



**MA Research Report Topic:**

Forgotten Communities: Exploring the distribution and allocation of appropriate performance infrastructure in disadvantaged rural communities

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## **PLAGIARISM DECLARATION**

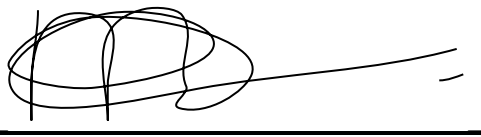
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**M Nontlanga**

**Signature**

**Date: 13<sup>th</sup> September 2021**

### **Dedication**

I dedicate this thesis to my mother; Nomhle Nontlanga, my grandmother Thandiwe Violet Nontlanga (MaKhanyayo) and my late brother Siyavuya Mfenqa (Nontlanga) for planting the seed of education and quest for knowledge. I am who and what I am today because of you.

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### **Notes:**

Please note that all participant names used in the Findings and discussion chapter 4 are pseudonyms and not their actual names as per our agreement of engagement guided by ethics guidelines

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## Topic:

# ***Forgotten communities: Exploring the distribution and allocation of appropriate performance infrastructure in disadvantaged rural communities***

## Abstract

In rural communities which I am calling forgotten communities in this study, there is a need for culturally appropriate rural performance spaces that acknowledges, respects, and reflects the cultures and the rhythm of the way of life of the people in the rural communities. Rural communities such as Bizana in the Eastern Cape are often left in the peripheries of many development projects particularly when it comes to the provision of performance infrastructure. This paper explores not only rural performance spaces but rural performance spaces that are culturally appropriate both commercially and traditionally. Zooming in on the community of Bizana as a case study, this report explores the distribution and allocation of appropriate rural performance infrastructure that is culturally appropriate for the rural community of Bizana. How do key stakeholders of the arts and culture sector such as government officials, the artists, and traditional leaders as different communities of meaning collaborate and create systems that allow for the distribution and allocation of culturally appropriate rural performance infrastructure that acknowledges, respect and reflect the rhythm of the way of life of the people of Bizana? Through the lenses of performance space, collaborative governance, intergovernmental relations framework, and interpretive policy analysis this paper explores the role of each of the departments of arts and culture from the three spheres of government particularly the role of Mbizana local municipality in enabling culturally appropriate rural performance spaces. Government officials, local artists, and traditional chiefs/leaders through collaborative governance approaches should manage their differences to allow for the provision of culturally appropriate rural performance spaces.

**Key words:** Forgotten/rural communities, performance space, intergovernmental relations framework (IGR), Appropriate performance infrastructure, Interpretive policy analysis, Communities of meaning, and collaborative governance.

## **Chapter 1: Forgotten communities: Research Overview (A rural context)**

### **1.1 Introduction and Study overview**

Larkin (2013) cited in DeBevoise (2018) claims that infrastructure creates “built networks that facilitate the flow of goods, people, or ideas and allow for their exchange over space” (Larkin, 2013 cited in DeBevoise, 2018: p1). The built networks and infrastructure in the rural communities does not facilitate the flow Larkin (2013) speaks of in the above statement. The problem is that the available infrastructure in rural communities does not reflect the local people’s cultures and the rhythm of their way of life and how they live on a daily, thus making the infrastructure culturally inappropriate and not unique to a particular community. It is often a challenge to point out factors that determine the distribution and allocation of rural performance infrastructure and who’s responsibility it is, is often not clear and need clarifying. Most local municipalities argue that the provision of arts and culture infrastructure is not their competency and therefor provide minimal support to the sector. As attested to by Roodt (2006), “If the roles of different spheres of government are clarified and the public cultural network in the state comes to a better understanding of its role and structure, a more common understanding of issues may follow” (Roodt, 2006: p212). Some of the challenges relating to the distribution and allocation of culturally appropriate rural performance spaces include dysfunctional intergovernmental relations framework, the lack of collaborative governance between relevant stakeholders, weak cultural planning, lack of cultural democracy, budgetary constraints and many more. These challenges often “lead to confusion concerning the question where the initiative rests and which criteria and procedures apply” (Roodt, 2006: p216) to allow for the provision of culturally appropriate performance spaces.

Through the lenses of performance space, collaborative governance, and intergovernmental relations framework, this research report aims at exploring the distribution and allocation of appropriate performance infrastructure as one of the many challenges faced by the performing arts sector, particularly in the context of the disadvantaged rural communities which I am choosing to refer to as ‘Forgotten communities’ such as Bizana. Forgotten communities in the context of this study are rural communities that are often left in the peripheries of many development projects particularly when it comes to the provision of performance infrastructure. The study mainly (out of many subsectors in the performing arts sector) focus on the three subsectors of the performing arts sector namely theatre/drama, music, and dance, as the three are inseparable in the context of South African arts and culture. The study mainly focuses on the distribution and allocation of appropriate rural performance infrastructure that is culturally appropriate, focusing on the community of Bizana

in the rural Eastern Cape as a case study. By culturally appropriate I refer to infrastructure and/or performance spaces that acknowledge, respect, and reflect the cultures and the way of life of the local people in the rural communities. As a means of collecting data this research report makes use of the case study approach. This approach provides an opportunity for the use of personal communication via email or informal conversations with experts, interviews with relevant stakeholders namely traditional chiefs, local government officials and local artists in the community of Bizana, and document analysis of cultural policies and strategies to explore and document existing rural performance infrastructure. The case study approach helps me collect data on what determines the current distribution and allocation of performance infrastructure and explore possible solutions to address the challenges pertaining to the provision of culturally appropriate performance spaces.

## **1.2 Context and Phenomenon**

The apartheid regime came with it a political system that provisioned for the separation of the black population from the white population through its laws. These laws allowed for the separation of the different shades of black from another. These groups of the black population were moved to places which the apartheid regime named *The Bantustans* or *The Homelands*. “The homelands / Bantustans started around the mid twentieth century” (South African History online, 2011). Their sole aim was to prevent the black population from living in the urban areas while creating a hub where companies in the urban areas could source out cheap labor from. Implications of the apartheid regime meant that these groups of black people in the Bantustans were deprived of most infrastructure development projects including the provision of performance spaces. South African History online (2011) further claims that “the Bantustans were a major administrative mechanism for the removal of Blacks from the South African political system under the many laws and policies created by Apartheid” (South African History online, 2011). The separation of black groups took place throughout the apartheid era and this “segregation was defined as the imposed separation of groups; the practice of keeping ethnic, racial, religious, or gender groups separate” (South African History online, 2011). Black communities were deprived of performing arts infrastructure as acknowledged by the 1996 White Paper on Arts, Culture and Heritage and community arts and theatre scholars (DACST, 1996; Hagg, 2010; Van Graan, 2000). Infrastructure deprivation of poor communities is not only a South African phenomenon but rather a global one as attested by Crehan (2020) and Kelly (1984)

The ushering in of the democratic government demolished these laws and policies that provisioned for the segregation of the black population through new laws and policies. As a result of this new political dispensation “the South African Homelands or Bantustans ceased to exist on 27 April 1994 and were re-incorporated into the new nine provinces of a democratic South Africa” (South African History online, 2011). The new dispensation passed and introduced the 1996 White Paper on Arts, Culture and Heritage with redistribution of cultural infrastructure as one of its goals. To a certain extent the intended redistribution occurred in the form of community arts centres and art hubs across the country, particularly in big cities. However, Rural communities such as Bizana in the Rural Eastern Cape are still heavily impacted by the resulting impact of the Bantustans system as some of these rural communities still find themselves in the peripheries of development projects in the year 2021 under the democratic government. One may be forgiven for assuming that this is a direct impact and the same reason that rural communities such as Bizana still lack appropriate performance spaces. The provision of culturally appropriate rural performance infrastructure remains a complex phenomenon to date. Who’s responsible for it? and why are those responsible not provisioning culturally appropriate performance infrastructure? This is a problematic question asked by many who reside in the forgotten rural communities but lack adequate answers. Forgotten communities are disadvantaged communities who often find themselves in the rural outskirts of the country and in the periphery of many development projects. In relation to the distribution and allocation of cultural resources such as appropriate rural performance infrastructure, the role of each stakeholder in the arts and culture sector in relation to these forgotten communities is often not clear.

