisi and Merriam Nkwinika were chosen by the other literacy tutors as their representatives at the Festival. The literacy tutors use Popular Education methods, which include some of the methods developed by Boal (1992), in their work. The

chosen representatives' role was to tell other countries about life in the rural areas of South Africa and to get exposure to the use of Augusto Boal's methods like Statues Invisible Theatre and Forum Theatre, and bring that knowledge back. The telling of the story about life in South Africa's rural areas would include comments on literacy, voter education, AIDS and the struggle to live in rural areas. This story would be told in the form of a drama that they presented.

None of the three tutors had ever been out of South Africa before and had certainly never flown in an airplane. A briefing session was held before they left to try to familiarise them with Brazil as a country and with all the procedures they would encounter in going to another country, travelling in an airplane and booking into a hotel. The purpose of the trip for the tutors was as a form of training and staff development and they are expected to run a workshop at Akanani upon their return in order to share their experiences. At the time of writing this report, that workshop had not yet happened.

4.4.5 Urban/Rural Cultural Exchange

The urban-rural cultural exchange started in 1993 as a form of networking sponsored by the Foundation for Creative Arts. The idea is that people with community theatre skills from an urban area come to Akanani and share their skills and then take back to their urban community their experiences of the rural situation. In August 1993 two visitors came to stay at Akanani for four months as part of that cultural urban/rural exchange. The two visitors are Nonkululeko Thabethe from the Alexandra Art Centre, and Cephas Pemhenayi from the Zimbabwe Association of Community Theatre (ZACT).

These two urban people believe that through drama they empower the participants and promote awareness and education. They respect and use the good ideas of the participants and also use elements of the traditional cultures as a base. They are leading drama work with the literacy groups and are dealing with issues like voter education, AIDS awareness and the value of literacy. As part of the urban/rural exchange idea Thabethe tells participants about the Alexandra Arts centre "Sometimes they find it amusing to hear that we also get formal training in traditional dance. For them, traditional dance is something that everyone grows up doing." (Maguire, 1993: 13) Pemhenyani says he is "on a national mission" to give participants some knowledge about culture in Zimbabwe and how it developed. "I tell them about the liberating role culture has played in our country." (Maguire, 1993: 13)

4.4.6 Giyani College of Education

The Giyani College of Education (GCE) in Gazankulu is the only "black" College of Education in South Africa that offers training in drama as a subject and as a teaching methodology. GCE is situated 70 km away from Akanani and for the past two years Mike Abrams and Aboe Nayiluma from Akanani have been teaching third and fourth year drama students how to use theatre and drama in development work.

They started off in 1992 teaching fourth year students about the wider applications of using drama in development but then realised that if one of their goals was to get

teachers to use drama in the classroom then the student teachers needed the opportunity to practise. It was thus decided to change to teaching third year students in 1993 so that they had the time to practise the skills.

Mike Abrams explains some of the aspects of the course: "we also did like listening skills with people because if you're going to act on a situation using that method (theatre-for-development)then you need to listen very carefully to what the community is perceiving to be their problems and needs. There is also a need to make teachers aware that in the community they are actors and they are facilitators of processes. Also to help them link with development, what does underdevelopment mean, how can drama help and assist with the process." (Interview with Mike Abrams)

In this way the experience of the staff members of Akanani is feeding into a formal training process which will hopefully result in producing teachers who are better able to use drama in a variety of situations and to act as a development workers in the rural areas where they will inevitably end up teaching.

The various forms of networking and contact with other organisations help to keep Akanani up-to-date with the latest trends in the use of drama as well as to gain skills in using various forms of drama. Networking is an important means of enriching and developing both the staff and the practise of drama at Akanani.

4.5 The Organisational Workshop (OW)

Another area where the influence of Akanani's use of drama was felt was in the Organisational Workshop (OW). The OW provided a context for a new use of drama at Akanani namely as a way of animating theory. It has also been argued that because the OW used an experiential methodology and used drama as a technique, the OW is analogous to a theatre-for-development exercise. "I think the whole OW was one form of drama and then sections of it were also using drama as a methodology for putting across the ideological aspects of it." (Interview with Themba Mavimbela)

The Organisational Workshop (OW) was a six-week long exercise in education with production held in June and July 1991. The overall objective was for participants to learn the skills of running a self-managed enterprise as well as learning a technical skill. The OW at Akanani was the first of its kind to be run in South Africa and involved support from Botswana and Zimbabwe. It was also the biggest single venture that Akanani had ever engaged in. The data for this case study was gathered from watching 12 hours of unedited video footage of part of the process, interviewing key personnel in the process and assessing all available documentation.

The Organisational Workshop (OW) methodology, developed in Brazil by Clodomir Santos de Morais, engages large numbers of people in an intense workshop process lasting 4 - 6 weeks. Participants form an enterprise in order to conduct production and to learn experientially about organisational development. They reflect on the process of development of their organisation in related theory discussions which consider many aspects of education with production. The methodology aims to inculcate a critical consciousness of collective practice, organisational management skills and, in the case

of Akanani, vocational skills. It is a methodology where adults are expected to assume responsibility for their own learning.

In developing his OW methodology the Brazilian social scientist Clodomir Santos de Morais was attempting "to discover valid methodologies for the teaching of professional skills to persons with low levels of literacy." (de Morais, 1986: 1) de Morais believes that the acquisition of professional skills by persons with low levels of literacy "improves the possibilities of increasing the level of satisfaction of their basic necessities and as such the possibilities of their incorporation into the national development process." (de Morais, 1986: 1) He felt that formal and non-formal education relied too heavily on "abstracted verbal communication" which seriously handicapped people with low levels of literacy. He thus created the training methodology he called the Experimental Workshop for Rural Organisation which is now known as the Organisational Workshop or OW. In this method abstracted verbal communication is "just a supplementary tool to the basic formative techniques: the division of labour, the tools, the objectives and participatory management." (de Morais, 1986: 2)

In the OW participants are involved in a process where:
a. the existence of a labour process is permitted in which they are provided with the tools and means of work sufficient to enable them to produce their own means of subsistence,
b. the division of labour is forced to take place because of the variety of tasks that have to be undertaken and the large number in the group,
c. participatory management is stimulated by allowing total freedom of organisation within the law, aided by the verbal transmission of management techniques and scientific concepts related to the organising of work. (de Morais, 1986: 20)

OW methodology is "based on the hypothesis that putting a determined number of individuals (must be more than 40) in a situation that forces the development of a process of complex organisation, with a certain level of division of labour, produces psycho-social changes that express themselves in an increase in the organisational efficiency of the group and in the acquisition of professional skills in a majority of the participants." (de Morais, 1986: 5) The learning of professional skills by persons with low levels of literacy is a result of their participation in a situation where the divisions of labour, the means of production, the raw materials and the management of production are in the hands of the participants. In other words the participants have the full responsibility for their own training. Many new skills are readily assimilated by the participants because they constitute a basic need for the successful development of the organisation. In de Morais' analysis of his experiences with OWs he concludes that "it can be seen that the participants have resolved for themselves the classic tasks of professional training, the determination of needs and priorities, programming and budgeting of courses, acquisition of the resources necessary to the functioning and execution of the programmes." (de Morais, 1986: 16) The OW "is a practical lesson but at the same time a real one that consists of the artificial creation of an enterprise with a real existence and function." (de Morais, 1986: 5) This creation of an artificial situation that is "real" for the duration of the workshop is analogous to creating a drama where people assume roles and act accordingly for the duration of the play.

The OW is obviously not a traditional training methodology and would only be appropriate with adults who can assume responsibility for their own actions. It was originally not intended as a technique for technical training but rather as a methodology for acquiring professional organisational skills. However, the motivation to learn new technical skills is high when they are necessary for the successful completion of tasks and for the survival of the enterprise. Thus technical skills are acquired because there is a direct practical application for that learning. de Morais has been successfully implementing his methodology in various rural development and agrarian reform processes in the Americas since 1973 and in Africa since 1986.

The idea for using the OW process at Akanani grew out of a number of factors. Akanani was already engaged in using some community building processes and there was also a lot of thinking around education with production when Themba Mavimbela, who was working in the co-operatives section at the time, made contact with people working in co-operative development in Zimbabwe and Botswana who were using the de Morais OW model. This was clearly explained by Themba Mavimbela in an interview:

> I got involved in the process of organisational workshops through networking with an organisation called CORDE (Co-operation Research and Development Education) in Botswana. I'd been working with them around co-operative development and through them I met this guy de Morais and got interested in the methodology and his thinking around training. I requested to be part of the training process he was going to be having in Botswana and in '88 I got that training with another staff member of Akanani (Freddy Muvhale) as I saw the need for us to get involved with that training. We participated and I found it a very useful tool. I took up the issue of holding the process here. ...I put up the proposal that this is one method we could use firstly to take up the vision we are having within the co-operative sector and secondly to also look at how to build Akanani to what we have visualised it to be as a centre. (I liked it) that the OW process involved education with production rather than employing people from outside to build the structures of Akanani. Thirdly was to see within the broader South African context how possible it was to get the methodology across. The methodology has been tested in Zimbabwe and Botswana and proved to be very successful and now we were going to test it in South Africa. I saw Akanani as the best venue to test the methodology.

Other staff at Akanani also felt they should try to run an OW and experiment with its application in South Africa. Another issue was that the methodology had been developed in South America where the context, although similar, has many differences when compared with the South African context. The theories are based on the class stratification in South America and the different characteristics of class consciousness there. One of the aims then of running the first OW in South Africa was to see how to adapt and match the methodology to the South African context. Another part of the experiment was for people at Akanani to acquire the skills and the experience of running an OW so that if they saw applications for it, they would have the ability to implement it.

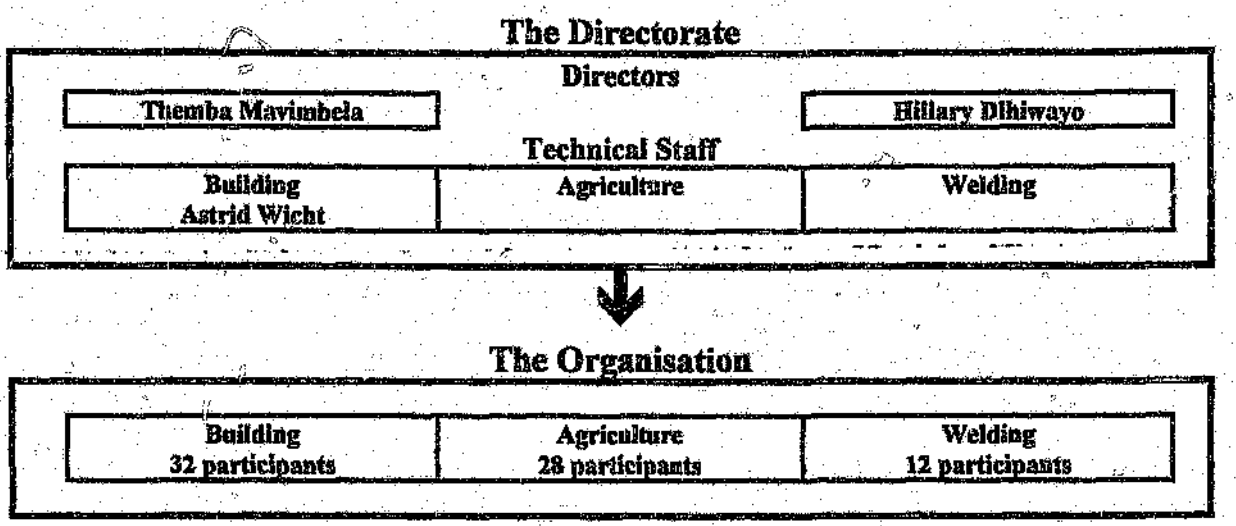
In 1990 Akanani facilitated a mini OW with Ikageng Community Centre in Sekhukhuneland where 65 volunteer project members partially constructed and roofed

a community centre. It was a short and intense OW lasting only two weeks and it focused on only one area of technical skills i.e. building. This convinced Akanani of the potential for OWs in South Africa and they began to network in Southern Africa with other organisations who had used OWs. This led to a joint preparation workshop for the Akanani OW being held in February 1991 with staff from Akanani, CORDE in Botswana and the Glen Forest Training Centre (GFTC) in Zimbabwe.

Out of that planning meeting the objectives of the Akanani OW were decided:

1. to train co-op and group members in organisational development skills;
2. to build a large multi-purpose venue for Akanani;
3. to develop a vegetable garden;
4. to catalyse the formation of a builders co-op by local unemployed builders;
5. to enhance the organisational capacity of Ikageng and Elim market women;
6. to establish a resource base for holding training on a regular basis;
7. to identify future OW directors; and
8. to promote the use of the methodology in South Africa as an organisational development tool.

The Akanani OW involved 74 people from the various types of organisations found in the northern Transvaal: co-operatives, unions, youth organisations and study projects. There were also people from Cape Town and Transkei who participated because they were interested in the process. Although teaching vocational skills was not a focus of the OW, in order to fulfill the other objectives training in vocational skills was necessary. The three areas of vocational skills training on offer were: building, agriculture and welding. The OW process has two levels of human involvement (See 4.5.i - Table 1): the participants who form the organisation, and the directorate who are the facilitators of the process and who have the skills base. In the directorate Themba Mavimbela from Akanani and Hillary Dlhiwayo from Glen Forest Training Centre in Zimbabwe were the directors and the other members of the directorate were the different technical staff for building, agriculture and welding. The technical staff were on call for the provision of training, contract negotiation around particular pieces of work, inspecting, and monitoring the development of the organisation itself. There are different stages to an OW which develop through three streams of activity running parallel: the organisational development side which is the "hypothetically, temporarily real experience" of running an organisation (Interview with Astrid Wicht); the theoretical input and the on-the-job work. So it was a real situation of organisational development but condensed and packed into six weeks.



4.5.1 - Table 1: Levels of Human Involvement in the Organisational Workshop

For the first three days of the OW the participants were fed and hosted by Akanani and the OW process was explained. In those three days they were given an organisational problem: Akanani offered them a list of j[illegible]r which there was payment and their task was to organise themselves into a suitable organisation which could function for the balance of those six weeks and enable them to complete these jobs. They negotiated around contracts and skills training on the understanding that they got paid according to the work they performed. In other logistical terms the participants were given access to a vehicle and to administrative back-up like type-writers because they also had to keep books. So they had to develop an administration department and keep account of the money. They had to organise some of their own materials but the majority of materials were supplied. They were issued with tools for use in the six-week period and they were responsible for their storage and maintenance.

During the first three days the people decided which area they wanted to participate in: building, agriculture or welding. The building team was the largest with 34 participants and their task was to build a large multi-purpose venue for Akanani. The building site had been cleared beforehand so it was ready for the participants to work on. The agricultural team with 28 participants had to develop a vegetable garden. They started with an area that was covered in bush and trees except for a small part that Vicky Muvhale had been cultivating. It was unfenced so they had to start from scratch, by clearing and erecting a fence around the area. The welding team with 12 participants was responsible for all the welding required by the building team in the construction tasks and by the agricultural team for gates and fences.

After the first three days the participants were on their own. From then on Akanani did not supply them with food, although they did have their accommodation. They therefore had to organise themselves in such a way that they could start earning. They had to organise their own timetables. They had to elect their committees. They had to get their catering teams together. Their days were their own to organise while the evenings were devoted to the theory side where the methodology was unfolded over the six-week period trying to link it to the South African context. The theory

component known as the Theory of Organisation was designed by de Morais to give participants information about and an opportunity to discuss how best to organise their work, their training and their enterprise so that they could survive and be successful. A series of 10 lectures is suggested as the format for explaining the Theory of Organisation but at Akanani a mixture of lectures and theatre-for-development in the form of an evolving "Animation" play was used. In the evaluation report of the workshop participants reflected that although the lectures were useful, the language differences (participants spoke 4 different languages) and the consequent need for lengthy translations, hindered the process. On the other hand the drama and animation of the Theory of Organisation Notes were seen as very helpful in explaining concepts and stages of organisation, and were seen as a "clarifying input" (Akanani, 1991: 1). "The drama aspect of putting the methodology across was a very powerful one. Even through the evaluation people felt they learnt a lot from the drama. I think the whole OW was one form of drama and then sections of it were also using drama as a methodology for putting across the ideological aspects of it." (Interview with Themba Mavimbela)

Although the whole OW process itself can be considered as a form of theatre-for-development, the "Animation" play is a more easily recognisable use of drama in the workshop process. The play was based on the writings of the Brazilian originator of the OW, de Morais, and the theory behind the OW. The play aimed to make some very sophisticated (and deadly dull) concepts accessible to a largely illiterate audience. It was about the whole philosophy behind the Organisational Workshop, about how organisations develop and the kinds of problems organisations are likely to face. de Morais in his writings was addressing the economy and how it works and how it developed from the very early stages of the hunter-gatherers up to the present day of co-ops and mechanised industries. This was represented in the play. The play also explained the theory behind the development of divisions of labour because in the enterprise the participants took a division of labour and so it was obviously critical to the whole running of the enterprise. It was felt that there were a lot of difficult concepts in the theory, like theories of class and labour power, and because of the low level of literacy of the participants, it would be far easier to grasp these concepts through drama. The play fitted into the theory that ran throughout the six weeks in the evenings. It was done as a whole initially and then different parts were repeated, extended and highlighted at various points. The Animation play not only "animated" the history of economic production but also illustrated potential problems in organisations like drunkenness, corruption, lack of punctuality, lack of finance, leadership problems etc. These problems were represented both in enacted scenes and metaphorically in the form of a monster who was opposed and vanquished by the strength of an effective organisation. The devisors also added some interesting parts about the bad habits that South African people bring from their life styles, their backgrounds and their culture into organisations and what effect that has on the organisation.