Bizana is a small town located in the peripheries of the rural Eastern Cape; a part of the province previously known as Transkei. A town that is synonymous with its diverse cultures and traditions. A small town that prides itself with its people’s language, culture, and way of life. An outline of the community of Bizana as a case study will be discussed in greater detail in chapter three below. Around the month of December and the festive season, the community of Bizana organizes and hosts multiple cultural and performing arts events in the heart of the town. Some of the major events hosted by this small town around this time are ‘*O R Tambo Homage concert*’ and ‘*Mayibuye Mbizana cultural festival*’. These are the main events that bring performing artists from the community of Bizana and other provinces into one stage regardless of their artistic statuses in the industry. It is a week of celebrations and cultural exchanges that bring a significant vibe in this small rural town. This may be seen as an ideal situation for the arts and culture sector in this rural community. However, the problem is that these events only happen once a year around December

and the festive season, and throughout the year nothing major ever happens. There are many possible explanations for this situation and these explanations may include the lack of culturally appropriate performance spaces, the clash between what the community versus what the local government deems appropriate, and many other possible explanations. Most performing artists in this forgotten rural community of Bizana have resorted to the use of inappropriate performance spaces such as Intsingizi community hall, churches like IWesile and Faith mission, schools like Intsingizi Junior secondary and Bizana village senior secondary school, back rooms in KwaNikhwe location, Local taverns like Kholi jazz club and Tears tavern, open spaces, and many other different spaces for both rehearsals and performances.

It is also worth noting and acknowledging that there are some examples of culturally appropriate performance spaces that are used by different families and the community in their day-to-day way of life. These culturally appropriate performance spaces are used by the community and different families to do their private and sacred traditional ceremonies and performances such as the rites of passage, the introduction of new-born children to the ancestors, the collecting and returning home of a dead person's spirit, and many other traditional performances. These spaces include Rondavel, Isigodlo (A small section inside the rondavel), ubuhlanti (Kraal), and the roadside. These are non-festive performances which are done on a more regular basis as part of the spaces that reflect the rhythm of the way of life of the people in the community of Bizana. These rituals are classified as performances in traditional African communities, and they diverge from modern arts and culture performances thus needing unique, sacred, and special performance spaces that reflect this culture. It is therefore clear that "there is a need for a much wider and more flexible concept of theatre which would include the products of an oral/kinetic, or performance culture" (Hauptfleisch, 2007: p1). Therefore, Appropriate rural performance spaces should be culturally appropriate. Culturally appropriate performance spaces can be achieved by developing public arts spaces designed with malleable spaces which can be transformed into settings similar to what the communities use blurring the private domestic spaces and the public spaces (Miles, 2005). An exploration of appropriate performance spaces are inseparable from appropriate community art where art is not only made for but with the people (Crehan, 2020). A future expansion of this study requires an exploration of both appropriate performances and spaces to gain better insights into the subject of culturally appropriate performances spaces.

### **1.3 The Big Question about Performance Space- Central Research Questions**

A research question is about an issue that the researcher is genuinely curious about. "Research questions follow from the title, the WHY and the WHAT statements. Keywords should by now be evident. Key relationships outlined in the WHY should now be reflected in the questions. The goal of data collection (the WHAT) should be clear in your questions" (Newman and Covrig, 2013: p75). McGaghie et al (2001) attests to this statement and further elaborates by making a claim that "whether specific hypotheses or more general research questions are stated, the reviewer (reader) should be able to anticipate what will be revealed in the Methods" (McGaghie et al, 2001: p924). The central question of this study is, how do key stakeholders of the arts and culture sector such as government officials, the artists, and traditional leaders collaborate and create systems that allow for the distribution and allocation of culturally appropriate rural performance spaces that acknowledge, respect, and reflect the rhythm of the way of life of the people of Bizana? By rhythm of the way of life in this study I refer to the day-to-day life and living in this small rural community. To answer this central research question, the study is divided into the following three research questions; one, what kind of appropriate performance infrastructure is available in the rural community of Bizana? Two, what determines the distribution and allocation of appropriate performance infrastructure in the rural communities? Three, what needs to happen to provide appropriate performance infrastructure in rural communities?

#### **1.4 Research Aims and Objectives:**

"Research aims are almost always positioned at the very beginning of a statement of research aims and objectives (or questions). They are broad and introductory rather than specific and focused" (Thomas & Hodges, 2010: p38). Through the lenses of performance space, collaborative governance, intergovernmental relations framework, and interpretive policy analysis, the aim of this research report is to explore the distribution and allocation of appropriate performance spaces in the context of disadvantaged rural communities using Bizana in the rural Eastern Cape as a case study. According to Thomas and Hodges (2010) "The term research aim usually refers to the main goal or overarching purpose of a research project" (Thomas & Hodges, 2010: p38). In the context of this study, by exploring, it is meant to inquire and discuss in detail an unfamiliar area to learn about it. Distribution and allocation of culturally appropriate rural performance spaces, and a lack of access to appropriate performance spaces in the forgotten rural communities of South Africa remains a major challenge 26 years into the country's democracy. In response to this challenge, the aim of this study is to explore distribution and allocation of appropriate rural performance spaces for theatre/drama, music, and dance as some of the many subsectors of the performing arts sector. "A research aim will usually be

followed by a series of statements describing a project's research objectives. Research objectives indicate in more detail the specific research topics or issues the project plans to investigate, building on the main theme stated in the research aim" (Thomas & Hodges, 2010: p39). Therefore, the objectives of this study are:

- To document the kind of performance infrastructure/spaces available in the rural community of Bizana.
- To explore factors that determine the distribution and allocation of culturally appropriate rural performance spaces.
- To explore possible solutions that will allow for the provision of culturally appropriate rural performance spaces.

The aim is not to advocate for a local playhouse theatre and/or a Market theatre of a rural community of Bizana but the intention is to advocate for the provision of culturally appropriate performance spaces in rural areas that reflect, acknowledge the culture and way of life of the local people in this forgotten community of Bizana that is unique to its people.

### **1.5 Closing Gaps in Knowledge and Practice - Justifying the Study**

In academia many authors and researchers such as Wa Thiongo (1997), Schechner (1990), Gerofsky (2006), DeBevoise (2018), and many others have written and published theories around performance spaces and community arts. However, the work of authors such as Castryck and Sieveking (2014) speak of the concept of performance space in the context of urban Africa, while Simpson (2011) speaks about street performance and the city public space. Authors such as Wa Thiongo (1997) and Schechner (1990) mainly focus on the distribution and allocation of cultural resources in the township communities such as the community arts centers and multipurpose centers. The idea of performance spaces some of these authors speak of is culturally inappropriate in the context of rural communities as these spaces do not reflect and speak to the culture and way of life of the communities, they are based in relation to cultural expressions such as drama/storytelling, dance, and music. There appears to be very little published knowledge around the concept of culturally appropriate rural performance spaces that reflect the way of life of the people in the rural communities. This study seeks to fill this gap in knowledge by exploring the provision of appropriate cultural resources such as the performance spaces in the context of rural communities like Bizana. Further research beyond this study is needed to find new conclusions by using different lenses as a first suggestion. The other suggestion is further research in other rural

communities not covered by this report to find new conclusions or verify the findings of this study. This further research will help generate future knowledge as the concept of appropriate rural performance spaces that reflect the culture and the way of life of the people in the community appears to be under researched.

The provision of appropriate performance infrastructure in the rural areas appears to be a challenge which ideally should have been addressed by the 1996 White Paper on Arts, Culture, and Heritage. The main objectives of the Department of Arts and Culture's (1996) White Paper are to "promote economic activity and valuing diversity of the arts, culture, and heritage. Empower all South Africans to fully participate in the country's social, political, and economic life, by using the linguistic diversity of our country as a resource" (Department of Arts and Culture, 1996: p2). With this objective in mind, one of the roles of the 1996 White Paper was the redistribution of cultural infrastructure. This challenge is often experienced by those performing artists who are based in these forgotten rural communities, and this is often evident in the poor quality of the work presented in these communities. Poor work quality affects the performing artists by hindering sustainability in practice and one of many challenges is the lack of culturally appropriate performance spaces in these rural communities. Soini et al (2012) elaborates to this by making a claim that "rural resources are categorized under the topics of natural, social, cultural, and financial capital, and from the sustainability point of view, it is crucial to maintain all these capitals" (Soini et al, 2012: p4). One example of this situation in the forgotten community of Bizana is where a music artist has converted one part of his bedroom into a makeshift music studio with one old computer and an old microphone. Du (2012) as cited in Long et al (2016) attests to the point made by Soini et al (2012) by advocating that "the optimal allocation of rural human resource help to realize the sustainable development" (Du, 2012: as cited in Long et al, 2016: p 393). Access to culturally appropriate infrastructure that speaks to the way of life of this artist would benefit this performing artist and many others in the community by improving their craft and practice. Culturally appropriate rural performance infrastructure will enable an increased participation in cultural activities by local community members and local authorities including traditional chiefs and/or leaders. A culturally vibrant community is almost certain to attract tourists and investors from other communities who come and consume cultural expressions thus boosting local economy, and this is important for local, provincial, and national governments. This is the gap in practice this research report seeks to fill by highlighting the need for distribution and allocation of appropriate rural performance spaces for drama, music, and dance.

As a theatre maker I often experience challenges in my attempts to create theatre/drama work in these forgotten rural communities because of the lack of appropriate performance spaces. There are many other performing artists in the field of theatre/drama, dance, and music who often find themselves in a similar situation where they often want to create work in these communities but are let down by the lack of appropriate performance spaces. While this study will help satisfy my personal desires as a theatre practitioner, arts administrator, and a performing artist, it will also satisfy desires of many other artists who seek to create work in the forgotten rural communities such as Bizana.

### **1.6 Concepts and Existing Knowledge**

In this report I have made use of Wa Thiongo (1997)'s concept of performance spaces to help us understand the idea of appropriateness in relation to the provision of culturally appropriate rural performance spaces. I have also used Roodt (2006)'s concept of intergovernmental relations framework to help us understand the relationship between the departments of arts and culture in the three spheres of government and the role of each sphere particularly local government in relation to the provision of rural performance spaces. I have also made use of Booher (2004), and Ansell & Gash (2007)'s concept of collaborative governance to understand the possible collaborations between the different communities of meaning in relation to the distribution and allocation of rural performance spaces. I have also used Yanow (2000)'s theory on interpretive policy analysis as a theoretical framework and a broad methodology to understand how different communities of meaning interpret cultural policies and the formulation of the resultant artifacts relating to the distribution and allocation of cultural infrastructure. I have broadly explained these concepts and the existing knowledge in chapter four to make connections and link them to the study. In addition to these concepts, I have also made use of the South African cultural policy document and what those policies recommend in relation to the redistribution of performance spaces including cultural policy implementation.

### **1.7 Systematic Exploration:**

There are many methodologies and/or designs that can be used to conduct a study, they include but are not limited to performance ethnography, comparative literature review, case study, and many others. All research methodologies have their strengths and weaknesses, most research

methodologies work best with different research types depending on the research objective. For example, the weaknesses of a methodology like comparative literature review are that it limits a study to a desktop approach method which compares existing literature to generate new knowledge out of existing knowledge thus not suitable for this study. Research method “helps the investigator focus on the research question(s) and plan an orderly approach to the collection, analysis, and interpretation of data that address the question” (McGaghie et al, 2001: p929). To conduct this study, I have made use of the case study approach while applying interpretive policy analysis in my case study. Case study approach is a process of research into the development of a person, group, or situation over a period. According to McGaghie et al (2001) a case study “in the social and life sciences is a research methodology involving an up-close, in-depth, and detailed examination of a particular case” (McGaghie et al, 2001: p930). Yin (2018) compares case study methods with other forms of research such as “experimental, survey, archival, analytic, and historical. Must have a logical design, prescribed data collection techniques, and predetermined data analysis methods” (Yin, 2018). Interpretive policy analysis is a process that acknowledges an interpretation of meanings based on people’s beliefs, people’s values, and feelings. Interpretive policy analysis acknowledges the individuals and how their beliefs, values and feelings are critical in decision making. “An interpretive approach to policy analysis is one that focuses on the meanings of policies, on the values, feelings, and/or beliefs which they express, and on the processes by which those meanings are communicated to and read by various audiences. It gives Miranda equal weight with Credenda, treating both as human artifacts communicating meanings” (Yanow, 1996: pp8-9). I have dedicated chapter three to outlining in detail the case study approach and interpretive policy analysis as a broad methodological framework. Also, in chapter three I have outlined in detail the relationship between interpretive policy analysis as a broad methodological framework and the case study and their link to this study.

## **1.8 Ethical consideration**

Based on my research methods which include individual interviews, personal communication with experts, and document analysis, it is expected that I acquire consent from my participants for the process of collecting data. To get this very important and crucial permission, particularly for interviews, I wrote emails with my participant information sheet attached and/or telephone engagements explaining what my research is about and have potential participants send me written permission. Where participants were willing to participate in the interview, I provided them with a consent form to sign, giving me permission to include the information gathered from them in this

resulting report. The consent form clearly indicated that their identities would not be revealed in the report and throughout their participation their identity will remain anonymous. This helped protect my participants should they be in a position where they have provided me with confidential information, as revealing their identity might place the relationship with their employers at risk and/or should the information gathered place them at risk of losing opportunities to access government funding or employment. The consent form and information sheets clearly addressed issues of consent, anonymity, and confidentiality to protect both me as a researcher and my participants.

### **1.9 Research report structure**

This report is divided into five chapters with three main chapters. The three main chapters are preceded by an overview chapter that provides an overview of what the study is about, study aims, objectives, study methods, and the problem that the study seeks to address. Thereafter, chapter two focuses on addressing the main concepts and existing knowledge around the main concepts. Chapter three focuses on outlining the research methods and their relationship with the study. Chapter four focuses on both documenting and discussing findings. The three main chapters are followed by a chapter on a summative conclusion of the research report and its findings. Where necessary, in the concluding chapter I have also made recommendations around the research findings, the limitations, and strengths of this study.