In the evaluation of the OW, which was done both formally, in the form of an evaluation report, and informally, when individuals reflected on their experiences, a number of problem areas were highlighted. These can be divided into two areas: the pre-planning and the follow-up stages. In the pre-planning stage there were massive logistical problems of accommodation, water supply and toilet facilities. There was

only one toilet in the whole of Akanani and the washhouse was only nearing completion, so temporary showers had to be erected and pit toilets had to be dug. It was felt that in future there should be sufficient amenities for the number of participants. There were also problems with the thoroughness of the briefing people received. "The people who had been on the OWs (in Botswana i.e. Themba Mavimbela and Freddy Muvhale) had an idea of what it was but for the new team who formed part of the directorate the whole thing unfolded as the days went by. So I think in terms of briefings then the input wasn't that great. We could have been sharper, we could have been better organised." (Interview with Astrid Wicht) This lack of proper briefing extended to the briefing of the participants. After three days when there was no food, emergency measures had to be introduced to get breakfast. People were not quite clear about what the process was going to entail partly because the idea was very new and partly because they were not briefed sufficiently.

The other main problem was with the post-OW follow-up and reporting which was not done properly. As participants in the broader network of OWs, the participants and the directorate of the OW are supposed to write reports and evaluate the whole system but that does not seem to have been done thoroughly. Themba Mavimbela acknowledged that:

> The documentation around it has not been done successfully, I think that's one of our weak points. We tried to do that in a video, all the lectures and processes are documented in terms of videos which could be translated into paperwork. (Interview with Themba Mavimbela)

In terms of the impact on the organisations where the participants came from it is unclear whether the learning was adequate enough for them to transfer what they gained to others in their own organisations. It is also unclear as to whether any of the participants would be equipped to run an OW himself which was one of the objectives. One of the reasons that the follow-up work was not done as thoroughly as it should have been was because the OW itself was "a very intense process and for six weeks we were operating from seven o'clock in the morning until midnight at least. Each day the directorate needs to assess how people go th gh observations, where are potential problems going to arise so one can be prepar.. for that. ...it's an amazing process but it's exhausting particularly being part of the organising side and constantly having to keep your eyes open and keep checking and being aware of what is unfolding and actually seeing people falling into the problems because if we caught them before it wouldn't have been a learning experience. For the directorate it was also a great learning experience but I think the consolidation and follow-up and trying to re-think methodology and the appropriateness of such an exercise, we never really tackled." (Interview with Astrid Wicht)

However, the OW was not all problematic. It was successful in that the phases of development that are characteristic of an OW process unfolded over the six weeks. They went through the phases of disorganisation followed by group cohesion, power struggles, and power shifts. The crisis that resulted from the disorganisation as participants initially took over, created a receptiveness to the Theory of Organisation discussions and the Animation play that were happening simultaneously. The participants then began to look to changing the organisational structure they had adopted to make it more efficient. The three teams had more or less success

depending on their subsequent organisation. The OW building team was the most successful because after the six-week process the building was up to roof height. One of the goals of the OW was to start a local building co-operative. There were 15 builders from the local area who then decided it was their wish to go through the process of completing a building and they called themselves Hetasani, the building workers co-operative. The whole organisation had called itself Ratanang, hence Ratanang Resources Centre inside the multi-purpose venue, which was called Hetasani Hall after the building co-operative which completed it. The agricultural team was not as successful in terms of the input and the returns out of the first crop but there were other problems in this team like lack of technical capacity around agriculture. The welding team was the least successful. It was a very small team infested with lumpen behaviour, a sort of employeeism where unless they were supervised on the job they just sat around.

The OW at Akanani was supposed to be the first of a number of OWs in South Africa but that never happened as planned. Unfortunately the co-operative section did not have the personnel to carry it forward - Themba Mavimbela was running the section alone for several years and it is now solely run by Joseph Mashimbye. So although there have been a number of requests for the methodology to be taken to other parts of South Africa, this has been impossible. One request came from the South African Development Trust, a government structure, who wanted to use the process in a land development project in northern Natal. Akanani needed to evaluate whether they could put the methodology across through government structures. They decided that Akanani would inform them about the methodology if the government transferred the land that was going to be used in the exercise to the people involved. The government declined to do that and the proposal fell away. In 1992, the year following the Akanani OW, at least four OWs were supposed to be run, although not on such a large scale and based at other projects where there were needs for particular spurts of input; this did not happen. In 1993 OWs were not even on the programme planning agenda.

This was mainly because of a lack of personnel to mount a project of the size and intensity of the OW. The OW demanded a great deal of time and energy and the ongoing work of the Akanani staff members did not cease for this period. The consequent exhaustion and dealing with all the work that had piled up during the OW were large contributing factors to the failure to document the process properly and to its disappearance from the planning agenda.

There are mixed feelings within Akanani as to the OW's application and whether it should be used again or not. Some people, like Marc Wegerif, feel that acquiring the skills of running an OW was the crucial issue and that it is not applicable in the present projects they are working in. These people feel that the value of an OW should be in feeding into specific projects rather than just being something done on its own. They see an OW as a tool that is used in the development of a particular project or a particular community and that in the present context of the projects Akanani is working with there do not seem to be areas where it can be utilised.

Themba Mavimbela would like to see OWs back on the agenda but cautions that "the problem is that whichever organisation would like to put it across should have

sufficient capital and the basic ability to develop itself so that it can sustain itself, otherwise it becomes difficult." It is also felt that if OWs were to be used again, they would need to be adapted more for the South African situation. The Akanani OW did have slight adaptations but the theory and the concepts still need a lot of contextualising. The main area where the theory needs to be extended and developed, according to Anderson (1989), is in the types of "bad habits" that individuals bring to the OW. South Africa does not have artisan production to the same degree as Latin America and thus the "bad habits" as a result of being artisans are not-experienced here and the problems that are experienced in South Africa are not dealt with in the theory. It was felt that habits like Employeeism and Triumphalism should be added to the list of "bad habits". Employeeism arises when a person has become accustomed to having others do the thinking and organising for him while he sells his labour. Triumphalism arises when a person indulges in rhetoric at the expense of hard work and is accustomed to shouting slogans and rallying support for popular solutions often with very little thought. Both of these "bad habits" are common in South Africa as a result of people's experience of work and organisation. When OWs have been done in Zimbabwe, Botswana and more recently in Namibia, the people who have worked on them have been able to adapt them to suit their country. The process is still continuing in Zimbabwe and Botswana and subsequent to the Akanani OW it has been used extensively in Namibia to develop the co-operative sector after independence.

Despite the problems, the overwhelming response is that the OW was a powerful and useful process. "I think it's a very vital way of learning and it's a pity we don't try and organise it again. I think my learnings out of it was that it gives you a broad overview of the problems in organising organisations and the characteristics of different organisations, classes, cultures and structures which can then filter into your ongoing work." (Interview with Astrid Wicht) According to de Morais, participatory management, which forms a large part of the OW is "the organised reflection of all the participants over what needs to be done with what, where to do it, when to do it and with whom to do it." (de Morais, 1991: 20) This is the same role as a director has in a formal play or that the community has in planning a piece of community theatre.

Although the Animation play is an obvious use of drama, it is arguable that the entire process of the OW was a form of theatre-for-development. Theatre-for-development is an experiential means of helping people come to terms with their situations and facilitating their development. The OW was "a direct experience of what it means to get an organisation together, to get it on its feet, to get it running, solve its problems, cope with all the power dynamics ... So it was a very long theatre" (Interview with Astrid Wicht) The setting up of a "hypothetically, temporarily real experience" (Interview with Astrid Wicht) is exactly what happens when one involves people in a theatre-for-development exercise. The only difference is in the length and consequences of the activities. In theatre-for-development the length of the drama is usually confined to the performance, a few hours at most, while the OW lasted for six weeks. The consequences of not performing in a theatre-for-development piece may be a loss of popularity or a lost opportunity for learning, but not "performing" in an OW can lead to starvation.

As a learning tool the OW allows the grass-roots person the time to participate, to understand, to reflect and to assimilate the process. "For a person who is intellectual

or at a certain level of development it (may be perceived as) time-consuming because it doesn't just rush through the process. It is a very intense process, but any process of engagement or development or learning (can be) an intense process." (Interview with Themba Mavimbela). The intensity of the situation together with the real consequences of one's actions created needs to learn and develop on the part of the participants. The importance of letting people experience problems for themselves and to learn from their mistakes was an other important aspect of the OW. The OW uses a theatre-for-development process as a tool for engagement, assimilation, learning, and development. The OW was thus another innovative use of drama as a methodology for facilitating adult learning at Akanani.

4.6 Summary of Results

In this chapter five case studies of how drama is used at Akanani have been presented. A general description of Akanani, its history, its personnel, its approach to development, its structure and its areas of operation was first given in order to contextualise the case studies. The AIDS Education Play was then discussed as an example of how drama can be used to educate around health issues and to tackle sensitive areas. The various uses of drama in the literacy programmes at Akanani were then discussed especially how drama empowers and gives confidence to the marginalised. The way drama is used in the Winter Schools to make literature more relevant and accessible, and to deal with social issues, was then considered. The importance and value of networking in the drama field was evinced through the discussion of six different forms of interacting with other groups that Akanani is engaged in. The final case study was of how drama was used to animate theory in the Organisational Workshop (OW) and a consideration of the OW as another form of theatre-for-development. These case studies all contribute to creating a picture of how drama can be used as a versatile and effective means of facilitating adult learning in a rural area.

CHAPTER 5 - DISCUSSION

This chapter consists of a brief discussion of each of the research questions that this research report is attempting to address. The case studies documented in chapter four and the literature review recorded in chapter two form the bases for these discussions which will use illuminative evaluation in an effort to answer the research questions. Each question will be discussed in turn.

1.1.1 What is the nature of drama as a means of facilitating adult learning, especially in the South African rural context?

Before answering this question the researcher's assumption about what constitutes adult learning needs to be clarified: the assumption made here is that successful adult learning is empowering and gives the learners the ability to take control of and responsibility for their own learning.

In the literature review a number of claims for the nature of drama as a means of facilitating learning are made. It is claimed that drama is emancipatory, that it raises issues, that it fosters discussions, that it promotes collective action, that it facilitates social change and that it can be used as a weapon against oppression and exploitation, amongst a whole host of other claims. The practical reality that the case studies in the literature review revealed is that drama can be an effective means of facilitating adult learning in rural areas as long as there is a high degree of involvement and participation of the learners. This links to the idea that adult education should be learner-centred. The lessons to be learnt from experiments such as Laedza Batanani are that learner involvement from the outset is crucial if using drama is to be effective.

The effectiveness of drama in facilitating adult learning is largely because it is an experiential method which involves people in learning through doing. The fact that in Africa this "doing" involves cultural practices with which rural people particularly are very familiar, seems to be another advantage to using drama to facilitate adult learning. When people are actively engaged in a process that they enjoy, learning happens unconsciously but in a very memorable way. The literature seems to point to drama as being a useful method for conscientising, empowering and educating adults.

The case studies of the use of drama in a rural context at Akanani point to the usefulness of drama in engendering self-confidence which is seen as a precursor to participants taking control of their own lives. Akanani wishes to foster the development of people and to empower them to act so that they are proactive rather than reactive. The confidence gained by the women in the Elim Market literacy group through the use of drama is a case in point. They have gained in self-reliance to the extent that they are erecting their own market building, making Elim Market the first worker-owned market in South Africa.

Another aspect of the nature of drama as a means of facilitating adult education that is illustrated by the case studies is its usefulness as a medium for dealing with difficult issues. The AIDS Education play is a good example and the Elim Market women's play about the labour ward at the hospital is another. Drama is also a useful means of

disseminating information in an interesting way as can be seen in the examples of drama used at the Winter schools and in the "Animation" play in the Organisational Workshop.

Through the networking in the drama field another valuable aspect of drama is evinced, namely that it gives a voice to the oppressed and marginalised. Even the poorest, illiterate peasant can express his/her ideas through the medium of a play and make his/her opinion known. In this regard drama can be used as a data-gathering method. Two clear examples of this from the literature review are the work done in Mali by the SOS Sahel Drama Unit and that done in rural Jamaica by the Sistren Theatre Collective.

Various aspects of the nature of drama as a means of facilitating adult learning were revealed by the literature review and the case studies but the over-riding factor was that, if used properly, drama is a powerful methodology that can be used for a number of purposes depending on the educator/facilitator's educational objective.

1.1.2.1 How has theatre-for-development been used in Africa for community development and empowerment?
1.1.2.2 Why has theatre-for-development been used in Africa for community development and empowerment?

The literature review revealed that the idea for using theatre-for-development in Africa for community development and empowerment originated with Ross Kidd and the Laedza Batanani project. Kidd wanted to use theatre-for-development in this way as he believed that this kind of popular theatre would encourage participation, raise issues, foster discussion and critical consciousness as well as promote collective action. From his experience at Laedza Batanani Kidd learned two valuable lessons: that one must not romanticise the power of theatre and that unless people are totally involved in the process the likelihood of a resultant collective action is slim. Other groups in Africa have also recognised the power of theatre-for-development but have learned from the mistakes of Laedza Batanani and consequently have been more successful. The Maska Project in Nigeria is a good example of the effective use of drama to teach illiterate adults.

The case studies revealed that the theatre-for-development process has been used at Akanani in developing the "Animation" play in order to involve participants in a process of understanding some very complex ideas about the nature of economies. From the literature review and the case studies it would seem that theatre-for-development has a recognised position in development work in Africa but that it is more or less successful depending on the extent of the involvement of the target audience.

1.1.3.1 Is drama a successful methodology as it is used at Akanani in the rural areas of the far northern Transvaal?
1.1.3.2 Is drama perceived to be an appropriate methodology for adult education in the rural areas of South Africa?

From the case studies it would appear that drama is a successful methodology as it is used at Akanani. Part of this success lies in the fact that the facilitators from Akanani are willing to experiment with different forms of drama. Creativity and flexibility seem to be important characteristics of successful drama facilitators and Mike Abrams and Aboe Nayiluma of Akanani have those two qualities in abundance. They have adapted and created various types of drama to suit different purposes. Moulding the method to suit the educational needs of a situation is an important lesson to learn about using drama.

It is pertinent to take some concrete examples of the use of drama at Akanani and see to what extent they are successful. The AIDS Education play's success can be measured in the increased tolerance of people with AIDS in the community and the increased awareness levels of local people about the issue of AIDS. The Shakespeare plays performed at the Winter schools can be judged to be successful because of the level of participation they created in the audience and the standard of questions asked in the follow-up discussion - they had obviously educated well through the medium of drama. The use of drama in the literacy groups has increased the self-confidence levels of the participants, a real success story. Drama at Akanani is used for many different purposes. The fact that most of those purposes become realities is a measure of the successful use of drama at Akanani.

The question of whether drama is perceived to be an appropriate methodology for adult education in the rural areas of South Africa does not have such a positive answer. Those people who use drama are convinced of its effectiveness, but they are a minority of adult educators. This is mainly a result of two factors. The first problem is that there are very few formal training opportunities available for learning how to use drama as a methodology so educators are simply not aware of the possibilities of using drama or feel inadequately equipped to use drama even if they are aware. The second problem is that traditionally, rural development agencies and cultural groups who use drama have been seen as totally separate entities. Akanani's use of drama within a development agency is unique. There is a need to increase awareness and develop training programmes about the use of drama as an appropriate methodology for adult education in the rural areas of South Africa so that Akanani's approach becomes a common one.

1.1.4 What guidelines can be deduced for the use of drama as a methodology in adult education in South Africa, especially in the rural areas?

This question is dealt with in Chapter six - Guidelines and Conclusions.

CHAPTER 6 - GUIDELINES AND CONCLUSIONS

The following guidelines have been developed from the lessons learned both from the literature review and from the case studies of the use of drama at Akanani. The guidelines are an attempt to assess what makes for an effective use of drama in adult education and to offer practical suggestions for its use.

An attempt was made to develop a model but this researcher encountered the same difficulties as Ross Kidd (1984) did when he tried to develop a model for doing theatre-for-development as an outcome of the Zimbabwe International Popular Theatre Workshop. He came to the conclusion that:

> there are many ways of doing theatre for development. Borrow or steal whatever seems useful; but you will probably need to work out your own TFD methods and strategies suited to your own objectives, operational contexts, and resources. One of the major things this experience has taught us is that Theatre for Development is not transferable from one country to another in the same way as a teaching technique. It cannot simply be plugged into a new context. It is a highly complex process and needs to be carefully tailored for each new situation in which it is used. (Kidd, 1984: 2)

Although no model was possible, guidelines from which adult educators can "borrow or steal" to tailor the use of drama to their own situation are offered. From this research it seems that theatre and drama are two different aspects of a similar phenomenon, consequently their use will be discussed separately.

From the literature and the case studies it seems that drama in adult education can be used in several different ways for many different purposes. Choosing the type of drama to use would depend on the nature of the learners, the physical situation and resources, and the purpose for which drama was being used. Some of the purposes are:

1. Learning subject matter through drama. Drama allows the active participation of the learners in exploring any subject area. "Cognitive skills are developed because learning through drama provides opportunities for:
- translating concepts into verbal and physical action
- translating verbal and physical action into concepts
- understanding metaphorical thinking
- change of insight which is an act of cognition involving a change a feeling."
(SAADYT, 1993: 16)

2. Disseminating information. Drama is a useful vehicle for providing information to a large group of people in an interesting way.