### **1.10 Conclusion**

The aim of this research report is to explore the distribution and allocation of cultural resources such as the appropriate performance infrastructure in the context of forgotten disadvantaged rural areas using the community of Bizana as a case study. This study documents the existing rural performance infrastructure in the community of Bizana, explores the determining factors relating to the distribution and allocation of appropriate rural performance infrastructure, and discusses possible solutions that allow for the provision of appropriate rural performance infrastructure. Employing a case study approach this research report addresses three main questions that drove me closer to achieving the aim and objective of this study. This paper engages with four main bodies of literature on the concept of performance space, collaborative governance, distribution and allocation of performance infrastructure, and intergovernmental relations framework. Existing literature on the concept of performance space assisted in answering both research questions one and two. While

the existing literature on the concept of intergovernmental relations framework assisted in answering research question number three. The strength of a case study approach is that it focuses the study on one rural community and explores all the nuances to uncover new conclusions. However, the weakness of this research design is that it does not allow me to conduct research in other forgotten disadvantaged rural communities to further verify the findings of this study because it only allowed me to focus on one community as a case study. However, this weakness presents an opportunity for further research in other disadvantaged rural communities to compare the findings and perhaps a discovery of new conclusions.

## **Chapter 2 – What the Scholars say: Key concepts and Literature Review**

In this chapter I began by outlining the conceptual lenses that I used in conducting this study and how these concepts helped me understand the overall field of study. The concepts of Performance spaces, Intergovernmental relations framework, and Collaborative governance are three main concepts that grounded this study. These three main concepts are underscored by the concept of ‘disadvantaged rural communities’ which I refer to as ‘Forgotten communities’ throughout the report. These concepts combined also helped me progress towards answering my main research questions on the provision of culturally appropriate performance spaces the best way possible in the context of forgotten communities. Key scholars such as Schechner (1990), Wa Thiongo (1997), Gerofsky (2006), Hauptfleisch (2007) and others speak about the concept of performance space. Scholars such as Thornhill (2009), Tapscott (2000), Duxbury et al (2016), Mathebula (2004), Bowen (2009), Layman (2003), Roodt (2006) speak to the concept of intergovernmental relations framework. Scholars such as Booher (2004), Ansell and Gash (2012), Zadek and Radovich (2006), Malan (2005) add their argument from the perspective of collaborative governance. These scholars and their main arguments made me understand the main concepts I used in conducting this study. Also, in this chapter after outlining the conceptual lenses, I have provided a literature review on the key arguments made by the scholars and their relevance to the study.

### **2.1 Conceptual lenses**

Through the lenses of Wa Thiongo (1997)’s performance space, Roodt (2006)’s intergovernmental relations frameworks, Yanow (2000)’s interpretive policy analysis, and Ansell, and Gash (2007)’ collaborative governance, this research report explores the distribution and allocation of culturally appropriate rural performance spaces that reflect the way of life of the people in the rural community of Bizana in the Eastern Cape. The concept of performance spaces helped me understand the type of performance spaces that exist across different contexts to understand the type of performance spaces that are culturally appropriate for the rural community of Bizana. Culturally appropriate performance spaces should be determined in collaboration between the artists in the community of Bizana, their traditional chiefs who are custodians of culture in the community, and local government officials that are strictly responsible for the provision of cultural resources. The concept of intergovernmental relations frameworks helped me understand the relationship between the departments of arts and culture in all the three spheres of government and their role in relation to the distribution and allocation of appropriate rural performance infrastructure. Lastly, the concept of collaborative governance helped me understand the

relationship between local traditional chiefs who are the custodians of culture in the rural community of Bizana, and the local government officials who are strictly responsible for the provision of cultural infrastructure, and their role in relation to that provision. The three conceptual lenses and Interpretive Policy Analysis (IPA) as a broader methodological framework were best suited for this study as they helped me answer the three main research questions the best way possible to propel me closer to understanding the phenomenon of the distribution and allocation of culturally appropriate rural performance spaces.

According to Camp (2001) and Peshkin (1993) cited in Gray (2004), a conceptual framework “is a structure which the researcher believes can best explain the natural progression of the phenomenon to be studied” (Camp, 2001) and “it is linked with the concepts, empirical research and important theories used in promoting and systemizing the knowledge espoused by the researcher” (Peshkin, 1993). A conceptual framework contributes to a research report in at least two ways; one, it helps with identifying the research variables and two, it helps with clarifying the relationships among the research variables. For example, in this research report, the conceptual framework has helped me identify my research variables which are performance spaces, intergovernmental relations frameworks, and collaborative governance. The relationship between my research variables and the phenomenon I’m studying is that, for culturally appropriate rural performance infrastructure to be distributed and allocated there needs to be a relationship between the departments of arts and culture in the three spheres of government (intergovernmental relations framework). There also needs to be a collaborative relationship between local government, the community artists, and traditional chiefs who are custodians of culture in the rural communities (collaborative governance). These concepts when properly applied will enable the provision of culturally appropriate rural performance spaces that reflect the culture and the way of life of the local people of Bizana.

A conceptual framework also “accentuates the reasons why a research topic is worth studying, the assumptions of a researcher, the scholars s/he agrees with and disagrees with and how s/he conceptually grounds his/her approach” (Evans, 2007). According to McGaghie (2001) “frameworks are usually more elaborate and detailed when the topics that are being studied have long scholarly histories (e.g., cognition, psychometrics) where active researchers traditionally embed their empirical work in well-established theories” (McGaghie, 2001: p923). When a framework is “linked to the problem statement, the conceptual framework sets the stage for presentation of the specific research question that drives the investigation being reported. For example, the conceptual

framework and research question would be different for a formative evaluation study than for a summative study, even though their variables might be similar” (McGaghie, 2001: p923). A conceptual framework underlies a research study, and the concept of performance space, collaborative governance, and intergovernmental relations framework are the three main concepts that underlie this study.

There are many ways of looking at the concept of performance space, “when we think of theatrical space, we shouldn't think only of room space” (Schechner, 1990: p102). This is a crucial point considering that this study advocates for performance spaces that acknowledge and respect the cultures and the rhythm of the way of life of the people. Wa Thiongo (1997) describes performance space “as a self-contained field of internal relations: the interplay of actors and props and light and shadows-mise-en-scene-and between the mise-en-scene as a whole and the audience” (Wa Thiongo, 1997: p12). The concept of performance space referred to in this study can be defined as an area in which a theatre/drama, music, and dance performance (both artistic and ritualistic) takes place, this is a venue and/or site specifically designed for specific artistic and ritualistic performances in which the performing artists may showcase their artistic expressions and the community for their rituals and traditional ceremonies. This conception of performance space should be culturally appropriate to serve both the artist and the community. These spaces must acknowledge, respect, and reflect the cultures and the rhythm of the way of life of the people of a particular community and must be unique to that community. “Performance traditions of all kinds reconfigure our perceptions of time and space, creating places for play and transformation and disturbing the conventional order of things. Within performance studies, one of the most distinctive qualities of performance is seen to be the liminal, proto-cultural space it claims and creates” (Gerofsky, 2006: p7) and “liminal spaces provide a place to experiment and create new structures which may later be adopted by mainstream culture” (Gerofsky, 2006: p7). Wa Thiongo (1997) claims that a “performance space, in its entirety of internal and external factors, may be seen in relationship to time; in terms, that is, of what has gone before (history) and what could follow (the future). What memories does the space carry, and what longings might it generate?” (Wa Thiongo, 1997: p13).

Gerofsky (2006) mentions another different kind of performance space which he describes as a sacred space. He claims that “in all kinds of performances (including sports, religious rituals, theatre, and ceremonies), there is a demarcation of a special kind of space. A specially marked performance space begins to take on sacred or magical qualities” (Gerofsky, 2006: p8). This type of space is very

crucial particularly relating to rituals and traditional ceremonies as it helps the community maintain the sacredness of their traditional performances and ceremonies. It is vital we acknowledge that some performance rituals take place in special, often sequestered places and “the very act of entering the sacred space has an impact on participants. In such spaces, special behavior is required [...] Ordinary secular spaces can be made temporarily special by means of ritual action” (Schechner, 2002: As quoted by Gerofsky, 2006: p8). The lack of appropriate rural performance infrastructure that is sacred for public performances and the use of local churches, local taverns, and local schools as alternative performance spaces in the forgotten rural community of Bizana has remained problematic and culturally inappropriate. This has meant that a “number of traditional performances such as traditional dances and songs that are still in use today, and the storytellers and praise singers operate in scaled down and/or adapted form” (Hauptfleisch, 2007: p3) because of the lack of culturally appropriate rural performance spaces. In light of the subject of appropriate performance spaces that reflects the rhythm of the way of life of the people in the context of disadvantaged rural communities, “questions of access and contact become very pertinent in a colonial and postcolonial state where the dominant social stratum is often unsure of its hegemonic control and particularly where the population is divided not only along the traditional lines of the urban and the rural but also on racial and ethnic fissures” (Wa Thiongo, 1997: p13), access to culturally appropriate performance spaces needs special attention and redress. All three spheres of government through their departments of arts and culture have a role to play in the distribution and allocation of culturally appropriate performance spaces particularly local government and their regional structures.

Yanow (1996) describes interpretive policy analysis as the “one that focuses on the meanings of policies, on the values, feelings, and/or beliefs which they express, and on the processes by which those meanings are communicated to and “read” by various audiences. (Yanow, 1996: pp8-9). For the implementation of policy led development and/or service delivery, this approach provided me with an opportunity to understand how policy is interpreted and implemented by different role players in the context of forgotten rural communities such as Bizana in the rural Eastern Cape. Bevir and Rhodes (2004) claim that “interpretive approaches to political studies focus on meanings that shape actions and institutions, and the ways in which they do so” (Bevir and Rhodes, 2004: cited in Wegenaar, 2011: p3). Yanow (2000) states that “interpretive policy analysis as a broad methodological framework consists of five distinct stages. One; identification of artefacts (statements, events and objects), two; Identification of communities of meaning (Government, Artists and Publics), three; Identification of discourses (Discourses that emerge from the policy

interpretation of the same artifact by three different communities of meaning), four; Identification of points of conflict, and five; Intervention stage (with three distinct steps, namely: Showing implications of meanings, Showing that differences reflect different ways of seeing, and mediating between different communities of knowledge to bridge the differences” (Yanow, 2000). This approach helped me understand the different interpretations and meanings attached to different policy implementation by the different role players concerned with this study. Interpretive policy analysis helped me focus on both explicit and implicit policy with regards to the distribution and allocation of culturally appropriate rural performance infrastructure that speaks to the rhythm of the way of life of the people in the forgotten rural community of Bizana.

The interpretive approach to this study also provided me as a researcher with an opportunity to observe, interpret and make meaning not from a neutral point but from a point that is supported and validated by my prior experience and knowledge having been born in this forgotten rural community. Yanow (1996) further attests to this point by making a claim that “interpretive approaches contest the possibility of neutral, unbiased observation. Prior experience, education, training, and so forth constitute the frame or lens through which one sees the world and makes sense of what is seen” (Yanow, 1996: p6). As a researcher and observer in the context of this study I have leaned and came to understand that “most interpretive analysts do not satisfy themselves with the modest claim that values, beliefs, and feelings are important political phenomena in their own right, well worth paying attention to if one desires to understand the formulation and implementation of public policy” (Wegenaar, 2011: p4). To this end Wegenaar (2011) further makes a crucial argument that “if the goal of policy analysis is to improve the quality and outcome of political decision making (Human Dignity for All!), then this goal extends by implication to whatever interpretive method the analyst applies in analyzing a specific policy” (Wegenaar, 2011: p6). As elaborated by Wegenaar (2011) if we are to improve the quality and outcome of political decision making in relation to the distribution and allocation of culturally appropriate rural performance infrastructure that speaks to and reflect the rhythm of the way of life of the people in the forgotten rural community such as Bizana, it is therefore crucial that the implementation of relevant policies take into account the views and the interpretations of the local role players of that community and the meanings they attach to a particular policy. It is therefore imperative to note that “interpretive philosophies contend that human meanings, values, beliefs, and feelings are embodied in and transmitted through artifacts of human creation, such as language, dress, patterns of action and interaction, written texts, sculpture” (Yanow, 1996: p8).

For any development work or service delivery of any kind to take place, there needs to be a cohesive and functional inter-governmental relations framework. This is no different when matters relating to the distribution and allocation of culturally appropriate rural performance spaces are in discussion. Therefore, knowledge on the concept of intergovernmental relations framework is crucial for this study. "The origins of the contemporary system of intergovernmental relations in South Africa can be traced back to the South African Constitution Act of 1909. This Act, which came into effect in 1910" (Tapscott, 2000: p120) and this still exists in the current constitution of 1996. According to Thornhill (2009) "most contemporary states have multiple levels or spheres of government to provide services to their diverse communities. The local government sphere/level is a creation of each state, and its functions and powers are dependent on the structure and policies of the national government" (Thornhill, 2009: p671). According to Tapscott (2000) it is perhaps understandable in the context of South Africa that "given the recency of the transition to democracy and the ongoing process of political transformation, intergovernmental relations in South Africa are in a state of flux and at times, operate dysfunctionally" (Tapscott, 2000: p127). Roodt (2006) attests to this statement by Tapscott (2000) by making a claim that "ever since the transition to a new democratic constitutional dispensation in 1994, the South African government has put cultural policy formulation on the proverbial back burner and little attention has been given to cultural policy as a tool in social, economic and physical development" (Roodt, 2006: p205). The concept of intergovernmental relations framework in the context of this study can be defined as a system and/or an interacting network of institutions at all levels of government (national, provincial, and local), these networks of institutions are created and refined to enable the various parts of government to cohere in a manner that is appropriate to the institutional arrangements. The importance and the role of an intergovernmental relations framework is that "it identifies the need for co-operative government to ensure that each of the spheres is allocated distinguishable functions and powers, but the Constitution also requires that each sphere acknowledges the functions and power of the other two spheres" (Thornhill, 2009: p672). However, when it comes to cultural matters, "the slow pace at which legislation in various crucial cultural matters has been adopted confirms that culture is not being permitted to link reform to broader agendas for development. Culture is being treated as a mere afterthought and thus it remains adrift in a no-man's land" (Roodt, 2006: p206).

The function of an appropriate intergovernmental relations framework will enable a functional relationship between the departments of arts and culture in the three spheres of government thus fostering the distribution and allocation of culturally appropriate performance spaces particularly in the context of forgotten rural communities. “Section 40 of the South African constitution makes provision for three spheres of government, each being distinctive yet interdependent and interrelated. In section 41 principles are laid down to guide the relationship among the three spheres of government” (Thornhill, 2009: p673). As indicated in section 40 of the constitution of the republic of South Africa, the three spheres of government have a responsibility to manage their relationship and work together to deliver appropriate services to the public they serve, and this is no different regarding the provision of culturally appropriate performance spaces in the context of forgotten rural communities like Bizana. However, in this regard Tapscott (2000) claims that “at present there is still considerable uncertainty over the precise responsibilities of the different levels of the administrative echelon (in areas of concurrent responsibilities in particular), and this is affecting the capacity of the new government to deliver social services and to redress the inequities of the past” (Tapscott, 2000: p120). This argument by Tapscott (2000) raises questions on the functionality of the current relationship between the three spheres (local, provincial, and national) of government and their responsibilities towards the forgotten rural area like Bizana. There is a need for a functional intergovernmental relations framework that “would enable the government to adopt policies and introduce measures to improve existing structures and processes to obtain and maintain sustainable municipal service delivery” (Thornhill, 2009: p673). The uncertainty in roles and responsibilities of each sphere of government has often created chaos that affects the delivery of resources particularly in the arts and culture sector.