2. Problem Solving. Drama can be used to help a group or individual to solve a problem either set by the facilitator or arising from the group or individual's experience. The fictional "as if" situation that is created in drama still involves the participants real feelings and experiences in a process Boal (1979) describes as

"metaxis". The dramatic "as if" situation liberates the imagination to deal with seemingly insurmountable problems through improvisation and discussion.

3. Problem Analysis. Drama can help a group to diagnose and understand the causes, consequences and context of a problem.

4. Energising or Ice-breaking. Drama can help to build trust, to introduce people or simply to revitalise people before another session.

5. For dealing with sensitive issues. Issues such as racism, sexism, sexual issues such as AIDS, women's abuse, capital punishment etc. can all be dealt with through the use of drama.

6. Dealing with differences. Drama can be used to deal with diversity and conflict either within the group or as experienced by individuals in reality. This is especially useful in South Africa at the moment where people who have been kept apart for so long are coming together and finding it difficult to communicate and relate.

7. Understanding other perspectives. Drama allows people to put themselves in someone else's shoes and "experience" what it is like, to explore other points of view thus encouraging tolerance.

8. Learning Social and Life Skills. Social skills such as working in a group with associated skills like negotiating and compromising can be learnt from participating in drama. Life skills such as assertiveness and how to behave in an interview situation are also easily done using drama.

9. Learning communication and language skills through drama. Drama facilitates communication that is not only verbal but physical too and creates a safe, relaxed situation in which new language can be practised.

10. Facilitating Critical thinking. Drama may be used to provoke critical thought, awareness and insight into the problems faced by individual and their society.

11. Changing attitudes and behaviour. Using drama which involves the entire person can help in tackling beliefs and attitudes that are resistant to change. The drama experience is holistic as it draws on cognitive, affective and physical skills This is often the rationale for using drama in areas such as AIDS education where the desired outcome is a change in the target group's attitudes towards sexual activity and, even more difficult to achieve, a change in their sexual behaviour.

12. Raising awareness and conscientising. Drama can be used to make people more aware about different broad issues such as AIDS but also about problems or situations in their own lives and communities.

13. Demonstrating a difficult theoretical concept in a practical way. In this way drama is almost like a "living visual aid" for the facilitator.

Once the purpose of the drama session has been ascertained there are three basic steps to follow: Plan properly, Facilitate properly and Reflect properly. As with any educational encounter, planning by the facilitator is of paramount importance in using drama successfully. It is also important to facilitate the process in such a way that all learners are involved as the literature clearly demonstrates that successful drama depends on the participation of the learners. A suggested outline for a successful drama session is one that follows the following steps but a good drama facilitator is flexible and creative so this can be adapted:

Warm-Up - normally a fun activity to get people relaxed or to build trust and develop a group dynamic.
Concentration Exercise - some form of activity that focuses participants' minds for the session.
Story-telling - either telling true stories about a certain topic or creating a fictitious scenario.
Acting out - this could involve role-playing the stories of the previous step but is normally the main "action" of the session.
Reflection - this can be in the form of a discussion or of a drawing of a significant incident or take any form that suits the educator's purpose but it must happen.
Ensuring that reflection on the drama process happens is a critical role for the educator using drama. If reflection does not happen then often the educational value of the process is lost to the entertainment value.

Having looked at running drama sessions, it is time to turn to the use of theatre-for-development. Theatre-for-development can be used for some of the same purposes as drama as well as for other purposes, such as:

1. to impart information

2. to be a form of dialogue between villagers and officials

3. to be a form of community discussion and decision-making

4. to be a conscientisation or consciousness raising activity

5. to revitalise the villagers' cultural traditions and their sense of community

Once again, as with drama, when the purpose for using theatre-for-development is clear then there is a basic process for creating theatre-for-development. The following steps are an adaptation of a procedure suggested by Ross Kidd (1984):

1. Develop collaboration with the community by building a relationship with them and motivating them to participate.
2. Learn the indigenous forms of cultural expression of the area and utilise them for the theatre-for-development activity.
3. Identify problems by working with the community to explore their situation and identify issues for in-depth analysis.
4. Analyse problems. This will deepen the understanding of the problem, any suggested solutions can be done through drama, dance, mime, song and discussion.

5. Create a Plot and Characters
5. Improvise
6. Rehearse
7. Perform
8. Discuss the performance and draw out the lessons to be learned.
9. Initiate follow-up Action which can be taken by the participants to solve the problems raised.

As was clearly evident from the literature review, theatre can make an impact and impart knowledge but for a significant shift in attitude and behaviour to occur the target group needs to be involved, play a participatory role and there needs to be some form of follow-up activity. The important aspects of successful theatre-for-development in order for conscientisation to occur are that it is collaborative and critical. Kidd (1984: 18) discusses this in the following way:

> The process would be collaborative in the sense that we would be working with the community to analyse itself, rather than as alien and alienated researchers working in isolation from the village being studied; and critical in the sense that we would be attempting to go beyond conventional, everyday thinking, trying to identify the root causes of problems. The ultimate aim was conscientisation which we defined as "a learning and organising process in which people develop the critical understanding, self-confidence and organisational strength to realise their potential for development and transformation." This process starts with the community's own experience and assessment of their experience, develops analysis in relation to the goal of transforming their situation, and ideally culminates in organised action by the community.

However, another important lesson is that although, ideally, the community takes control of the process, the facilitator can not abdicate responsibility for the success of the process. Like all other educational methods, theatre's effectiveness depends a great deal on the proficiency of the facilitator. Judging from the literature and the case studies, drama seems to be very effective but it has to be skillfully and sensitively used. For example, the AIDS play could be unsuccessful if not handled properly. Effective facilitators also need to be creative and flexible because in drama the facilitator often has to think on his/her feet. Mike Abrams goes so far as to say that: "the issue is not to teach adult educators these (drama) methods but it's to unlock people's own creativity." (Interview with Mike Abrams) As Abrams also notes, this demand for creativity can be unpalatable to some educators: "it's challenging their (lecturers') power, the lecturer suddenly has to get creative when the lecturer has been reading the same lecture notes year after year."

The training of adult educators in the use of drama as a methodology needs to be addressed. These guidelines could form the basis for further research and development of textbooks and curricula for training programmes. There are so few adult educators using drama at the moment and there is such a lack of formal training that part of the training and development of effective facilitators has become networking with other organisations both locally and internationally in order to keep abreast of the latest developments, to share ideas and to keep the enthusiasm for the process alive.

Although one of the main aims of this report is to develop guidelines for the use of drama in adult learning in rural areas, through the process of developing these guidelines it emerged that theatre-for-development can also be used as a data-gathering method. The SOS Sahel Drama Unit in Mali provides a good example of this where villagers express their grievances and comments to the officials through the medium of drama. Another example at Akanani is in the AIDS play where the drama unearths prejudice and community perceptions about AIDS through engaging the audience in a form of Forum Theatre where they have to act out the suggestions they have for the possible outcomes of the play. This facilitates the gathering of data about rural attitudes to AIDS.

This research has considered the use of drama as a means of facilitating adult learning in rural areas and has started to draw links between the various disciplines that contribute to this field. Further research and development needs to be done in this area which is at present so poorly documented but has such potential as an exciting and useful methodology for facilitating adult learning. Fully-fledged courses on the use of drama need to be designed, implemented and assessed and the use of drama needs to be extended from a few isolated cases to being included in the mainstream of educational methodologies.

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APPENDIX A - INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPTS

Interview with Marc Wegerif

Marc Wegerif is the outgoing co-ordinator of Akanani and has been involved in Akanani for a number of years. It was felt that his overall knowledge of Akanani, its history and its development made him a key person to interview.

TSB: Marc, you are the outgoing co-ordinator of Akanani, can you tell me about the process that has been going on that I've been hearing about, how Akanani has changed from being a collective to more management structures? If you could tell me about the history of that change.

MW: Akanani started as a small group of people, in fact it started as a husband and wife couple. But, at a certain point in 1986, when they left, it was a small group of four or five people who were all white Capetonians and they decided they would work as a collective which meant decision-making involving everybody and so on, which at that point with four or five people was possible although even then it was fraught with conflict at many points. But certainly over the last four to five years as we've tried to look more seriously at what we're doing in development but particularly over the last three years with the expansion and also trying to be more development oriented, we are really saying: "What are we doing in development?" "What are we trying to achieve?", I think we've needed to change our style of operating and certainly now with eighteen staff, to expect everybody to be involved in every decision is just not feasible, it's just not practical and quite unhealthy for the individuals as much as for the organisation I think. So I think we've had to streamline decision making, we've had to look at how do we maintain the organisational direction and how do we actually get efficient in the work that we're doing. At the same time trying to ensure that we maximise the various skills that different people have got , make sure we've still got a way that people input on decision making particularly on crucial decisions that effect them and the direction of the organisation. So that's some of the challenges we've been facing. Structural changes have also become necessary with the organisational changes.

TSB: I've heard the name management team, who comprises that?

MW: The management team we've established involves the co-ordinator of Akanani, the administrator, and then three programme co-ordinators, that's Paul, Joseph and Alphons, who are responsible for co-ordinating the programmes on the ground and they've got a division of skills . The initial idea when we were looking at programme co-ordination was maybe one programme co-ordinator who'd be responsible for programme co-ordination because the co-ordinator gets more tied into ensuring that the administration is functioning, doing fundraising, PRO work, those kinds of

jobs. That was leading to a bit of weakness in the programme co-ordination because I was sucked in for instance if there was a crisis in maintaining the organisation financially or whatever then that takes one's time and I would be pulled out of the field, out of co-ordination of on-the-ground work and that is why we needed more effective programme co-ordination. I think also because we've expanded from a very loose kind of way of working structurally where there were few people then people have tended to go in their own directions and I think we've got quite a lot of strong people, quite individualistic people, people with quite a lot of initiative and then the tendency, without any kind of focusing of the organisation, has been that each person is going their own way. So we've got one going off on one track maybe with literacy and then another one going off on another track with buildings and another one going on another track with training and another one going on another track with co-operatives so you find the organisation was becoming very dispersed. And there wasn't much integration between the different areas of work because there wasn't a way it was being integrated. So there was a need of having a direction as an organisation because we were starting to question, well what is Akanani because some of the programmes had become so individually oriented and for quite a long time we had been talking about the need for integrated programme planning where the different skills we've got in the organisation work together in a co-ordinated way because that wasn't happening. That was also where we see the need for more programme co-ordination to ensure that we have clearer plans for what we're doing which are in line with the needs of the projects that we are supporting or in line with particular programmes that we've organisationally agreed on as priority areas. Hopefully that's out of consultation with the people we're working with.

TSB: So when did this more integrated approach come into being?

MW: You see it is in being and it's not in being. We've been talking about this since the end of 1990, you know, it's being discussed.

TSB: So it's a process?

MW: Yes, but even now there's more we can do on implementing it. We discussed it in one evaluation we had in October 1990 but we never managed to fully implement that because people were still very much in their own sections and there wasn't a strong enough management. I became co-ordinator soon after that and I think I was the first co-ordinator to survive for any length of time.

TSB: What were you doing prior to being co-ordinator?

MW: I was in the co-operative section. On becoming co-ordinator it was really a question of defining that area of work and I think that because

there had been a lack of leadership in the organisation it was really quite difficult to get an organisational direction going and to enable some kind of effective management to begin.

TSB: If we can go back even further historically , what was ITSIDU and what was its mission, how did it come into being and then how did that change into Akanani and why?

MW: If we go far back into history then ITSIDU, which was the Intermediate Technology and Small Industries Development Unit , was started by a husband and wife couple Rob and Anne Collins and they originally came to the area at the request of the local priest and some other people who had been supporting a women's group which had been doing needlework and so on. So there was this women's group and the people who had been supporting them were leaving and basically they were looking for a way forward for this group and through various connections they came across Anne and Rob Collins who felt like working in a rural area and who had been doing silk-screen printing in Johannesburg and thought let's start a silk-screen printing co-operative in a rural area.

TSB: So that was Tiakeni?

MW: Yes. They started off training two members of that old women's group [illegible] for the first six months to a year it was just those two who were [illegible]d and then they brought in the other members and trained them up. So they were doing that from 1978. In 1980 Tiakeni was established and at the same time they established ITSIDU. It was still just the two of them but they formalised it as ITSIDU and its main function was to provide ongoing support for Tiakeni and other similar initiatives that might crop up. So basically it was support for one specific co-operative, Tiakeni, initially and then support for others that might emerge after that, The next co-operative was Twananani textiles co-operative in Mbokhota concentrating on batik work and that was in 1984. So the history of ITSIDU was really from that. And then as they were in the area Rob Collins started looking into sanitation and doing some work on pit latrines but that didn't go very far. He left in 1985 and Anne Collins left in 1986. They had people helping them temporarily or voluntarily at different times along the way. Then the other areas of work grew out of that. Literacy was initially within the co-operative groups because you were trying to teach them to run a co-operative but then they were illiterate so then how can they deal with customers. Say the customers speak English and they can't speak English, how do they deal with the customer? If you're not numerate, how do you fill in an invoice or how do you add up and monitor your production systems or your cash flow? So that was how literacy started and it grew out of that. Again the technical aid service started when one of the co-operatives Twananani needed a building and so we said let's have

someone design a building and that was the first building we did. The second was for the co-operative at Pfananani in Venda. Then of course people saw the services and other requests started coming up. Like literacy that started off in the co-operatives but then other people in the community started getting interested and involved in that. So that's what it grew out of. So then by 1989/1990 we could see that we were no longer an intermediate technology and small industries development unit. That wasn't an appropriate title, nobody in the area could understand what the hell that was and if you tried saying it over the phone to a donor in Germany or whatever and they also didn't get it and you run up a phone bill. So we didn't feel it was really describing what we were about and that was when we went through a process of looking at so what are we about and what kind of name would actually define that more clearly. So that came out of changes that arose after Rob and Anne had left. There was a group of people left here who started exploring what are we about. These five people at the end of '86, beginning of '87 began saying what are we doing here and looking at how it could change and grow and out of that is where some of the other programmes, say the lit. racy became more dominant and as a crucial starting point in terms of development in such an underdeveloped area with such low levels of education. So it went along and started expanding and also there was this big question of looking at it a bit more in the political context of South Africa and that's where some of the thinking about saying we need to develop organisation, we need to empower people through organisation to take control of their lives, we need to look beyond a project level at a broader development level which also addresses the causes of underdevelopment and so part of that is building people's organisations but maybe the actual development activities and projects can be a very good building block for that so then looking at some of the development activities we're engaging in as also tools for organisational empowerment rather than end products in themselves. So that was some of the thinking that came about. So then through '90 we redefined our aim which we came up with as being to provide educational services that build self-reliance and democratic organisation for the economic, social and political development of the people of the Northern and Eastern Transvaal. Internally structures are collective externally promoting social movements with a capacity to carry forward the transformation of social relations in society. With that kind of aim or mission statement , a name like the Intermediate Technology and Small Industries Development Unit was a bit irrelevant, and we also wanted a name that the people from the local area could identify with more closely. We discussed a number of options and came up with Akanani. We didn't want an acronym - there are too many of them in South Africa - we wanted a name that could stand on its own. So we decided on Akanani which means "to build each other" as we thought what we are about is building each other through organisation. We also came up with the slogan saying "Unless we organise we'll be washed away just like the soil and rocks are washed away". So it was

that kind of thinking that came in: the aim that we defined clearly, the name we agreed on and even the slogan to go on the letterhead and the agreement on the letterhead which hadn't been there before, we hadn't had any logo or letterhead. The letterhead is representative of all the areas of work and includes the slogan and so on. So that was the culmination of that process. But then from there I think we've been struggling with how do we actually implement the process of those beautiful ideas practically. At the same time expanding the organisation and dealing with what is involved in expanding an organisation. At the same time the political context is changing and we are dealing with how do we then impact on that context, how do we adapt to cope with that. There are changing funding environments which have different pressures and restraints and we've had to adjust to all of those. I see it as a process that we've been in for six years.

TSB: So the couple that came in the beginning, who funded them?

MW: There was just one funder, Bread for the World a German church organisation, which funded ITSIDU from 1980 and still funds us today. And in 1988 they were still the sole basic funder, we got a few small bits but they were still the main basic funder but there wasn't a helluva turnover at that point with only four people or so. Then part of the changes was going on a funding drive, broadening our financial base to support the broader vision we were having in the programme. Bread for the World used to fund us 100% but now they give about 15% of the budget.

TSB: Is most of your funding from overseas?

MW: Yes: Oxfam, UK; Hivos, Holland; Diakonia, Swedish Independent Churches; Bread for the World, Germany; Cedar money; money from Kagiso trust which is European Community money, Canadian Embassy.

TSB: Do they normally fund the project as whole and leave it up to you how you channel the money or do they fund specific programmes?

MW: It varies, some is institutional funding, some is more specified. Also we come up with our programme of action and a budget and we send that out and that forms the basis on which we are funded. So it's not that we just decide what we're going to do with it, we've already decided what we want to do and we market what we're going to do and if they agree to buy into what we're going to do then they finance it. Our major funders are fairly flexible in terms of where we actually allocate the funds they give us within the overall programme but there are some who specify specifics so say the literacy programme or the adult basic education programmes will get specific funding which is for that programme only, not for other things.

TSB: Akanani is one of the few development organisations that is actually based in a rural area. How do you see that rural context impacting on what you do?