In the context of rural communities there is a need for “a governing arrangement where one or more public agencies directly engage non-state stakeholders in a collective decision-making process that is formal, consensus-oriented, and deliberative and that aims to make or implement public policy or manage public programs or assets” (Ansell & Gash, 2007: p544). For culturally appropriate rural performance infrastructure to be distributed and allocated, there is a need for a collaboration between local government, local community artists and traditional chiefs/leaders who are custodians of culture in rural communities. According to Ansell and Gash (2007), over the last two decades, a new strategy of governing called ‘collaborative governance’ has developed. This mode of governance brings multiple stakeholders together in common forums with public agencies to engage in consensus-oriented decision making” (Ansell & Gash, 2007: p543). There are four most important collaborative governance practices as claimed by Booher (2004) which include “public policy

consensus building, community visioning, consensus rule making, and collaborative network structures” (Booher, 2004: p34). There are also key factors that are crucial within the collaborative process itself which include “face-to-face dialogue, trust building, and the development of commitment and shared understanding (Ansell & Gash, 2007: p543). These approaches, their governance practices and their core principles are very crucial and relevant for this research project. They offer a platform for key stakeholders (government officials strictly responsible for distribution and allocation of cultural infrastructure, community artists as cultural practitioners, and general community members who are represented by traditional chiefs/leaders) to manage their differences and progress towards a common goal that allows for the provision of culturally appropriate performance infrastructure that acknowledges and respect the rhythm of the way of life of the people of Bizana.

A collaborative governance approach between traditional chiefs, community artists and local government in the forgotten rural community of Bizana should enable what Booher (2004) labels as community visioning, “a process where members of a community build consensus on a description of the community’s desired future and on actions to help make goals for the future a reality” (Booher, 2004: p36). It is also important to note that “collaborative governance approaches build intersectoral bridges and comprise a leading trend for local governments” (Duxbury et al, 2016: p22). To create the link and build a functional relationship between local government, community artists, and traditional chiefs, the forgotten rural community of Bizana needs to adopt a collaborative governance approach to help with building intersectoral bridges that comprises a leading trend for local governments. “Although intra vires competencies are assigned to both provincial and local governments, residual powers may generally be considered to vest in the national government, which may also, under specific circumstances, exercise a number of override provisions. (Tapscott, 2000: p122). However, “local governments should focus cultural policies on citizens and their priorities rather than serve the interests of the professional elites of the cultural sector” (Duxbury et al, p22). Collaborative governance is one of the solutions to enable the distribution and allocation of culturally appropriate rural performance infrastructure. Collaborative governance in this case should include the working together in collaboration of local government officials, local traditional chiefs as custodians of culture in the community, and local community artists. This collaboration should enable the forgotten rural community of Bizana through the traditional chiefs, local artists, and local government officials to determine what is culturally appropriate for their community and this is very key for collaborative governance.

## 2.2 What the Scholars say

This research report is informed mainly by four bodies of literature (distribution and allocation of performance infrastructure, performance spaces, collaborative governance, and intergovernmental relations framework) from the scholars and theorists who have written and researched in these fields. These are the scholars who hail from different backgrounds and write from different contexts across the globe. These scholars and theorists include but not limited to, Wa Thiongo (1997), Schechner (1990), Gerofsky (2006), DeBevoise (2018) and many others. These are some of the authors who have researched and written about the concept of performance spaces and appropriate infrastructure. Their main argument is that appropriate infrastructure should be determined by what the community deems appropriate, not what the arts and culture government officials and administrators deem appropriate. Scholars like Thornhill (2009), Tapscott (2000), Duxbury et al (2016), Mathebula (2004), Bowen (2009), Layman (2003), Roodt (2006) and many others have researched and written about the concept of intergovernmental relations and the role of the three government spheres in the arts and culture sector. Their main argument is that all three spheres of government should work together rather than in competition with each other to avoid conflict and resolve issues pertaining to service delivery in the sector. Authors like Booher (2004), Ansell and Gash (2012), Zadek and Radovich (2006), Malan (2005) and many others speak to the concepts of collaborative governance particularly the role of local government and other local leaders. Their argument is on the importance of a collaborative approach in decision making processes, an approach that includes different stakeholders like local government, private sector, local traditional leaders, local artists, and other community leaders in discussions that will determine the community's desired future. Authors like Stark et al (2013), Van Robbroeck (1992) and others speak to the concept of distribution and allocation of cultural infrastructure in general terms from different contexts and different backgrounds.

“The precolonial African performance area was often the open space in a courtyard or in an arena surrounded by wood and natural hedge. It could also be inside buildings, where stories were told in the evening around the fireside. But the open space was dominant, and even in the intimate circle around the fireside, it was the openness of the performance area that was marked” (Wa Thiongo, 1997: p26). Modernized performance infrastructure is one of the many factors that could be contributing to this problem as the current performance infrastructure seems to speak more to the western concept rather than a local concept of what an appropriate performance space is. As

attested to by Gerofsky (2006) the problem with these modernized performance spaces is that they are not culturally appropriate and do not reflect the rhythm of the way of life of the people of Bizana in relation to drama, dance, and music performances. For example, Venues like *Bizana community hall* and the *Lovelife youth center* lack the correct rhythm that reflects the way of life of the people of the community of Bizana thus making them culturally inappropriate. The other problem with these spaces, particularly *Bizana community hall* and open fields is that they are often being shared between artists, sports events and political organizations for their political rallies and events. One of many other solutions to address this problem is by ensuring provision of the distribution and allocation of culturally appropriate rural performance infrastructure. Furthermore “it should be mentioned that the role of district municipalities as envisaged in the white paper on local government is beginning to fade (Mlokoti, 2009: as cited in Thornhill, 2009: p684). Therefore, there is a need to revisit the role of the departments of arts and culture at local, provincial, and national level, and their relationship with each other in ensuring the distribution and allocation of appropriate rural performance infrastructure. This should help improve the current situation and move it closer to the goal where the gap in quality of work presentation is bridged.

“The main ingredients of performance are place, content, audience, time, and [...] some sort of reformative effect on the audience” (Wa Thiongo, 1997: p12). With this statement in mind, it is known that infrastructure “can enable or limit mobility in profound ways, but that they do so unevenly across different demographics and socioeconomic backgrounds” (DeBevoise, 2018: p1). Lack of appropriate performance infrastructure such as performance spaces in the context of rural communities in this case is one of many challenges faced by the arts and culture sector. The role and the importance of an appropriate performance space is that “the geometric shape of the performance space may have symbolic as well as practical significance” (Gerofsky, 2006: p8) to a performance thus needing to be culturally appropriate. Schechner (1990) attests to this by claiming that “the interior, visceral spaces of the body connect to architectural spaces” (Schechner, 1990: p102) hence the emphasis on the need for culturally appropriate performance spaces that reflect the rhythm of the way of life of a community like Bizana. The other challenge is that “the state has its areas of performance; so, has the artist. While the state performs power, the power of the artist is solely in the performance” (Wa Thiongo, 1997: p12) and this challenge highlights the existing tensions between what the government deems appropriate versus what the rural communities deem appropriate in relation to the distribution and allocation of rural performance spaces. One of the many possible solutions to this phenomenon is the adoption of a strong, coherent but flexible intergovernmental relations framework. As claimed in Tapscott (2000) “intergovernmental relations

are always dynamic and evolve over time to accommodate changing social, economic and political relations" (Tapscott, 2000: p127).