MW: I think it has quite a big impact on the way we see things. We participate in a lot of national forums and we tend to find ourselves having a different perspective to other people. Maybe perhaps it's also the distance where we are maybe doing our own kind of thinking outside the line of some other streams of debate. We find ourselves in the longer run in line with some leading development thinking, we think. There have been cases where the line that we've been pushing, say with the Urban Sectors Network, has been laughed at or we were thought of as troublesome. Now it's becoming clear to everyone that we've got to take the issue seriously and so I think it gives us a particular perspective. It also means we have to work very hard to keep in touch with what is going on at a national level because a lot of debate happens around Johannesburg or between Johannesburg /Cape Town / Durban and unless we actually work at staying in touch we get left behind.

TSB: Is that one of the reasons that you got involved with SANGONET?

MW: Yes, we see a great potential for things like electronic mailing and networking. If people use that we can be as in touch as anyone else. We can be getting information at the same time as everyone else in Jo'burg or Cape Town and we can respond at the same time or faster. We've been linked up for a week and already we've got people attending a conference we're organising in the region who've heard of it through this. We're getting to a meeting next week in Johannesburg which we probably wouldn't have heard of if we hadn't been on this. In terms of SANGONET specifically we need more organisations to join up to make it more workable but we also need the people who are on it to use it effectively But it does certainly, for an organisation that is based quite a long way from the major centres, give us an opportunity to stay in touch. We've also got phones and a fax machine so we do our best, we try to maintain contacts with people who can also feed us with information.

TSB: How would you describe the socio-economic setting of Akanani?

MW: In the Regional Development Forum the chairperson said that in the Northern Transvaal the people are facing a protracted encounter with hopelessness. I thought that was quite an apt description but because it was quite a desperate description we later changed it to a contracted experience with hopelessness. It depends on how optimistic I am on the day you catch me which line I'll take.

TSB: I've heard the figure of 95% unemployment in this area.

MW: I think that's the only figure they've got for Gazankulu. It's very hard to say, there are poor statistics but I've got some statistics on this calendar on the wall. Northern Transvaal is Region G and these are the DBSA (Development Bank of Southern Africa) figures:
Economically Active Population: 767 000 out of about 5 million. That's really bad.
Real GGP (Gross Geographical Product) per capita: R872 per annum. That compares with R5900 for Region F, the next closest to us is R1826 for region D which is the Eastern Cape.
So if you look at the Northern Transvaal it is the most impoverished. I think it maybe doesn't get the attention it needs because a lot of the impoverished are quietly sitting in villages. So it's partly a history of a lack of democratic organisation. There are four bantustans in the area: Gazankulu, Venda, Lebowa and KwaNdebele, which is quite a problem. It depends on how you define the region because it's a bit vague but there's definitely a bit of KwaNdebele and even some bits of Bop in the west. So in terms of the South African context it's not in good condition and the vast majority of people who are employed in the region are employed in government services so it's got minimal viability as a region presently in the present set-up.

TSB: Most of the people who live in Gazankulu speak Tsonga. So what is the difference between Tsonga and Shangaan?

MW: It's basically the same, so I could also say most of the people in Gazankulu speak Shangaan. It's basically the same although historically there are different roots. But we use them interchangeably. I have never met anyone who can clearly tell me the difference but you find variations between what is spoken here and what's spoken in the Eastern Transvaal or in Mozambique.

TSB: So in terms of the government's "homeland" policy, Gazankulu is the "homeland" of the Shangaans? Venda for Vendas? Lebowa for sePedi? KwaNdebele for Ndebele?

MW: Yes, so you've got a number of languages and a number of administrations and different armed forces for each. So the situation doesn't look very good. If we look to the future, if the bantustans are really going to be disbanded that puts a big question mark over employment in the area as those are the major employers. What happens to all the clerks sitting in Giyani, sitting in Thoyandou? The big issue you have to look at on a macro-economic level is how do we get some kind of sustainable economic activity going in the region? And of course we've got big population growth, more than 50% of the population is under the age of 15. So just look one generation ahead and think what that's going to mean. We've also got a great majority of women - 62% are women. So it's a bit of a mess.

TSB: Turning from that macro perspective to Akanani internally, how do you do evaluation procedures both of your programmes and of your staff?

MW: Well there are different ways that we're doing it. The one thing when we were discussing the structural changes is that part of those changes are not only internal management changes but also we've been building external accountability. And those two go very much hand in hand. So from being a group of people calling themselves a collective, inward-looking at Akanani and deciding what they wanted to do as an independent collective, part of the thinking for the need for management changes was that we are here to serve a particular constituency and that we need to be accountable to that constituency. And an integral part of that then is that internal management structures should make the organisation accountable to that constituency, rather than accountable to itself only. We are setting up a system where we have a six-monthly assembly where we invite all projects we work with plus some regional organisations like unions and civics to come together to discuss the work we're doing. We see that as being the highest decision-making body in giving direction to the organisation. After that a council is elected annually. We just elected a new council about a month ago which is then meant to supervise and guide the work of the staff. That is obviously from a distance but at least they keep on ensuring that we keep on direction. They also approve annual plans and annual budgets of expenditure. So it's not just up to a group of staff sitting saying we are a collective and we're deciding what we're going to do. It's quite important to see that it's not just the co-ordinator sitting at the top of the pile, it's actually the co-ordinator trying to ensure that the organisation is following a direction that has been consulted and agreed on in a broader forum of people including the users of the organisation. We're still struggling to see that fully implemented. We're struggling internally with some people unwilling to lose the freedom and power that they've had and also struggling to have the management skills to actually make it work.

TSB: I've been very impressed by the level of staff development that Akanani engages in. Is that a conscious policy decision?

MW: It certainly was a conscious decision that we've got to engage in staff development and it links to the conscious decision that we've got to employ people from the region. That means employing people who often start off with few skills but that means a commitment to building up their skills and certainly we made a conscious decision some time back that we've got to build black leadership, we've got to make sure we build women's leadership as well and have a gender balance in the organisation and have people from the area because it's people from the area that are going to sustain this in the longer term. We often complain internally that we don't have enough of a structured staff development

programme but certainly we're making a pretty massive investment in it. Not everything can be totally structured but if everyone is getting the opportunity for development, for getting on courses outside of Akanani, for participating in Akanani and participating in discussions and evaluations internally that should also build an understanding of what we are doing. I think that means we're on the right track. There has certainly been big investment in staff development and there are plans for that In fact one of our major donors has questioned the extent to which we are seeing that need and I'm writing back and saying quite firmly that they should think again about what they are saying if they want to see black empowerment and if they want to see the organisation really being rooted in the area with those skills to hand.

TSB: So that is one of your future objectives, to empower local people?

MW: That is our present and future objective. It is something we've been implementing for the past three years and the majority of our staff is from the region but it's an ongoing process. I think the other thing that we're in the middle of is ensuring that accountability to a base, seeing Akanani as an association of development projects and organisations rather than a group of staff providing services. We're getting there in terms of the formal structure in terms of a new doctorate constitution but we have to see it in action and build that and that takes commitment from all sides. So I see that as an ongoing process. I think the other thing that we're in the middle of as an ongoing process is getting high levels of efficiency, to make sure that we're not just good thoughts, nice political ideas, but that we actually can produce the goods, that we can match or better what other people can offer in terms of development. It's not just to secure our future although it's essential to securing our future as an organisation, it's to secure continuing development support for projects in the area.

TSB: Do you see any specific growth areas within Akanani? Any area that seems to be getting more prominence or bigger?

MW: There are present growth areas and there are future possibilities. With the Winter School that we started last year we've trebled in size this year which is obviously something that is growing and we hope that will continue. What is also quite exciting is the involvement of COSAS and SADTU and getting more teachers from the area to be committed to running that. Last year we ran it with a hundred students and we had one full-time person from Akanani on it and three full-time people from EIC - one full-time in administration and two who were teaching and helping with administration, and all at one centre. So we had a lot of NGO-provided support and we also had a temporary administration person. This year we are running with one full-time Akanani person, a temporary administration person and more voluntary support from people in the community through SADTU structures in particular. So we've

expanded the thing and at the same time we've decreased the NGO responsibility for it and I think that's part of Akanani's strategy of saying we don't want to be like a monster octopus running everything we'd like to see organisations empowered to carry out development. I think we're seeing that kind of potential with the winter school. Obviously there are hiccoughs and it might not run as smoothly as if we had fundraised for it ourselves a year ago and brought in six people full-time to run it but I think it's got other advantages. I think it also gives it more sustainability in the longer term because there are people in the area committed to run it. The other potential area for growth is the whole area of loan financing and we are looking into group lending. We've been talking about group lending for a long time. It's very small scale money lending. The most famous international example is the Gremeen Bank in Bangladesh. The individual borrows but they guarantee as a group. With the Gremeen model small groups of five people who each get small start-up loans and get bigger loans as they repay and so on. So that's something that we want to get seriously off the ground and I think it' s got massive potential. I think to operate something like that, a large scale credit scheme, that's where you also begin to need pretty firm management , it doesn't mean you can't consult or have some kind of democratic process but you need to know there are basic controls in place. It needs to be run in a very business-like way.

TSB: What would you see as some of the successes and failures of Akanani that other organisations could learn from?

MW: One of the ongoing successes is that we survive and we're in a rural area. I think we've done quite well to build it to the size it is and to give it the prominence it's got on a national level, I think it's pretty well-known. It's got a reputation which is quite hard to live up to at times but I think that's also important in terms of being in the area we're in and it's certainly important in managing to stay in touch with the finance to maintain it. I think it's important for people to see that being in a rural area is possible that we don't just need to be in Cape Town or in Jo'burg, that we can get out. I think we're also going through the process of management change, although we're still in the throes of it. I know there is dissatisfaction with it and there are problems that it brings, there have been conflicts around it but I think that's pretty much to be expected and the fact that we've managed to get through that as an internal process - we haven't been pushed by donors, we haven't had outside people imposing on us - we've actually managed to take through a process of change which is putting in different structures and I think that's quite important. I think it's quite significant that we're managing to do it and we're still pushing on with it. Hopefully it will be successful in the future but it's hard to change organisations, I think we should acknowledge that and that we've been managing to change it is important. I'm starting off on the more internal things but that's where I have to look at as the co-ordinator of the organisation. I think we've got

quite a few interesting programmes that we're engaged in. In the past we had an organisational workshop here that I think it's a shame that we didn't follow up more on it or utilise it more but I think we ran it quite effectively. It was the first of its kind to be run in South Africa and we involved support from Botswana and Zimbabwe which made it a Southern African venture.

TSB: What was the history of how you came to use the organisational workshop?

MW: I think we'd already been engaged in using some community building processes and there was already a lot of thinking around education with production and through contacts we had with people in Zimbabwe and Botswana in co-operative development there this was a model that we were seeing in use and we thought we should try it. So it was bit of an import in some ways, an experiment, but I think that's one of the strengths of Akanani that we do experiment quite a lot which I think is also important. Part of the experiment was for us to say okay we're not sure of this method we're hearing about so let's try it and then at least we've got the skills and the experience in-house and if we see applications for it we can use it, so we weren't dedicated to an ongoing programme, we were interested in getting the skills. I'm struggling a bit at the moment to see where it is applicable and how applicable it is in the present projects we're working in 'cos I prefer to see it feeding into specific projects rather than just being something on its own. It should be a tool we use in the development of a particular project, a particular community but I'm struggling to see in this context how we can utilise that. I think we've gone quite far with our literacy programme, it's got a lot of weaknesses still particularly around curriculum and materials development. We still need to improve the skills of tutors, there are some weak areas, but in the South African context most literacy programmes are also full of weaknesses and we've got the thing running and we're trying to tighten up in curriculum and so on and I think it's got a lot of potential. I think we try and use popular education creatively. We're doing a lot of work linking cultural groups and development, development with cultural activity - that's something important that can be strengthened and built up and that other organisations can utilise and learn from.

TSB: What do you understand by popular education?

MW: I think it's a method of education and learning that's learner-centred and linked into the context that people are coming from and it's building knowledge as a group rather than giving knowledge or pouring knowledge into people. I see it as very crucial in empowering people in education processes. I think we should be clear that it's a method of education and not a thing in itself although we can teach it as a method in the same way that you can teach someone to be an educator, so

teach someone to be a popular education educator but I think we've got a little bit confused and we need to be clear that this is the method that should be feeding into all our areas of work and utilise it as a method and not as a thing that stands on its own. Theatre-for-development is part of another method that falls within a broad understanding of popular education. I think we can use theatre, we can use role-play as a model, like a code (as Freire uses the term) in development that can make people aware of certain things.

What else is exciting here? I think the fact that we've got so many different areas of work under one roof and that we try, even though we struggle, to integrate them. I think the multi-disciplinary aspect is interesting. We've got 18 full-time people and a lot of hangers-on and on the periphery we've got the tutors and so on so it's quite a lot of people. If we were a literacy organisation we'd be a big literacy organisation and if we were an enterprise development organisation we'd be a pretty big one in terms of the NGO sector. The fact is that for the variety of areas of work we're actually quite small in all areas and I think that's something people don't always realise. They think we've got 18 full-time people doing literacy but that's only one out of the four major programmes that we're engaging in and people must be aware of that. The integrated approach that we're trying to take is interesting, unusual and in this context useful. It has developed, we've responded to the actual circumstances. We haven't been able to turn to an organisation down the road and say you do the literacy, there hasn't been that so we've had to set it up.

TSB: Are there any other organisations like Akanani in this area?

MW: There are other organisations in the Northern Transvaal and I'm sure they are all a bit different from Akanani. There is Hlotlolanang in Jane Furse which is further south. They started out of health care but they are becoming more of a community centre. They are trying to look a bit more broadly. I think they are looking at literacy so they could develop into something in terms of being multi-discip nary and they've got the advantage of having started from more of a community base whereas we didn't start from much of a community base. But they haven't yet got into say enterprise development.

TSB: How do you think Akanani is accepted within this community?

MW: That is very varied. Some people don't accept us at all and we've always had difficult relations particularly with the Gazankulu authorities and I think the history of it has made it difficult because it really has started as outside people who haven't made much effort to really get into the local community or to understand what's going on or to respond to local needs. The fact that Tlakeni started doing silk-screening was because there were two people who knew silk-screening and felt like

working here. So that history was difficult and when I look at other projects like Hlotlolanang or Ikageng, they started from much more of a community base and that's an advantage. It's always been outside people (up until the last few years) who've been employed here, who are running it and controlling it so there is still a perception that the local people that are employed here are not full participants and as much owners of it. But I think that perception is beginning to shift as people see the changes in the organisation. Also with the structural changes that we're going through that actually involve local people in the management of Akanani, I think that's beginning to shift it. Things like the winter school where local people are actually involved in running the thing again shifts perceptions, they are beginning to change. Also with political changes we're beginning to open up better relations with say tribal authorities and now with the new administration in Gazankulu there are possibilities of more acceptability at Giyani level. Through development forums engaging with DBSA and IDT that is changing the government perspective. With the youth we've got quite good support and acceptability because we've been seen as linked with the liberation struggle and the youth league through the activities of individual members of staff. We've been seen as very much ANC-based which for the youth of the area has been a positive thing but for the authorities it's been a negative thing. So I think it's very varied. There are some projects where we've messed up like Tiakeni where they want us to be their mother and we don't want to be their mother. They think we should bale them out and we say we're not going to bale them out but at the same time we haven't provided them with effective business support services which we could have done. There are other projects where we've been more effective in providing support and they think we're great.

TSB: Why do you use such a lot of drama at Akanani?

MW: There are a number of reasons. We work mostly with the most impoverished parts of communities, we work mostly with women, the region has something like 65% of people who are functionally illiterate so we work mostly with the illiterate and if you want to start any form of education then you've got to say: "How are we going to do it?" You can't just stand up and lecture in the traditional sense so that's where we've always been looking at different forms of education, more creative forms of education and teaching. The crucial thing to me is confidence in education. I believe that all people have the potential to develop and what stops that development is the blocks that get in the way and a lot of that is lack of confidence. If we can develop people's confidence then that is a starting point where people actually start learning. In our methods of teaching we have to find some way to build people's confidence because unless a person is confident they are not going to engage with the process of learning, they are not going to struggle or grapple with the issues, they're not going to try and find solutions

themselves - they're not going to learn basically. Through engaging people in drama, games, exercises, a. small group discussions where they are given space to speak and be heard, that's all part of building confidence which is crucial. I think another reason we use drama is that it's enjoyable and that certain individuals at Akanani are particularly interested in it - they come from a drama background so they want to continue, so it's a mixture of practical and objective organisational reasons and individualistic reasons. But I think any effective organisation will combine the personal with the organisational and get a balance.

TSB: You are leaving now and going off to further your studies and work at the same time. When people ask you about Akanani, how will you explain it?