There is often conflict between the performing artists and their need for appropriate performance infrastructure, and the specific role of the three government spheres in relation to the distribution and allocation of appropriate performance infrastructure particularly in the context of disadvantaged rural communities like Bizana. Roodt (2006) suggests that the one of the solutions to this conflict is documented in the South African constitution where "chapter three of the South African constitution requires the three spheres to interact on the basis of cooperation rather than competition (avoid conflict), and to coordinate (align and integrate) legislation and government activities and policies" (Roodt, 2006: p213-214). For the distribution and allocation of appropriate rural performance infrastructure to prevail, the relationship and role of government departments in the arts and culture sector on all three spheres of government needs to be made clear particularly the role of local government. The "lack of attention on the part of government to local cultural policy initiatives attests to the underutilization of the current model of harmonized co-operative governance" (Roodt, 2006: p220). This further attest to the need and the importance of a strengthened intergovernmental relations framework that paves a way for local government sphere to effectively implement its service delivery to their communities.

Too often "traditional roles for local governments, civic society, and private enterprises are increasingly blurred, with each having distinct as well as shared interests" (Duxberry et al, 2016: p22). There is often tension between what the community deems as appropriate versus what the government administrators in the arts and culture sector deem as appropriate. One of the many possible explanations for the lack of appropriate rural performance infrastructure may relate to "the performance space of the artist stands for openness; that of the state, for confinement. Art breaks down barriers between peoples; the state erects them. Art arose out of the human struggle to break free from confinement. [...] Art yearns for a maximum of physical, social, and spiritual space for human action. The state tries to demarcate, limit, and control" (Wa Thiongo, 1997: p28). With this point Wa Thiongo (1997) further validates the existing tensions and differences in opinions between the government officials and the artists. This tension, to a certain degree, has led to different stakeholders such as the artists, local cultural leaders and traditional chiefs, and local government officials, working in isolation rather than collaborative governance towards a common community

goal. This has indeed appeared to be the case for many forgotten rural communities such as Bizana in the rural Eastern Cape.

“Most contemporary states have multiple levels or spheres of government to provide services to their diverse communities. The local government sphere/level is a creation of each state, and its functions and powers are dependent on the structure and policies of the national government. Therefore, local governments in each country will have unique characteristics” (Thornhill, 2009: p671). South Africa is a strongly democratized country, and one would expect that “in strongly democratized countries, local government will probably be assigned more powers and functions than in an autocratic system of government” (Thornhill, 2009: p671) yet this does not appear to be the case in the 26 years of democracy. Hagg (2010) notes that “in the South African context, enabling legislation for the facilitation of public–community partnerships and intergovernmental cooperation exists, albeit in a limited form” (Hagg, 2010: p177). This has resulted in the conflict between government and the performing artists with its impact visible on the lack of distribution and allocation of appropriate rural performance infrastructure. The conflict between the performing artists and the role of government particularly local government often pushes artists to seek better opportunities elsewhere. DeBevoise (2018) cites “three interrelated factors that lead to rural performing artists to pursue their careers elsewhere: there exists a lack of appropriate rural infrastructure to sustain a professional career, the absence of contracts, rules, and even distribution of pay, and flawed institutions” (DeBevoise, 2018: p53). Duxbury et al (2016) further adds on this by noting that “local governments that are nimble and can respond quickly to the needs of their population(s) can flexibly adapt their policies and actions to sustainable development pathways” (Duxbury et al, 2016: p22).

According to the scholars mentioned in this chapter, for appropriate distribution and allocation of infrastructure to be enabled, “relevant stakeholders need to play their part and fulfil their roles and responsibilities” (Ansell and Gash, 2007). “All the spheres of government have a major role to play particularly local government” (Roodt, 2006). In the context of the rural communities there is a need for appropriate performance infrastructure that speaks to and reflects the rhythm of the way of life of the people of such communities. “Local government has a major role in ensuring the distribution and allocation of performance infrastructure that is culturally appropriate” (Boher, 2004). This can be achieved if there is a “functional and progressive relationship between the three spheres of government with local government having a distinct role as indicated in the intergovernmental

relations framework of the Republic of South Africa” (Roodt, 2006). There also appears to be a need for a collaborative governance approach between local government, the local traditional chiefs and/or leaders who are custodians of culture particularly in the context of rural communities, and the performing artists who are key stakeholders in this context. Collaborative governance brings relevant stakeholder’s perspectives and viewpoints to a discussion that will ensure the distribution and allocation of culturally appropriate performance infrastructure in the community.

### **Chapter 3 – Bizana: Outlining a case study of Forgotten communities in the rural Eastern Cape**

As indicated in chapter one I am using Yin (2018)'s 'case study approach' while applying Yanow (2000)'s 'interpretive policy analysis' to conduct and complete this study. In this chapter I am going to outline the case study approach and introduce us to the forgotten community of Bizana in the rural Eastern Cape. I will also outline Yanow's five stages of interpretive policy analysis as a broad methodological approach and how I have applied it to the case study. I will break down the five stages of interpretive policy analysis to help us understand their relationship with the case study. The use of a case study approach for this study allowed me to have personal communication with experts, conduct interviews, and analyze documents, thus triangulating the findings of this study. During this study there were instances where I was unable to engage in one-on-one interviews and communications with some of the targeted stakeholders of the arts and culture sector particularly the government officials who are strictly responsible for the distribution and allocation of rural performance infrastructure. In these instances, I had to employ Yanow's five stages of interpretive policy analysis to make my own informed meaning to better understand those instances and/or their reaction towards my continuous invitations extended to them to participate in the study.

#### **3.1 Outlining the case study approach**

As briefly in chapter one, a case study approach is a process of research into the development of a person, group, or situation over a period. A case study approach "in the social and life sciences is a research methodology involving an up-close, in-depth, and detailed examination of a particular case" (McGaghie et al, 2001: p930). The case study approach afforded me with an opportunity to have an up-close and in-depth analysis of the community of Bizana. This approach allowed me to have one on one conversations with local artists, traditional leaders who are custodians of culture and government officials responsible for the provision of performance infrastructure, to have a detailed understanding of the current reality of the community of Bizana. Yin (2018) compares case study methods with other forms of research such as "experimental, survey, archival, analytic, and historical. must have a logical design, prescribed data collection techniques, and predetermined data- analysis methods" (Yin, 2018). A case study approach became my preferred method for this study as the approach "helps the investigator focus on the research question(s) and plan an orderly approach to the collection, analysis, and interpretation of data that address the question" (McGaghie et al, 2001: p929). These research methods include observation, interviews, focus groups, photography and documents, and a study can use one or all of them at once during various points in the research.