MW: A brief explanation of Akanani: Akanani is a non-government development organisation based in the far northern Transvaal which is one of the most impoverished regions in South Africa. We are working mostly with the most impoverished parts of that community, mostly with women. We are aiming to promote educational services that build self-reliance, that build democratic organisation. We see it as essential to address the causes of underdevelopment so we look beyond just a project level and we see a lot of the development we do as tools for building consciousness, for building organisation, for empowering people. As long as we can take people beyond just a project level to look at addressing other areas. The main programmes Akanani engages in are adult basic education which is mainly literacy work and training; we also have the infrastructure for planning work in the technical aid service, we do some agricultural support for agricultural projects we work with enterprise development trying to help village and co-operative enterprises mostly with training, business advice and hopefully in the future with financing. We have a Resources Centre which is used in assisting students with career guidance and additional studies, like Winter Schools. We engage in a lot of networking in all our areas of work. In literacy we network in the region and nationally. Also in the co-operative work and planning work. Akanani sees different levels of working: from a project level which is trying to develop models of effective development both in terms of the content and also in terms of the method of working. In literacy we are looking at effective literacy learning at the same time the effective empowerment of people: engagement with building the organisation, engagement in the community - that can be a model. That we can use as an example of how it can be done. Then there's the networking level which shares what has been learnt here and other places and also strengthens organisations through them being linked and having a common voice. Through networks there's a level of lobbying for space for development, for appropriate people-centred approaches to development. So we look at the project level, the networking level and the lobbying level. We are looking at linking project to local to regional to national issues. That's what Akanani is trying to be about. It's got its

weaknesses and problems but I think it's quite an exciting organisation, least it's struggling with many of the issues even if it's not finding all the answers. I've really enjoyed working here and I've learnt a lot and grown a lot. I hope I've contributed something and I hope it moves forward, I think it's got a lot of potential. We could spend hours nit-picking and pulling apart all the problems but the areas of conflict go with the creativity. If we had everything all sewn up it would probably be the end of Akanani. I think the changes we're going through at the moment are going to be essential for sustaining it into the future and helping it to grow not only in size but in effectiveness as it coheres.

TSB: Thank you very much.

Interview with Mike Abrams and Aboe Nayiluma

Mike Abrams and Aboe Nayiluma both work in the Twisisa Learning Project, the adult education division of Akanani. Mike Abrams is involved with organisational development and Aboe Nayiluma is involved with popular education. They are both primarily responsible for the use of drama at Akanani and thus are crucial people to interview. It was decided to interview them jointly as they work very closely together.

TSB: How did you come to be using theatre-for-development, popular education and drama to the extent that you do?

AN: When I joined Akanani popular education was not so "popular". It was still quite new, maybe Mike can explain how it came to that situation.

MA: The real route was that there was a job for co-ordinator and I 'd been to visit Akanani a few times and known Themba, Nomsa and Peter. They had advertised in the newspaper once but they hadn't got satisfactory replies so they agreed to suggest to a range of different people to apply for the job. So I applied for the job and said yes I'm interested in working here but I'm not interested in being a co-ordinator. What I'd like to do is popular education and drama. They said okay come and be a co-ordinator for a while and when we find somebody else, then you can do that. Nomsa had started that with the literacy group and people were interested in expanding the work . It hadn't gone very far by the time Aboe joined in 1991. I worked as co-ordinator until the end of 1990. I'd started doing a few things but it was very much talking to people and finding out what they were interested in and making contacts. It really got going in 1991.

TSB: Aboe, how did you become involved in Akanani? I believe that you went through a couple of processes before you were employed full-time.

AN: I first knew Akanani through some relatives but I started working here when the AIDS play was started. I was one of the only two people who attended the auditions and then we started doing the play even though in the beginning it was very slow. Then I went to Namibia to attend the popular theatre conference on how popular theatre can address community issues and problems. We divided ourselves into different groupings who were interested in dance, drama etc. Then we started surveys where we gathered information on how the people were living in the community and then we made role-plays out of that. They were role-plays that encouraged those communities because we invited them to come and watch. We then performed them for those communities and when they saw that those role-plays were about their problems then they got involved in discussions about how to address those issues. When we left then some people had all the issues that

were raised written down and they said that they were going to address them. I went to Namibia on contract for Akanani and then came back and did the Organisational Workshop (OW).

TSB: I've seen the drama piece from the OW. On the tape it's called "Animation". Can you tell me what that drama was about?

AN: It was about the whole philosophy behind the organisational workshop, about how organisations develop and the kinds of problems organisations are likely to face. The OW was an enterprise - people work and produce something and then they get paid. When we did the play we based it on the book by that Brazilian man - de Morais - about the theory behind the OW. He was addressing the economy and how it works and how it developed from the very early stages up to where we are. In the very early stages there were the hunter-gatherers then it develops through time to the co-ops and mechanised industries.

MA: The play explained the theory behind the development of divisions of labour because in the enterprise the people took a division of labour and so it's obviously critical to the whole running of the enterprise. There were also some interesting bits about the bad habits that we bring from our life styles, our backgrounds and our culture into organisations and what effect that has on the organisation.

TSB: You seem to use the terms popular theatre, community theatre and theatre-for-development quite interchangeably. What would you see as the difference between those three terms?

AN: From my experience of the places where those issues were raised then I think people are doing the same thing. We are just doing, we're not really thinking of what to name the process.

MA: We're doing all three. Someone would describe "Romeo and Juliet" as community theatre, somebody else as theatre in education, somebody else as popular theatre - I think they're just different sides of the same thing. We went to Zimbabwe about two years ago on an exchange and there was a long debate about whether resistance theatre is dead or not. It changes and depends on where a community is, what are the interests, what are the issues. We haven't spent lots of time here debating and that's been one of our issues with the organisations from the urban areas. They're very busy debating those issues while we're too busy doing. We're doing theatre where we try to use it to educate people and to build confidence, to empower people, to address issues, to get people to think about issues and to have the confidence to stand up in front of an audience and do whatever they're going to do.

AN: We also use it as a mirror of learning. To give you an example when I did training for the Lemana SRC then they were going to meet the

council so they needed training in how best they can deal with that situation. So we made role-plays about that meeting and what might come out and strategising about how they would address various problems raised in the role-play when they pop up in the real meeting. So here is where theatre and creative methods of doing things are used.

MA: That reminded me that maybe because we haven't spent time among ourselves or other people in the north debating what kind of -- theatre or drama we do, it's also made it easier for us to use it in a whole range of different situations. In the way that people debate it there's a definite break between community theatre and organisational development. They don't fit easily together. We haven't boxed them like that so there isn't a problem - they seem to flow into whatever kind of work that we do.

TSB: In other places there seems to be a divide between organisations doing theatre-for-development and development organisations. Why is it that at Akanani these two are used together? What is it about Akanani that is special that allows that unusual combination?

AN: I think it's because we are here.

MA: I think it's because we keep on doing it, no matter what obstacle we kept on pumping it out and doing it and facilitating it.

AN: In the process people really felt the effectiveness 'cos in other places they think these are children's activities but we have been very consistent in doing those activities like singing and dancing and showing their effectiveness. Through lowering their resistance we've managed to filter through and get them to acknowledge the effectiveness.

TSB: I find it very interesting that although you haven't talked about this, you seem to have a common strategy. The two of you seem to be working on it in the same way.

MA: We've talked a lot about how to go forward. Often around a particular organisational project there's a lot of joint planning and working together. We haven't really sat and reflected on it together like now. We haven't said what have we done over the last two or three years or what is this thing we're creating at Akanani and its unusualness. It's grown all over the place. In the last year its grown from trips to Brazil, to the Waterfront at Cape Town, to AIDS plays. So we haven't sat down and reflected but we have strategised together.

TSB: Tell me about going to the Waterfront in Cape Town.

MA: The Young People's Theatre Education Trust in Cape Town were initiating that. They were interested in people from up here going down

to perform there. The Victoria and Alfred Waterfront were keen to have people plus things from the co-ops at the amphitheatre there. I think the idea was that we bring the groups and they pay for transport and accommodation but due to a communication misunderstanding it didn't work this year but it's going to work next year. So that's like a busload of dancers and people from the co-ops going down to Cape Town for a week-end of performances. So I don't know if that's theatre-for-development or community theatre.

TSB: I'd like to ask you some questions about the videos I've been watching. For instance the two plays done by the women from the Elim market. Firstly, how did it come about that they did a play about their history? And secondly what happened with the play about the nurses and how the market women are treated by the nurses?

MA: I'll do the market one because that started in 1989. It started out with Nomsa who attended a popular education workshop given by some people from the Dorris Marshall Institute in Canada at HAP. I visited here soon afterwards and Nomsa was working in the market with the women and literacy. She wanted to collect their history as a project for the group so she did a whole lot of interviews and then she typed out the interviews. When I was visiting I had a look at the interviews and we thought it could be a very nice play. So we made a play first as an experiment. Nomsa, Themba and I did a play on Nomsa's difficulty on writing her exams at UniVen after her release from detention. Nomsa took a whole of notes of methods on how to do popular theatre or community theatre. I went back to Cape Town and she produced the play on the market and that was produced for International Literacy Day in 1989. It was a celebration in Johannesburg for the Transvaal region. It was the early days of the National Literacy Co-operation. So people went from here to Johannesburg to perform that play. It was performed a lot after that at the market and at the bi-annual Hluvukani literacy festivals. Then people started getting tired of the play and said the market women must get other plays because they were coming back three or four times with the same play. So they did that, they made other plays.

AN: The play about the labour ward at the hospital and the problems with the nurses. Last year we had Thursdays as our cultural days with the Elim Market cultural group. Each time we had different topics to address. We would maybe say let's look around us and see what's happening or maybe we'd just have a song or a question that someone would ask and then we'd discuss those issues. It might be something someone had seen during the week or some issue that is affecting the community. Out of those discussions we'd say let's look at how that really happens and then people act those things out and thereafter sit down and discuss them - why do those things happen and how can we address them. I think that with that play there were some proposals

about how to address the problem. So it was a weekly event and most of the subjects came up from the group and then we'd try to analyse it. Sometimes we discussed AIDS, domestic violence and such things.

TSB: At the end of the labour ward play there was a suggestion to go and show the play to the nurses which was met with a lot of resistance. Unfortunately the video ended there, what happened?

AN: They didn't go. They elected a delegation to go and request a meeting with the nurses but they didn't go. When we met the following week and asked for a report-back then they said they didn't go. There was quite a lot of resistance because of the attitude of the hospital. These are market women and the nurses have a different class, they have a position and at that time they didn't have that confidence but now maybe some can do it.

TSB: So in terms of being a piece of theatre-for-development where the aim is social change and empowerment, the fact that they didn't go and take it to the people who were at issue, does that make a failure of it?

AN: I don't think taking that play to the nurses was the main aim but the aim was to sit down and reflect on that type of situation. It might have been a tactic to take the play to the nurses but the fact that the issue has come out and been dealt with meant it has raised consciousness and built people's understanding about what is actually happening so people get aware - it's like opening people's eyes. So in those terms it wasn't a failure.

MA: I would say that what we were doing at that phase was building the leadership of the market and I think people have taken a lot of leadership through the literacy and the cultural afternoons and plays. So when I think of development I think of it building leadership. I think we must be careful not to try and romanticise something: the market women find it difficult to go and confront those nurses because there's a class difference and you can't wish it away easily. So if people can realise and see where the limits are and build that consciousness then that's the sense of that play. The other thing about that play is that lots and lots and lots of people watched us because we had it in this little room in the market and everybody would crowd around as they moved through the market. I think it helped to popularise the whole idea of drama and a lot of youth came and joined. It also made another kind of space because it was very definitely a progressive thing. We were toyi-toying and singing ANC songs and ANC slogans. It was also a progressive space out in the open in Elim. I remember one time that we ended but everyone was so hot from dancing that we went out into the market and we were toyi-toying in the market which is a very unusual thing. The market women have done other things along with that to help

create the space like having a picket for literacy, they've had AIDS plays out in [illegible]pen, they've had a festival out in the open.

TSB: When I was speaking to Mike yesterday he suggested that one of the reasons why Akanani as a group had accepted theatre-for-development and popular education so easily - apart from the function of your two personalities - was that you are in a rural area. Do you think that is true? Do you think theatre-for-development is particularly suited to rural [illegible]?

AN: Yes, if we compare the rural areas with the urban areas then the rural areas are less-resourced, people don't have a lot of things they can use. So this methodology was so successful here because in the first place it's very cheap and secondly because people in the rural areas still have their culture which is still very strong. Theatre is part of human nature and in the urban areas it is very much commercialised but in the rural areas people have got time to sit and to listen. If we compare urban and rural areas, in rural areas people have the time to sit and discuss together.

TSB: In the urban areas that is normally the argument used against using theatre-for-development: it takes too much time.

AN: And on the money side of it, here it's free but most of the groups in the urban areas do it for money.

MA: I think in the rural areas the community cultural practices, where the community gets together and does cultural things, are still widespread and there's a cohesion that there sometimes isn't in the urban areas. I also find people are freer, it's so much easier with games, you don't even have to warm people up or anything. You just say let's take a character and make a role play and people get into that quite easily. Once you've got over that first thing when people are reserved then people take to it very easily.

TSB: You've been talking about the drama days that the Elim market group has had you tell me more about that?

MA: The Market Lab has been running training workshops in the literacy groups here. There was a start with that with the Elim group and then there were requests from other groups but then we shifted our strategy into training the tutors into doing that because it would be very difficult to run parallel processes of literacy groups and drama groups. It was also not well-integrated into the literacy method so it would start taking people away from the literacy into the drama . It also made confusions, because if this and this days are literacy then which days are drama days because it was being set aside as a separate thing. So we shifted and tried to teach the tutors to use popular education as a method of which

drama in education is a part. It also increased the number of people who were doing the drama. The market women's play that they took to the Literacy Festival first in Johannesburg and then to the first regional one for the northern Transvaal, at the regional one there were very few dramas, maybe three dramas and the rest were all different forms of dance or choirs and then at the Festival last year in April they were almost entirely dramas. People had picked it up from the other areas and so it's spread in that kind of way. We should be doing training sometime this year for the regional literacy association for popular educators for their teachers to use them to spread out into other projects.

TSB: I was watching a video called literacy training which seemed to have either groups of learners or tutors performing all kinds of things: some did a dance, some were singing, some did a play. What was that about ?

AN: That was from a popular education workshop with the co-ordinators of various other organisations and projects like the co-ordinator of Pfananani and the one from SEPROF (Sekhuniland Education Projects Forum).

MA: That raises another issue. You were asking why the method of popular education has become more accepted at Akanani and I think it's also because we've run a lot of workshops. That's created its own cycle, both of other people asking for more workshops and also gaining acceptance for Akanani that we're doing training. I think those workshops have helped a lot.

TSB: We talked earlier about the trip you did to Namibia and I'd like to ask you about the trip to Australia and the feedback you've had from the person who went.

AN: She wants to go to Brazil so she obviously enjoyed herself. What I heard was that there were lots and lots of things going on. There were groups from all over the world. Even though at times they did have a chance to sit down and discuss what was going on and talk about it, the workshop was very busy.

TSB: Did she bring back any documentation?

AN: She has written a report which she'll be sending to us soon.

MA: What happened to the post conference 'cos I was saying that USAID dropped us. Is that true, 'cos I don't want to smear their name if it's not true?

AN: You can't be so sure with USAID. When I checked with Kentse Makgae she said the other people had not yet sent their reports and that might be why Kentse is delaying the workshop.

TSB: While we're on outside events can you think of as many theatre-for-development or drama in adult education groups as possible? I'm trying to find other organisations that use theatre-for-development or drama in adult education specifically.

MA: "Action Workshop" in Cape Town; Jonathan Muthige at CAP (Community Arts Project) in Cape Town; New Africa in Cape Town.

AN: They're all in Cape Town, for a change try PPHCN (Progressive Primary Health Care Network) in Pietersburg; they were the ones who first started doing the AIDS drama and they've now got a group doing AIDS education using drama.

MA: Culture and Working Life in Durban have got a course for training educators, in fact the outline is in that box and they're using it quite extensively and the people who are helping to run that are at the University of Natal's Adult Education Unit: Astrid von Kotze etc. The Soyikwa Africa Theatre Institute is doing training of people in theatre-for-development. Also Mangwere and the Young People's Education Theatre Trust. I can't think of others.

TSB: It shows how unusual Akanani is. How many of those you've named are in a rural area and how many are development organisations? None, that makes Akanani very special.

AN and MA: Yeah!!

TSB: Mike mentioned to me last night that you've started to use drama as a reflective tool in organisational development. Can you elaborate on that please?

AN: What I was saying about Lemana a while ago about how the participants sat down and dramatised and role-played the very situation they were going to meet. We said let's have the SRC and the Council with the way they will act and behave and their attitude and let's meet and discuss the very thing we're going to discuss. So when they sat down, the role-play was about the meeting. An interesting thing is that they tend to forget that they are students in the role-play and they behaved just like the council and when they went to the meeting it was just like the role-play and by then they had their strategies - okay if this happens, then this is what we're going to do. So that is how we're using it.

MA: I think we've used it also to make people think about themselves. In the leadership training workshops and we're in small groups discussing different things about the qualities of a leader, we can make a drama about that. We can use a drama to reflect the discussion. Another way that we've used it with one of the organisations is that if you're trying to surface the problems in an organisation then drama is a good way to surface it. Often it comes unconsciously, it just pops up and the group's caught with the knowledge, it can't escape out of the group so now people can't deny I don't do that in the organisation or I don't behave like that. It comes out in a non-threatening way often among a lot of humour. So in the early stages we did quite a lot of that we've used it in a way instead of small group discussion which a lot of people use in OD. We use drawing with them quite a lot too - draw your organisation, what does it look like, how do you see it, drawing it at different stages of the process.

TSB: I'm interested to hear about your connections with the Theatre-for-Development Network. The Annual Report claims that you network with them - what do you actually do with them?

AN: You see the whole idea of networking came up at the Namibian conference. What we saw ourselves as trying to do was how best can we as theatre activists share our skills. One thing about the people in those groups, most of them are not from the development field, they are trainers so the whole idea of sharing skills was the issue going to be addressed.

TSB: So in fact the Theatre-for-Development Network grew out of the Namibian conference?

AN: Yes. It didn't exist before that.

MA: I think it also grew out of Aboe's perseverance.

TSB: So what do you do with them now on a practical level?

AN: Have you watched the video of the Venda conference? The Network grew into that.

MA: I think also the Market Theatre Laboratory has helped us in the training programme that's another part of the networking. The Australian trip as well brought us together and around that there was a lot of contact. I think it needs to be said that you need to wake people up if you want them to network from an urban to a rural area. Someone said to me the other day in Johannesburg that Akanani has been largely responsible for creating a rural consciousness among Jo'burg NGOs and there's a need for such a rural consciousness because Soyikwa has been to Chakuma there's some kind of link there - they've had some festivals

and they've sent some groups there but that's not a formal part of this network. But outside of that, little has happened. One group from Zimbabwe with Mike Manane came here but other than that there's been very little coming this way.

AN: Last week we had the Market Theatre Laboratory with "Julius Caesar".

MA: I think the Market Lab have been the most consistent to us over the last eight months or so.

AN: Two groups have attended there at the Market Theatre Festival.

TSB: If we can move from that very wide, macro level to a very micro level; how do you go about preparing a "lesson" using theatre-for-development?

AN: Let me give you an example of doing the preparation for the work at Lemana. You see as the facilitator of a process and as a trainer you've got a direction. You can't just go and say okay we'll do this - you've got some ideas in terms of the end-product and that vision of what you want to achieve out of that training so there is an art of mapping out what you are going to do. You can lead - okay after introductions this is what we want to do, we're going to do some reviews, what do I want to achieve out of the reviews and after the reviews think what will be in the people's minds. Maybe some people will be wondering what is actually happening, then you do some input and thereafter perhaps you can gauge okay at this stage people are feeling this way and then you can do some role-plays. And thereafter you can reflect and say let's see what we have learnt so far. That's the basic art.

TSB: It sounds to me like you need to know the people that you're working with very well because you keep on saying you've got to gauge where the people are and gauge what's going on in people's minds. Surely you can only do that with people that you know well?

AN: That's why if it's people that you don't know then you are very likely to change your programme and to keep on adjusting so it has to be very flexible. It depends on that art.

TSB: How do you plan if it's got to be flexible?

MA: Well one of the things is that we don't give people programmes because they build up a whole set of expectations and it's very difficult to change a programme. You know when you're facilitating and training something pops up in a group or organisation then that's the time to deal with that thing - then. If you're using drama and something grows at that time then you don't want to say that was that learning and now

we're on to something else so forget about that. Maybe it's undemocratic but it's quite difficult in a democratic situation if you want to change the programme to start negotiating with people, it can take you two hours to come up with something that is the complete opposite of the workshop and then you can really have a problem. There have been problems with that approach. Some people attending our workshops don't like that approach - maybe they like the security and need to know exactly what to expect. But we've got clear subjects and goals and people are clear what they are going to learn in the workshop. I think the other thing is that our workshops are developing - they are not open courses. We did go through that in 1990 and then we shifted strategy. Before when we had a management course then anyone could come for management it's rather directed within a group like popular education for tutors so it's not training for something, it's training to make that organisational process stronger . Aboe did a whole lot of training with these guys who were trying to start the building workers co-op, the Hetasani building co-operative. So it was training and using popular education to strengthen their organisational process. Similarly with some of the OD work that we do it's fitting into a particular goal. That's what I pick up when you say that we need to know who the people are. The way that we do that is because we drive long distances we use a lot of that time to do planning and sharing our understanding of where we think that group is at. Another thing we do is split the tasks so maybe for popular education we have a general sense of where we're going to because we're on our second course and then we'll split: okay it's your chance to do the programme and it's my turn to organise the food, the transport and the logistics of the workshop. So we'll share it like that and whoever has got the task of the content needs to go and reflect and see where we ended up last time and how does it fit into our overall process of where we're trying to go to and come up with a workshop design.

TSB: I'm very interested that you said you need to be both a facilitator and a trainer, what do you see as being different about those two?

MA: We're back to the community theatre debate.

AN: Someone was just saying at lunch that we don't train tutors, we educate them.

MA: Okay, I'm facilitating the trip to Brazil as well as sometimes making processes happen in staff meetings or in other types of meetings. I think if you check when we have meetings with the tutors and the co-ordinators then Aboe and I facilitate differently to the other co-ordinators. Training is teaching someone a skill and you can use facilitation as one of the methods to teach them. So I think when you do an OD process, I think this is what's happened with one of the organisations that we're working with, we're facilitating a whole lot of processes for them: maybe

it's connection to a HAP training course, or helping them with their funding document. So we're facilitating funding for them and helping them along but now we've noticed that accountability and management structures and goals are weak so later on this week we're having a training workshop which probably means we'll facilitate the training in that particular skill. That's how I would make that division.

TSB: One of the papers I came across in that box was a course on a Propertyless Theatre for a Propertyless Class, can you tell me about that?

MA: We didn't do that. I know the history of that concept but that doesn't help.

AN: The last time we discussed the whole methodology of popular education we gave the example of the Elim Market where the people just come together and make a play without any properties. That is where the whole issue of the urban/rural thing comes in because on this side the AIDS play doesn't use a lot of props.

MA: I think "Julius Caesar" from the Market Lab is a good example of that. Julius Caesar came in with a lot of props and a whole combi full of equipment. They couldn't come by taxi. Similarly with the voter education play, they had a lot of props - to bring them up here for one performance cost R2000. One of the things that fed into my understanding of theatre and drama was the Durban Cultural Local of COSATU that started in 1984. They plugged into this European idea of a propertyless theatre for a propertyless class - it's only using their bodies. We've picked up on that idea because, as Aboe said, of the environment we're in. That's one of the nice things about Lemana's "Julius Caesar"- they've made it their own. They need to be subsidised to produce a production like that but the subsidy is very small. That document you found, now maybe when I first came here they didn't have anything defined for what I was going to do when I stopped being co-ordinator and I went through a whole number of papers for the collective so we could come to some agreement about what is this thing we're trying to build. So maybe it was related to that.

TSB: Between the two of you can you identify the various ways in which you have used drama like you've used it with the Lemana SRC and the Elim Market women and the AIDS play, where else?

MA: We've used it with building confidence in a young group of women in this village, the Shirley Young Pioneers and in the literacy plays and in our literacy work generally. We used it in the organisational workshop and we've taught it at Giyani College of Education.

TSB: What are you actually doing at Giyani College of Education?

MA: I think we're doing a lot of things. I think the bigger goal is actually to get teachers to use it in their teaching practice. The smaller goal is we're teaching a course to third year drama students this year. Last year we taught final, fourth year students around using theatre in the development process but in a very wide sense of development.

AN: The reason we are teaching the third years this year is they needed the time to practice the skills.

MA: It's also the idea of being someone who acts on the situation and in order to be someone who acts on the situation you need to have certain tools. So we also did like listening skills with people because if you're going to act on a situation using that method then you need to listen very carefully to what the community is perceiving to be their problems and needs. There is also a need to make teachers aware that in the community they are actors and they are facilitators of processes. Also to help them link with development, what does underdevelopment mean, how can drama help and assist with the process.

AN: Still on the question of how we use the drama. We used it in the VAT general strike at the OK Bazaars.

MA: You know there were people working on the hill here and there were Akanani staff and there was this issue of do we close for the stayaway protesting VAT and the full-time staff at Akanani decided to close but we wanted to explain to the people working on the hill why we weren't going to work that day so we made a play about VAT. I think that play was one of the better things that we did because in a strange way we had this confrontation between pro-VAT strikers and anti-VAT strikers and people got into it and started chasing one another around and it started getting a bit serious as people got into their roles. I think people were acting out fears about Inkatha/ANC conflicts and how they actually build up and people were experimenting with how they build up and where they go to and things like that.

AN: People were chasing one another around the hall and throwing stones! We also used it on Mayday to show the relationship between the boss and the worker and how they shifted as situations become more complex in South Africa.

MA: The relationships of the bosses have become more violent but in a sinister type of way, it's not overt violence. We used it when we trained Hetasani, one of the building workers co-ops. We used it in a management and fundraising workshop in 1990. We dramatised the whole funding process. We started off the training side doing open training courses where anyone from any organisation could apply but then it was such a diverse group and follow-up and support for organisational processes were difficult so we only ran two of them. So

we had two one-week courses and then we decided we should shift into focusing on specific organisations so the thing we did immediately after that was a project evaluation for one organisation. In 1990 we ran workshops at Ikageng, a study project, training people in how do you make a popular theatre when you go and make your research first of all around a topic in the village and then come back, put it together and identify the issues, then put on a play and then lead all the villagers in a reflection process around the play. We've done "Romeo and Juliet" and "Julius Caesar" and a lot of festivals, at Messina, at the Phalaborwa Children's festival and at literacy festivals. I think in the last three years there have been about 12 festivals. At a festival anyone who wants to come, comes with their act from their particular drama group. We network through FOSACA and perform. There's choirs, dance, poetry, drama etc. Sometimes there's a lot of items. At the one at the Elim Market there were about 8 hours of open-air festival. We've used drama at different times within Akanani. There was an exchange programme with some Mozambicans and they came here and we spent one night together and we split - one group was on South Africa and one was on Mozambique and we just talked and than just a way of sharing the experiences we did some drama as the report backs.

AN: Actually it started because the question was raised of what's happening in Mozambique and so they asked what's happening in South Africa. We decided that instead of sitting down and discussing what is happening, let's do role-plays. Questions were asked like how do we treat people from Mozambique here, so we split into two groups to discuss all these issues and to answer all those questions and then did the report-backs in the form of role-plays.

TSB: So I saw the report-back on what is happening in Mozambique because there were a whole of things about Frelimo and giving money and about Renamo.

MA: We've done a scripted history play about the rebellion in Venda in the early parts of 1990. We didn't finish it because the man who scripted it disappeared - that's the only scripted thing we've done besides "Romeo and Juliet" and "Julius Caesar".

AN: There was the trip to Botswana. We did a play on co-operatives and how they develop, function and work and the problems they encounter. How workers come together to form co-operatives. We were invited last June to attend CORDE, the cultural organisation's, cultural day and most of the groups brought plays that were educational so we chose co-operatives.

MA: Wasn't it also International culture day? Weren't people also trying to get that going? While we are talking it's occurred to me that there are two things at the root of some of these things. The one thing at the

roots of the trips and exchanges is that when I came in 1990 I worked with a group of youth from this village and a group of youth who had a drama club at a high school in Waterval and one of the things I was getting from them was that they just wanted to jol with this drama. They wanted to use it and go with it but they wanted to move around, to perform, to see other places, to meet other people, to go on a jol with it. Then in working with the union those were also the feelings they expressed and that's one of the reasons why the group has lasted -- because the group has jolled to Durban and Johannesburg and Zimbabwe and all sorts of places on holidays and performances and festivals. So that's one of the roots that this has grown from, just that exposure and moving around. The other thing I learnt in the unions is don't talk too much about culture, just do it. In the beginning in the unions when the COSATU cultural structure started I was very much surprised that we never used to have long debates. I come from an intellectual tradition of long debates and nobody used to debate anything, they just used to perform. There was a lot of debating going on because there was a lot of sharing and some of those festivals used to be 12 hours long and you were together with people from all over the country for quite a long time and you don't sit and watch for 12 hours so there was a lot of talking going on. They always made sure when we went to those COSATU festivals there was always a canteen so there was a lot of buzzing and sharing and talking about methods and things like that. It was never formalised in debate or discussion or paper presentations which is a useful thing, but we haven't done a lot of that debating the intellectual side of it here.

TSB: That Venda conference seemed to be touching on some of those things.

MA: Those people are from the city and in the city they love to debate those things - blah, blah, blah, blah. But I think it has been one of our difficulties with theatre, you know our relationship to the city. That debate all the time and we don't seem to be debating those issues. In the city there is a lot of debate, it's intense, there's a lot of ideas being thrown around but at the end of the day I don't feel we're in any way behind them, that somehow we lost out because we didn't engage with it - I don't feel that. Maybe if people came here more regularly and worked but that might be because I'm arrogant. It's also because people coming here are very positive about what they are learning and seeing but there's not lots of that. The other thing we've got is this exchange which I think is a first in South Africa - an urban-rural exchange. As a deliberate thing we say we want people to come here with community theatre skills from an urban area to come and share that here. Also to take whatever we're doing back to wherever they return to. We've got somebody coming in August from the Zimbabwe Association of Community Theatre (ZACT) and somebody from the Alex Arts Centre to spend four months here and then they return to their communities. What

happens after that is a bit open-ended but we'll see how it goes and we'll have to be flexible. We've never done it before so we'll take it from there. It's also being sponsored by an apartheid cultural institution - the Foundation for Creative Arts. The other thing we haven't covered is the map because as a unified region there have been rural demands coming forward in a serious way and some of that's been through Aboe with Aboe organising conferences and some of it's been through me and some of it's been through everybody participating especially in the working-groups. Issues around urban, rural, race and class were raised in that process. We had a delegation that could have turned Aboe grey in organising that. We had seventy people in the delegation and on a national level I think there was a very strong rural presence there and that was a very good thing.

TSB: So Mike how did you come to popular education and theatre-for-development?

MA: The truth is I went to a UDF jol where they had bands playing in Athlone and my friend Marlene was there and we were chatting. I was sonder a job o: anything to do and she said we're doing this play for the million signature campaign for the UDF, you know lots about history come and join us. I didn't know anything about drama although my life's been dramatic. So I went off and joined them. Growing out of that, four people established Action workshop and that's when I started to learn about it. There were three people out of the four who were skilled: Jeremy Cronin the poet and Andrea Fine who was an actress and Marlene who was a very skilled director. We learnt as we went along, made workshops up and we did a lot of work in organisations building cultural wings of organisations in the Western Cape, building a whole buzz within the UDF organisations in the Western Cape. So that's how I got there.

TSB: And you Aboe?

AN: I started doing drama while I was still at school but when I joined Akanani we started looking at how can that be used in development.

TSB: So neither of you have got any formal training in drama?

MA: No and we're quite happy about that. I think also for me one of the things about drama here in the northern Transvaal is people like improvised drama - I've also experienced that in working class communities. It's very easy, it's like that Brecht poem you were copying today - drama happens everywhere on the street corners. Sure there's a lot of training and debates and discussions that happen around improvisations but we didn't want to capture that method and start to box it and say this is the northern Transvaal rural method and you can study for three years and get a degree in it. We'd be killing the process.

I think we're products of a process and we're helping to keep the process going.

TSB: But what about encouraging other adult educators more broadly to use it as a method. Certainly in my experience of adult education training the use of drama is given minimal time. How can you encourage people to use it, taking the point that you don't want to box it and give it as a degree? I mean ultimately that's my main research question.

MA: That's a difficult question. To encourage people to use drama we need to raise awareness.

AN: But it's funny, the media is using it quite a lot, you see how they dramatise all of these things.

TSB: But people don't think they can do what's on TV and they don't see that what they are seeing on TV has got a place in an educational setting. The problem seems to be that education and drama are very divorced.

MA: I think it's also that adult educators are not creative. I think that the one thing about Aboe and I that's not coming out when we say our backgrounds is that both Aboe and I are creative people. A lot of the work that we've done, we've created new methods as we've gone along. It's not like we've had books from CACE and books from ERIP, we've thought it out. If it was his chance then he's come with a method. We've had support from methods that we learnt on a course we did at CDRA - Community Development Resource Agency in Cape Town which is about facilitation and group leadership - I think that's helped. I think that we're creative people and that spark of creativity lives inside us and that's why I said you can't box it or make it as a degree because it's something that your own creativity has unlocked and you're busy with your own creativity and then you introduce it into your work. I think there are quite a few different people at Akanani who do that. So I think the issue is not to teach adult educators these methods but it's to unlock people's own creativity. With the popular education with the tutors we could have said after nine days of training you now know the method and can use these techniques but we've kept up the process of workshops 'cos we've got to build people's creativity. That's really the issue: linking education and creativity. How that could happen at a place like UCT I have no idea because that's the complete opposite of creativity. That's the university that I know better so I don't want to say anything about any other university. I think there needs to be a whole change in universities. When we tried in a course in 1985 - a "Women and Emancipation" course for third year sociology students - to introduce drama then the whole department came down on us - that's not a teaching method we use here. We're challenging people's power, the lecturer suddenly has to get creative when the lecturer has been reading

the same lecture notes year after year because once you've got tenure you're there. I think the only way to get that right is to put it in the constitution - the constitutional right to have creative education at school - because if it's not a constitutional right then it gets bargained off against a whole lot of other rights and it comes really low down on the education scale. I think all education needs to be creative for it to be successful. But how we convince other people, I don't know. I think we're getting a reputation and I think your study is going to help with the reputation.

TSB: I must say that every time I've worked with adult educators and I always use drama, they've taken to it like ducks to water and thoroughly enjoyed themselves and really learnt a lot so they are not anti-drama, they are just not aware. In other kinds of educational training it's completely absent.

MA: I don't know how a facilitator can facilitate a course without anything creative in it. A wonderful person came and gave us a course in supervision but for five days she stood and talked to us. At minimum most of us lost 30 - 40% of that workshop because we were bored because it's difficult to concentrate for five days in a row deeply examining the nature of your organisation. I don't understand how people don't see the need to have something creative.

TSB: Thank you for all your input but I can see you're both really tired.

MA: Ya, we're working hard but it's flowering now in all sorts of directions. I think you've got to be open to your own powers to change things. I think that's critical because it challenges your power as a teacher. If you're not prepared to experiment with the slogan: "Each one, teach one", then you're not prepared to be creative and so you can forget drama. In the union one of the things that happened was because people got into that thing to challenge then SADWU had many internal struggles. One of the struggles was that on a national level the drama people came together like a semi-cohesive caucus within the union to launch an attack for democracy, more worker control within the union. At one point in 1987 that only involved the people doing drama in the different regions of the union. So I think that power is very critical.

TSB: I think that power being taken away from them scares some educators.

MA: I think one of the problems I'm having with the "Julius Caesar" group is that this is the year of challenging Mike's power but we haven't worked out a constructive way for it to flow into the group. Last year we were all new and we were getting to know each other. This year the twins are much more confident than last year and they are also challenging the other stronger characters in the group, they also want to

be part of the leadership and give direction and so I think you've got to see it and then give the space for people to come forward and take control. That's my last thought for the night.

Interview with Astrid Wicht about the Organisational Workshop

Astrid Wicht is an architect in the Technical Aid Service division at Akanani. She played an integral role as a technical instructor in building in the Organisational Workshop. She was interviewed because it was felt that her perspective on the Organisational Workshop was necessary to understand that process better.

TSB: How did the idea for the Organisational Workshop start?

AW: OWs originated in South America with a guy named de Morais. I don't know who brought it to Southern Africa but Zimbabwean and Botswana co-operative organisations started running these OWs and Themba and Freddie from Akanani participated in an OW in Botswana about two or three years before we did ours. Themba was the main initiator around the whole initiative and we decided we would test the whole methodology here. The other issue was that the methodology had been developed in South America where the context, although similar, there are differences. The theories are based on the class stratifications in South America and the different characteristics of class consciousnesses. What we were hoping to do here in the first one to be run in South Africa was to see how we can begin to adapt the context and to match the methodology to the context and to see where there were dis-synchronisations and how we had to adapt it to our context in the northern Transvaal. So that's how it originated and then we also got assistance from other NGO people who had run or participated in OWs.

TSB: How did the actual process run?

AW: The actual six weeks? With an OW there are three sort of streams running parallel in a way. You've got the organisational development side which is the hypothetically, temporarily real experience. Then you have the theoretical aspect and then you have on-the-job work. So it's education with production and that's one of the OWs underlying aspects. We were looking particularly to engage people from the northern Transvaal from a range of projects - from co-operatives to unions to youth organisations to study projects - basically trying to invite all the people of the types of organisations that exist in the northern Transvaal. There were also people who were interested from Cape Town and Transkei who participated. We were going to offer in terms of vocational skills training: building, agriculture and welding. So those were the three focus areas. We had about 75 participants. So the day before the start everybody started rolling in and there was a massive logistical problem of accommodation and water which at that stage was even more tenuous than it is now. We had one toilet in the whole of Akanani and the washhouse was nearing completion - that was one of the logistical problems of pre-planning so we had to erect temporary showers and dig some pit toilets and stuff like that. So the first three days of the OW the

participants are fed and were hosted by Akanani. In those three days they are given an organisational problem: this is their work that Akanani is offering them. This is their work and there is payment for that work. Their task is to organise themselves into a suitable organisation which can then function for the balance of those six weeks. They negotiate around contracts and skills training and they get paid according to the work they've performed. So after the first three days they're basically on their own. Akanani doesn't supply them with food but they have their accommodation. So from breakfast on day three they've got to feed themselves so they've got to organise themselves in such a way that they can start earning. The people also decided which area they wanted to participate in - the building team was the largest, I think there were about 32, and we built Hetasani Hall. That whole agriculture area that you can see now was bush and trees except for a small part that Vicky was cultivating. It was unfenced so basically they started from scratch, clearing and erecting a fence and by the time they left they had grown a crop. The building was the building of Hetasani hall from scratch. We had cleared the site before hand so the site was ready for them to work on and the welding was all the welding required for the building and for the gates and things for the agriculture. They had to organise their own timetables, they had to elect their committees. They had to get their catering teams together. So their days were basically their own and the evenings was the theory side where the methodology was unfolded over the six-week period trying to link it to the South African context.

TSB: Where did the play fit in?

AW: The play was part of the theory. So because people were feeling that a lot of the concepts, like class concepts and labour power, because of the low level of literacy, it would be far easier to grasp them through drama. The play fitted into the theory that ran throughout the six weeks in the evenings. It was done as a whole and then different parts were repeated and highlighted at different points. It was in the middle of winter and it was down at the Rivoni house. Some people were staying in the garage there which we had fixed up and sealed and put bunk beds in. The kitchen was an old shed. That's where the meetings and the theory was.

TSB: Do you think it was a successful OW?

AW: Yes I think there were successful aspects to it. Part of organising an OW is the pre-work and then there's the follow-up work. So I think maybe where we weren't very successful in our pre-work was our thoroughness in briefing people. I think when people arrived here and after three days there wasn't any food then we had to look to emergency measures to get breakfast. I don't think people were quite clear about what the process was going to entail. I also think the idea was very

new. When people come for training they don't expect to pa their way for training so I think that was quite frustrating for participants at times, they got quite angry. I think it was successful in that apparently the phases of development that are characteristic of an OW process unfolded over the six weeks - like as a group you've got to cohere and then the power struggles start and all those phases - there were shifts in power and structures and so on. There were a lot of criticisms around the pre-preparation. I think on the logistical side the facilities here were not really adequate. On the one hand you've got the participants and on the other hand you've got the directorate which we challenged the terminology of. The directorate is the facilitators of the process, the organisers, those who have the skills base. In our directorate we had Themba and Hilary who was from Zimbabwe as the directors and then underneath that there were different technical staff for building, welding and agriculture. So if they were going to call on us for particular training we would be available through that period. There would be contract negotiation around a particular piece of work and inspecting, training and monitoring the development of the organisation itself. They called themselves Ratanang, hence Ratanang Resource Centre. Hetasani Hall arises because after the six-week process we were up to roof height and we wanted to move ahead and one of the goals out of that was to start a local building co-operative in the local area. We had about 15 builders from the local area who then decided it was their wish to go through the process of completing a building and they called themselves Hetasani, the building workers co-operative. I think the agricultural feasibility wasn't really assessed in terms of the input and the returns out of the first crop. There were some problems there like lack of technical capacity around agriculture. Welding was a very poor team. It was a very small team shot through with lumpent behaviour, with employeeism where you need to be supervised on the job and if you aren't supervised then you just sit around. I think the post-part was never followed up so it was supposed to be the first of a number of OWs that never happened. As participants in the broader network of OWs the participants and the directorate of the OW have to write reports and evaluate the whole system. So in terms of the impact on the organisations where the participants came from it's not clear whether the learning was adequate enough to transfer in their own organisations. To this day I don't think the documents are complete, the actual report writing. It's a very intense process and for six weeks we were operating from seven o'clock in the morning until midnight at least. Each day the directorate needs to assess how people go through observations, where are potential problems going to arise so one can be prepared for that. In other logistical terms the participants were given their own Akanani vehicle and they had to organise some of their own materials but the majority of materials were supplied. Part of their task was ferrying blocks for the building. So they were given access to a vehicle and administrative back-up and type-writers because they also had to keep books. So they had to develop an admin. department and keep account of the money.

They got issued tools in the beginning for the six week period and they were responsible for the storing and maintenance of the tools. So it's a real situation but condensed and packed into six weeks.

TSB: I wanted to ask you about what it says in the annual report: "Through the OW Akanani built its store of tools and equipment for which TAS organised a storage, loan and hire system." What does that mean?

AW: We call it a tool library because we've got a technical service and we assist with a lot of community building processes where communities don't have access to tools and the wealth of the organisation determines whether we loan to the organisation or hire out. Like the builders who are here presently, if they use Akanani tools it's on a hiring system. That system arises partly out of poor maintenance and people not being honest and the high turnover on tools. It's a very nominal rate but if tools do go missing or are broken then at least we are trying to build up a tool fund which can then replenish our tools. So for 32 builders and 15 agriculturists we had to put up a store for the equipment. The hire system is available to everyone.

TSB: In terms of the process of the OW, to what extent do you think that that is a form of theatre-for-development?

AW: It is, because for me theatre-for-development is experiential, and that was a direct experience of what it means to get an organisation together, to get it on its feet, to get it running, solve its problems, cope with all the power dynamics and there were wonderful scenes here with stand-up fights and people screaming and shouting at one another, to the wonderful times and hilarity of working together. After that they went back to their organisations and hopefully through that certain leadership skills and certain understandings of leadership, ways to organise, trying to develop a more conceptual consciousness around different issues - what makes people tick, peasant mentality as opposed to urban mentality. There was a big conflict between urban and rural with people coming in from the urban areas being quite arrogant. So there were conflicts. So it was a very long theatre. It's an amazing process but it's exhausting particularly being part of the organising side and constantly having to keep your eyes open and keep checking and being aware of what is unfolding and actually seeing people falling into the problems 'cos if we caught them before it wouldn't have been a learning experience. For the directorate it was also a great learning experience. I think the consolidation and follow-up and trying to re-think methodology and the appropriateness of such an exercise, we never really tackled.

TSB: That was the first time it was used in South Africa. Do you think as a result of your experiences here that it could be used either again here or elsewhere?

AW: After the first one in the following year we were supposed to have run four, at least according to our programme planning, not on such a large scale and based at other projects where they were needing particular spurts of input. We ran one mini one at Ikageng Community Centre in Sekhuni and that was also around building where they were building the first phase of their community centre but it was only for a part of it, it wasn't for the whole construction. I think it was a three-week process so it was much shorter, a smaller group and more focused on one area of vocational skills. And then it just slid away and never happened. The question keeps on popping up at evaluations: well what happened to the OWs? That was in June 1991, in 1992 we were supposed to run 4 and we ran one mini-one, and in 1993 it didn't come back onto the programme planning agenda. The pre-preparation is quite extensive if you really want to be organised. Also in terms of pre-planning, part of the problem was that the people who had been on the OWs had an idea of what it was but for the new team who formed part of the directorate the whole thing unfolded as the days went by. So I think in terms of briefings then the input wasn't that great. We could have been sharper, we could have been better organised. It was a success but I don't know whether any of the participants would be equipped to run an OW which was one of the objectives. That you'll get from Themba's documents. There you'll see all the objectives in each area. I think it's a very vital way of learning and it's a pity we don't try and organise it again. I think my learnings out of it was that it gives you a broad overview of the problems in organising organisations and the characteristics of different organisations, classes, cultures and structures which can then filter into your ongoing work. Not necessarily a structured OW but a more fluid OW in a way where one sets up problems for an organisation to go through and experience and then to be able to learn from that experience. There is a video of part of the process but it hasn't been edited yet, there are about 12 tapes of footage. I remember like entering into this tunnel and for six weeks all we did was focus on this thing and at the same time one was producing drawings and technical information as well as doing the organisational side and solving problems and disputes and doing contract negotiations and inspections and so on and so on.

TSB: Thank you.

Interview with Themba Mavimbela

Themba Mavimbela is the new co-ordinator of Akanani but he has been workig in the co-operatives section since 1986. He has been the initiator of many new developments at Akanani including the focus on the development of local black people and women in Akanani, and the use of the Organisational Workshop. For these reasons it was felt that he was a central person to interview.

TSB: When did you come to Akanani?

TM: I first joined Akanani at the end of 1986 but I formally started working here in March of 1987. In the past I was working with an organisation called Shade (Self Help Association for Development Economics) for four or five years. I was working there being involved in marketing and co-operative support, particularly to industrial co-operatives, assisting them in designing and in the operation of industrial sewing machines and training and also in marketing in import and export processes.

TSB: When you came to Akanani, what did you come to do?

TM: I applied for a job to be education officer in the co-operative section, particularly to make the section on enterprise development and run that programme and to be able to give support to the existing co-operatives and also see to the training needs of the co-operatives and to design further programmes that will assist the initiative of emerging co-operatives and also evaluating the existing co-operatives.

TSB: Now you've moved into the co-ordinator's position, how did that happen?

TM: It's happened over the years of working for Akanani and also years of acquiring experience and knowledge in the field that I'm involved in. It has involved seeing Akanani changing, being very instrumental in putting forward the ideas and suggestions and looking at how Akanani could be re-structured as it is operating within the rural masses of the northern Transvaal and to fit Akanani into the broader constituency of the region. My work in that area involved setting up the programme and getting the people to understand the work that they are involved in, letting them understand the development approach that one is moving into and also informing people about the present debates around development issues in the country. That is the process that has led me to where I am today. It is also through the trust I have from the staff of steering change in the organisation and also giving support to our own black staff and generally giving support to the entire organisation in all of its fields of work. I have been particularly involved in understanding every aspect of the work that is taking place within Akanani around literacy, around the technical aid

service, around the administration, around training. I have a feel for what the organisation is all about and also being a person who has been involved politically has also assisted in making me who I am today. I have been the regional leader of the African National Congress for last year but I terminated my services because of what I was foreseeing becoming and also because I wanted to further my studies in development economics in England. I've just been back for seven weeks.

TSB: Do you think things will be different with you as co-ordinator as opposed to with Mark?

TM: I presume so. I don't know what expectations people have. Obviously on my side I do have expectations of change I have worked with Mark and more than anyone else in the organisation before coming to this area I was one of the people who recruited Mark to come to this area having worked with him in Johannesburg. I expect a lot to come from the staff themselves and I think they also expect a lot from me to offer to the organisation.

TSB: Are you originally from this area?

TM: No, I'm originally from Natal, Pietermaritzburg. I moved from Pietermaritzburg due to political uprising. I was working with the United Democratic Front. I left there in 1984 and went to Johannesburg but I was still working for that organisation I mentioned earlier, Shade. Mark was working in some of the same areas of marketing as I was, but not for Shade. He used to assist in setting up exhibitions, in driving and in contacting other areas. As we know in South Africa it is quite difficult to link with some of the white towns because of the conservatism existing in those towns and he assisted with that.

TSB: I have been very interested to hear about the OW and I would like to hear your experience of that.

TM: It is quite nice that I have been instrumental again in the field of co-operative development to see education in production reaching out to the broader constituency of our school-leavers and also to ensure that the youth are involved in training programmes that will empower them and produce some understanding among the youth in what field of careers can they be involved in. I got involved in the process of organisational workshops through networking with an organisation called CORDE (Co-operation Research and Development Education) in Botswana. I'd been working with them around co-operative development and through them I met this guy de Morais and got interested in the methodology and his thinking around training. I requested to be part of the training process he was going to be having in Botswana and in '89 I got that training with another staff member of Akanani as I saw the need for us to get involved

with that training. We participated and I found it a very useful tool. I took up the issue of holding the process. Although I was coming from the NGO having worked and been involved in co-operatives myself, I gained the experience of co-operative hardship. The process was the same length as ours - six weeks.

TSB: What was the focus of the Botswana OW?

TM: It was similar to ours although it was done within a co-operative not like here where it was done in a service or non-governmental organisation. In Botswana it was done within the co-operative itself where other co-operative members were coming together to be involved in the process. It was mainly to show the members of the co-operative the processes of change they could embark on in their programme and also to uplift and build the co-operative capacity to enter into the mainstream of the economy in Botswana. The co-operative was involved in atchaar production, had a bakery and was involved in literacy training for members, around the village was involved in agriculture and it was involved in building. This whole stream of projects that the co-operative was involved in were not really well co-ordinated and to actually co-ordinate those kinds of production activities it was necessary to use this kind of methodology to refine the different productivity networks running within the co-operative and also to ensure the viability of those entities. That led to the whole reshaping and reshuffling of the co-operative's nature, some areas of it did not succeed and had to close down because through the process we evaluated that they weren't that viable and we decided to close them down rather than to keep them. Doing the evaluation led me to see the potential of this kind of methodology. After that I came back to Akanani which was still ITSIDU then and I wrote a report on what I learnt, the experiences I gained. After discussing with the organisation here I put up the proposal that this is one method we could use firstly to take up the vision we are having within the co-operative sector and secondly to also look at how we build Akanani to what we have visualised it to be as a centre. That OW process involved education with production rather than employing people from outside to build the structures of Akanani. Thirdly was to see within the broader South African context how possible it was to get the methodology across. The methodology has been tested in Zimbabwe and Botswana and proved to be very successful and now we were going to test it in South Africa. I saw Akanani as the best venue to test the methodology. Unfortunately we have not been able to carry it forward because I have been running this section independently, alone for several years and there have been a number of requests for the methodology to be taken across to other parts of South Africa by people who participated in it . The documentation around it has not been done successfully, I think that's one of our weak points. We tried to do that in a video, all the lectures and processes are documented in terms of videos which could be translated into paperwork. I believe the methodology could still be

carried forward and that is one of our ambitions within Akanani. The process is still continuing in Zimbabwe and Botswana and now it's gone to Namibia who started using it after us. Namibian co-operatives have used it very extensively to develop the co-operative sector in Namibia after independence. In South Africa I got requests from the South African Development Trust which is a government structure to use the process on a land issue in northern Natal but then we needed to evaluate the process and see whether we could put the methodology across through government structures and in fact as Akanani we can't put the methodology across. We could inform them about the methodology but we put them in a tight situation where we say if you want us to do this in that area you must transfer the land that is going to be used in the exercise to the people but the government could not respond to that. That was a tight fix for the government. As I have learnt about the methodology we have people within Akanani like myself and others who are capable to take the methodology across. It has been a very powerful tool to change Akanani, it has also fed into the period of change we are going through in Akanani - the methodology has helped in that process.

TSB: To what extent do you think an OW is a form of theatre-for-development?

TM: I would say it is a very valuable tool but I wouldn't like to go deep about it because I got demoralised because Mike did not participate fully in the OW because he had a lot of issues to address. It's a very powerful tool because it addresses the imbalances that exist within society and he had to meet the process in-between and with the studying process he left the OW. The drama aspect of putting the methodology across was a very powerful one. Even through the evaluation people felt they learnt a lot from the drama. I think the whole OW was one form of drama and then sections of it were also using drama as a methodology for putting across the ideological aspects of it. In terms of South Africa it would need to be adapted to a more South African situation. We did adapt it slightly but not totally. If one has to work on that, he has to look at working on the theory and concept and then adapt it to the South African situation. Like it was, it was done in Zimbabwe and Botswana and Namibia where people who have worked on it have been able to adapt it to suit their country. I think it could be very powerful and if someone is prepared to carry that out, I'm prepared to offer my services and assistance.

TSB: I believe it was a very time-consuming and intense process.

TM: I would say people who have not learnt or gone through the methodology, for a grass roots person it was not time-consuming because it allows the grass roots person to participate, to understand, to reflect and to assimilate properly to the process. For a person who is intellectual or at a certain level of development it is time-consuming

because it doesn't just rush through the process. My assumption is that it is a very powerful and useful tool. In terms of being intense, it is a very intense process. But if any process of engagement or development or learning is an intense process, do you see that as a bad or a useful process?

TSB: I don't see it as a negative thing, I was just wondering because one of the suggestions I was given was that one of the reasons that it hasn't been repeated was that it was such an intense process and the logistics were very difficult to work out.

TM: I'd say that might be one reason but it's not 100% the only reason. I think it's the shortage of person power to actually carry the process across. Organisationally the support to actually carry it across has not been distilled. I think it's false information to say because of it being intense, it can not be repeated. There have been many calls for it to be repeated some of the systems in place at Akanani are through the OW process. I don't see why we can't repeat it, the problem is that whichever organisation would like to put it across should have sufficient capital and the basic ability to develop itself so that it can sustain itself. Otherwise it becomes difficult. I think that's where the intensity comes through. It requires sufficient capital otherwise you will not sustain it unless you are working within a group of 30 - 50. There are different processes within OWs. When you see the document I think you will understand the stages of it. It's got about four stages that can be put into practice. I don't know how people will relate the experience of the OW to you, whether they will see it as an awful exercise or whether it was valuable.

TSB: That's the impression that I'm getting - that it was valuable.

TM: I would have loved for you to ask the people who participated in the OW and to hear how valuable it was for them. It is bad that it can't be repeated again but we're expecting the other staff members to be able to carry that across. I think I'll leave it there.

TSB: If we can move from the OW to Akanani more broadly, what would you see as the aims of Akanani?

TM: I think you've heard from other people now what are the broad aims of Akanani. They are to provide education, to provide services to the entire region of the Transvaal, to develop consciousness around issues affecting the region around development and the imbalances that exist in the region. Maybe I have not crystallised the main aim as it stands on the mission statement but I presume you've got that document. The one aim that I see Akanani as having and moving towards is the people-centred development approach. That's the reason why we moved towards an association. For Akanani to get grounded

and to be able to have the impact on the structures that it services, it was important to look at how it relates the work it's doing to the structures that it's servicing and also how they feedback to Akanani and how that directs Akanani's approach to development. We saw that as a two-way process. In terms of people's development that is how one will see and value the services that we give as an organisation. One of the other aims that I would put quite strongly is to build these CBOs (Community Based Organisations) that are within the region in all forms of development that they might require, to build small projects and show the access to necessary resources to feed into those CBO's. There are many other aims that I could put across but I don't know whether you want me to go in detail.

TSB: You started talking about development, what do you understand by this term?

TM: Development is a very confused word. It's being used in different forms by different people with different understandings. But what I understand by the word development, and I'm referring to what I've just written recently for the debate around the word in the region, is the development of the people themselves and their calibre. It is what the people feel affects and should be directing their needs in achieving what they would like to achieve.

TSB: So it's a very people-centred approach. What about the idea that it is a political issue?

TM: It is very difficult to say that it is not a political issue. Development is jointly within the political arena. Development is covered there in that whatever affects a person or affects someone else in the process is political. You cannot divorce development from politics, but you can distinguish developmental activities from political activities. I think there should be a clear distinction between what one is moving towards and what one wants to engage in. That's one of the classical problems that people had had with Akanani, saying that you are a political activity organisation. That has come in different forms particularly with the homeland structure wanting to destabilise the activities of Akanani or clearly wanting to destabilise individuals working within Akanani on political motives outside of the work time of Akanani relating to what, as themselves, they see as the necessity to create awareness within a rural setting where there is no conscientisation process taking place. I think for any development activist it is his or her right to create awareness in members of the public.

TSB: You've already raised one of the problems of Akanani. What are other problems that you see at Akanani?

TM: You know yesterday I was reading a paper that was written by one of the Kenyan NGO guys that was saying that they had to work with the pedagogy of the white liberal. I'm not sure what he means by that, I still have to analyse the word pedagogy. But the South African NGO sector has been dominated by white people. I've been very vocal in a number of gatherings throughout South Africa regarding the leadership ability that exists within NGOs that is being stifled by the white sector who are maintaining and running the NGOs while the black leadership that exists within the NGO sector ends up being the collectors of information and not the developers of the process of development. To me that is one of the problems that existed but I think that Akanani is one of the organisations that is addressing and changing the process. The change of leadership within Akanani is a sign of this change process and we need to see how that impacts on other NGOs in the Southern African context and also for Akanani to sustain that process as an example to other NGOs. I know other NGOs in South Africa, I've worked with them quite extensively and their problems around trying to sustain these types of issues and have run into serious crises about finance which also becomes a problem because I think the whole funding sector for NGOs gets pushed through that system of domination. The north and the south finance through colour, although they don't explicitly say that. Those are some of the problems that existed.

TSB: And the Black Caucus Forum within Akanani, how did that arise?

TM: I was coming to that. Maybe before I get there, the other problem that I see at Akanani is that we've got too big mouths to shout, which has been very good for the whole community and I don't see that as a problem, but we have been very slow in implementing some of the issues that we've been shouting about on the ground. I think it is one of my key areas, in taking up the co-ordination, to deal with and address. We've been shouting enough, now we've got to get back to the ground and reach the communities as much as possible. We've done a lot of work, I don't dispute the fact, but I don't think we've done sufficient. I think the external evaluation that we've had has shown quite clearly that internally we are very strong and have organisational strength but externally within our constituency we have strength but we have weakness in terms of impact. It could be valued in terms of intellectuals who have developed in the region but in terms of concrete results some of it can not be tested. That is one of the big problem areas of our work that we cannot run away from. Okay, now the Black Caucus Forum. It comes jointly with the second problem that I related which was the domination of blacks. The emergence of the Black Caucus Forum was from a debate that emerged in my absence and was highlighted by the race workshop that we had just now. However, that issue did not come up just now, it arose two years back but it got formalised as the Black Caucus Forum now. Previously I was dealing with the issue in the organisation as race, class and all other forms of

prejudice that existed. That I felt the victim of, particularly myself, who became very vocal when I joined the organisation and I found two black people employed in the organisation but who did not have a voice or any proper services that they could acquire. The organisation was highly dominated by white people but it services a black community. It had a lot of problems in itself. I then addressed the issue also in terms of the decisions and discussions in the organisation that were being taken and finalised by the white people before the meeting takes place and that was a problem. And then when I sat there I had to be a rubber stamp and I don't see myself as a rubber stamp of decisions that I have not been part of. I think the Black Caucus Forum emerged from that process but it was not grounded. We had our first race workshop about two years back which changed the face of the organisation through pressing hard to address the issue of class and race. That developed because other black staff who joined by that time could not understand why I was raising these kinds of concerns. I was doing it because I was close to people and I was vocal and discussing with them and quite a number of issues were coming up and also others were not saying anything because they were scared they were going to lose their jobs. They didn't have the confidence to raise issues. So the BCF comes to where it has to be modified and made very clear that it's posi in how it has to deal with issues. Mainly its objective is one, to ensure that the black staff have the capability of raising the issues and two, that they can be confident in themselves as blacks within the work area that one is involved in and three, being able to fit ideas that those who might not be able to put ideas across in writing could put those ideas across to the Forum and the forum could take those ideas and put them across to the entire organisation. It was not put there as a negative aspect of the organisation but rather as a positive aspect to balance the imbalances that existed in the organisation and also to build in the other staff members to develop further. I think that's the reason why initially the idea of the Black Caucus Forum was put across. We felt it was not only the BCF that must be put across, we should also be putting across the question of gender where we saw the women's deprivation as being a serious problem. We said the women themselves should be able to come together and be able to discuss anything that affects them. We also discussed the problem where we as men are harassing women. That led them to creating another forum, so we've got two forums: the Black Caucus Forum and the Women's Caucus Forum. They are discussing the imbalances that exist in society and how they can be addressed. I think we are one of the few organisations in South Africa that has been able to address these issues. Fortunately in line with the BCF aspect, I recently attended a meeting around the IMF and the World Bank and the black NGO members that are within those organisations felt the need to arrange a black caucus meeting for NGO black staff and to network around ourselves and to discuss the issue of black leadership in the NGOs. What emerged from that is that we felt we needed to have such a thing because the white leaders within the NGOs went ahead to meet

with IMF and the World Bank and discuss issues of having joint ventures and other aspects around the NGO sector of South Africa and how the World Bank could be involved in the process of development in South Africa. Now when things got tougher for them they called a meeting of what our strategy can be in dealing with IMF and the World Bank. Now it became a problem that's hitting them and they can't deal with it so they want people who can deal with IMF and World Bank on the ground but they can't do it because they are not the people who go to the ground, they are the people who sit in the office. It's a conflict of ideas. At the same time we have analysed, I'm an economist myself, and the IMF and the World Banks are big sharks that I don't like to deal with, those heavy tigers. There must be clear strategies for how we engage with such people where the society has not been able to deal with and understand who is this IMF and World Bank and now all of a sudden they must be involved with it which becomes a problem. Through that the black leadership felt the need to come together and discuss the issue of how we go about it and further also look at how we can change the faces of NGOs in South Africa and address the actual needs of the communities that they are meant to be addressing. That's how the BCF developed and it's interesting to see that other NGOs now have got the same problems and so we shared our experiences of how far we've gone and how we see the process being taken forward.

TSB: One last question, why do you think popular education and community education has been used so much at Akanani?

TM: As I've said we have different methodologies that we've tried to put in place. I would say we've used popular education but I wouldn't say we've used popular education to our level best, I want to be very critical of that. Not every member understands clearly what popular education means, what you have to do and what impact it will give to the community at a grass-roots level. Popular education is one method of putting across understanding to a person of a low level of literacy or even to a person with a higher intellectual level to assimilate, reflect and understand issues clearly. It is a tool to assist, not one to concentrate on some mode of learning, but to reshape and create a forum for participation for other people to understand how they get involved in processes and also in participating fully in the process they are involved in. The OW uses popular education as a tool for engagement, assimilation and for learning. It's a very powerful tool and Akanani has tried to use it in order to get across messages to the broader constituency at its level best. I think we have the possibilities for using it much more but what we require is to come up with a very clear process of what popular education is all about and I presume that at the end of the day you will assist us with that. Although we have done it, we have not used it 100% particularly internally within the structures of Akanani. Very few of us have been able to understand and use the methodology because of our past experiences so it needs to be put across to other

members of Akanani in more depth and to other NGOs in the region. We need to develop the use of popular education as a methodology and tool for learning. Does that satisfy you?

TSB: Yes, thank you very much for your time.

APPENDIX B - ILLUSTRATED CASES

Drama in Literacy Programmes

This series of photographs illustrates the use of drama to initiate and stimulate interest in a new literacy class.



Picture 1



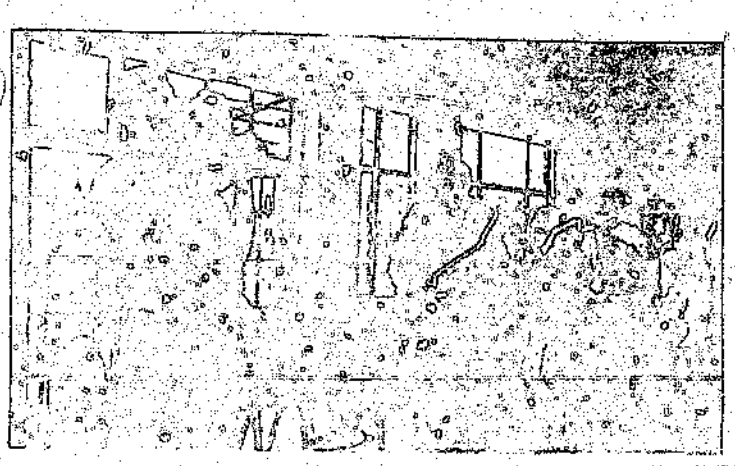


Picture 3

Picture 1 illustrates the setting of the literacy class in the courtyard of a potential student's kraal. The picture shows the various musical instruments the women were given and the playing and singing that resulted. Picture 2 illustrates the spontaneous dancing that started with women running to fetch their shivhulanis (the bustles used in traditional dancing) and then performing various dances. As can be seen the researcher and the tutors were supplied with shivhulanis and encouraged to participate in the dancing too. Picture 3 illustrates the final stage of the dancing before the singing and dancing were stopped and the drawing and writing began. The blue hut door in this picture became the blackboard onto which the groups' drawings and writing were pinned.

Drama in the Winter Schools

This series of photographs illustrates the use of drama to present literary set-works in an interesting and accessible way. The set-work in this case was "Julius Caesar" by William Shakespeare.



Picture 4



Picture 5



Picture 6

Picture 4 illustrates the filming of the dress rehearsal of the "Julius Caesar" play so that the whole play is available as a resource on video. Picture 5 illustrates the warm-up before the performance of the play at the Winter School. The play was performed in the school hall with no scenery or any form of raised performance area. Picture 6 illustrates a scene from the play as it is performed to approximately 150 students at the Winter School. As can be seen some of the audience were referring to their "Julius Caesar" texts as the play progressed.

APPENDIX C

A Model for Compiling Case Studies

Following are some of the main points on which data and judgements will be sought:

1. Original objectives and intended clientele of the project; any subsequent modifications.

2. Origin and sponsorship of the project; its organisational and financial arrangements, leadership and participating groups. How this information illuminates the study.

3. Its social-economic-cultural setting.

4. How the project was planned - e.g. who did the planning; what account was taken of special local conditions; clarity of original objectives; anticipated outcomes, integration with related economic and educational planning and major projects in the same geographic area; built-in feedback and evaluation procedures.

5. Description of the instructional system - e.g. types of methods, technology, personnel, materials, equipment and other inputs employed; extent of innovation and adaptation to local circumstances.

6. Major problems encountered; efforts made to solve them, with what success.

7. Sources of finance, level and behaviour of costs.

8. Evaluative evidence on the project's performance; e.g. identifiable learning and behavioural results relative to objectives; internal efficiency; discernible economic and non-economic benefits; contributions to related projects; attitudes of project's "constituency" - its teachers, supervisors and participants; cost-benefit indications.

9. Plans and prospects for the future; will the project continue and if so with what modifications?

10. Appraisal of the main cause of success (or failure); identification of the main lessons it offers for others.

A modified version of the model in Coombs (1974).

APPENDIX D

Research Design Table

Research Questions	Source of Information	Data Gathering Methods	Data Analysis and Presentation
1.1.1 What is the nature of drama as a means of facilitating adult learning, especially in the South African rural context?	- Literature: reports, documents, journals. - SAADYT workshops and seminars on drama in education. - Staff, documents and videos of Akanani.	- Literature study. - Personal and Participant Observation of workshops. - Case Studies of the use of drama at Akanani.	* Triangulation will be used to analyse and compare data. Illuminative evaluation methods will be used to analyse and interpret findings, leading to an analytical account.
1.1.2.1 How has theatre-for-development been used in Africa for community development and empowerment? 1.1.2.2 Why has theatre-for-development been used in Africa for community development and empowerment?	- Literature: journals, reports, documents on theatre-for-development in Africa. - Adult educators using drama in their work. -Akanani: a rural development project in the Far Northern Transvaal using theatre-for-development as its methodology.	Literature study: a meta-analysis. Semi-structured interviews. Case studies using: - participant observation - illuminative evaluation.	The case studies will be described, analysed and evaluated using illuminative evaluation methods. Case Studies. Interviews. Study of Literature

1.1.3.1 Is drama a successful methodology as it is used at Akanani in the rural areas of the Far Northern Transvaal? 1.1.3.2 Is drama perceived to be an appropriate methodology for adult education in the rural areas of South Africa?	AS ABOVE	AS ABOVE	AS ABOVE
1.1.4 What guidelines can be deduced for the use of drama as a methodology in adult education in South Africa, especially in the rural areas?	AS ABOVE	AS ABOVE	AS ABOVE

* Triangulation will be used to try to ensure reliability and validity.

APPENDIX E - Semi-structured Interview Guidelines

1. What is the nature of your work?
2. What do you understand by the term "theatre-for-development"
3. To what extent do you use theatre-for-development?
4. Why do you use this method?
5. Who decided to use this method?
6. Do you have any training in the use of this method?
7. What are the advantages and disadvantages to using drama with adults?
8. Why do you think drama is not widely used in adult education?
9. How do you go about preparing for a session using drama?
10. To what extent do you think drama is particularly suitable for use in rural areas?

Author: Blues T
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