To answer the study questions the best way possible in a way that will achieve the main research aim and answer the research's central question, for this I have employed a case study approach which is "commonly found in many social science disciplines as well as the practicing professions. e.g., psychology, sociology, political science, anthropology, social work, business, education, nursing, and community planning" (Yin, 2018: p34) by making use of the following methods: Personal communication with experts via emails and/or informal conversations, individual interviews of local artists, local traditional leaders, and government officials strictly responsible for the distribution and allocation of performance infrastructure on all the three spheres of government. I have also made use of cultural policy document analysis. These methods can be carefully combined to come up with a strong research design which allows for a systematic and rigorous exploration of distribution and allocation of appropriate performance infrastructure in the context of rural communities. Document analysis has allowed me to give voice and meaning to my research topic. Bowen (2009) describes document analysis as "a systematic procedure for reviewing or evaluating documents—both printed and electronic (computer-based and Internet-transmitted) material. Like other analytical methods in qualitative research, document analysis requires that data be examined and interpreted to elicit meaning, gain understanding, and develop empirical knowledge" (Corbin & Strauss, 2008: cited in Bowen, 2009: p27). Advantages of this study approach is that it allowed me to do a series of visits to the rural community of Bizana in the Eastern Cape to engage with the participants through one-on-one interviews, to do observations in the community, and have personal and/or informal communications with experts in the field of arts and culture.

### **3.2 Bizana: The forgotten rural community**

Bizana is fondly known by the locals as Mbizana in the Pondoland deep in the rural Transkei. Bizana is a small town located in the peripheries of the rural Eastern Cape province not far from the provincial border that divides KwaZulu Natal province and Eastern Cape province. This is a part of the Eastern Cape province that was previously known as Transkei under the apartheid government's regime. According to the Eastern Cape Socio Economic Consultative Council (2017) "The Mbizana Local Municipality is a Category B municipality with an overall Area of 2 417km<sup>2</sup> situated within the Alfred Nzo district in the Eastern Cape province. It is one of four municipalities in the Alfred Nzo district. It is located on the R61 road connecting the KwaZulu-Natal South Coastal Boundary to the N2 highway" (Eastern Cape Socio Economic Consultative Council, 2017: p1). Bizana is a town with a

population of “around +-8 000 and it is a town that is synonymous with its diverse cultures and traditions. Bizana’s main economic activities are agriculture and forestry” (Eastern Cape Socio Economic Consultative Council, 2017: p1). The dominant language spoken in Bizana is IsiMpondo, one of the unofficial languages of the Republic of South Africa. The IsiMpondo language has a touch of both IsiZulu and IsiXhosa. This forgotten community in the rural Eastern Cape gave birth to many of South Africa’s struggle icons such as Oliver Reginald Tambo who was born and grew up in this forgotten community of Bizana. The mother of South Africa’s democracy DR Winnie Madikizela Mandela was born in this forgotten community of Bizana. The community of Bizana prides itself as a “female dominated society, the municipality makes efforts to integrate and incorporate women in key decision-making roles within the institution to reflect this demographic. Most households in Mbizana are of a rural nature” (Eastern Cape Socio Economic Consultative Council, 2017: p1). The community of Bizana is currently led by a female mayor which further validates the fact that the community is female dominated. Main sections of the community are led by traditional chiefs who are custodians of culture in the community. Main communities are divided into subsections which are led by a different Sbonda. Sbonda is a name used to refer to the leaders of the subsections who report to the main traditional chief. Bizana is a small rural town that has given birth to many cultural and traditional music legends such as Phuzekhemisi and Vusi Ximba and many others who hail from this small forgotten community.

With so much history, a rich culture and traditions, a long list of South African struggle icons, and many music legends, this forgotten community of Mbizana still finds itself in the peripheries of many development projects that are related to infrastructure particularly in the performing arts sector. Distribution and allocation of culturally appropriate performance infrastructure still eludes this community. This community consists of local schools with very poor infrastructure that are often used as makeshift rehearsal and performance spaces by the performing artists and aspiring artists alike. Two high schools are in the heart of town with other schools (Mostly lower grades) located in areas and communities out of the town center with most of them not having access to a simple thing like a hall. Local artists in this community seldomly make use of local churches as performance space unless it is for religious projects and half of them with poor infrastructure. In the heart of town, you will also find *O R Tambo Cultural Village* which is located on the south entrance of the town. This structure is beautifully manicured to reflect the culture of the local people of Bizana, but this structure lacks performance spaces which does not benefit performing artists. Situated in the middle of town is the *Mbizana loveLife Y-Centre* which is also used by local artists for rehearsals and a few performances, but this space is culturally inappropriate as it is used as a multipurpose center

rather than a cultural center that only serves the arts and culture sector. Also located in the heart of town is a multipurpose town hall that is often used for performances by local artists, but the town hall is mostly used for municipal gatherings and political rallies amongst other functions. This community also consists of many open fields in and around town which are often used for music performances and live concerts amongst other functions that are not arts and culture related. Situated in KwaNikhwe location next to Intsingizi Junior secondary school is another multipurpose community hall that is mostly used for community gatherings and rarely used for artistic purposes. Also located in and around town is a couple of low infrastructure local taverns and spaces for social gatherings which randomly hosts musical performances mainly for local artists.

### **3.3 Outlining the five stages of interpretive policy analysis**

As stated briefly in chapter two of this study where I outlined interpretive policy analysis, “there are five stages of interpretive policy analysis” (Yanow, 2000) which I will break down separately below and provide examples to help you understand the five stages of interpretive policy analysis. As briefly stated above in the previous chapter, Yanow (2000)’s five stages of interpretive policy analysis are:

#### **1 Identification of Artifacts**

Artifacts are created because of the interpretation of policy, and they carry meaning. There are three different types of artifacts. The first type of artifacts are Statements and/or Speeches, which carry policy meaning. The second type of artifacts are Events and/or Rituals, these include festivals, rites of passage ceremonies, award ceremonies, artistic events, concerts etc. and they also carry policy meaning. The third type of artifacts are Objects. Objects include community halls, art centres, cultural villages etc. and Objects can be created by artists, government officials, and community leaders who represent the publics. For this study, I have identified two or more different artifacts from each of the three different types of artifacts.

#### **2 Identification of communities of meaning**

In my research I have identified three (3) communities of meaning. An understanding of communities of meaning is very important for this study because it tells how different groupings view performance spaces. The first group of communities of meaning are Government officials,

which include national, provincial, regional, and local government. I acknowledge that these groupings have subgroups who view performance spaces differently and are not homogeneous. The second group of communities of meaning is a group of performing artists who also have subgroups that vary between musicians, dancers, and actors but for the purpose of this study I am grouping them as performing artists. These groups also view performance spaces differently in respect to their practice. The third group of communities of meaning is the ordinary community members (the publics) who, in this study, are represented by traditional leaders and/or chiefs who are custodians of culture in the rural communities.

### **3 Identification of Discourses**

I started identifying discourses that came from interpreting meanings of policy through the different artifacts. Discourses that emerge when these groupings of community meanings talk about these artifacts. What does a community hall mean for government officials? The discourse that comes out of that is the democratization of culture. When the government builds a community hall, they say that they are making culture accessible. However, when a community artist sees a community hall might not see democratization of culture, they might see a lack of political will. They might read it as though the government is not serious about their craft. That might be viewed as a discourse of neglect that comes with common statements like 'After 25 years of democracy we still don't have appropriate performance spaces. A community of artists often regards themselves as the forgotten community. A discourse of being forgotten. This discourse comes from statements like 'we should call our minister a minister of sports and not a minister of arts and culture because he pays more attention to matters relating to sport more than he does with matters relating to arts and culture. For ordinary community members who are in this study represented by traditional leaders it's a discourse on development. This is an example of three different discourses coming out of three communities of meaning about the same artifact.

### **4 Identifying points of conflict**

For us to understand the appropriateness of performance spaces, we need to use Yanow (2000) stage number four (4) which is about identification of points of conflict that arise in the discourses from the chosen three different communities of meaning. Interpretation of the same policy is more likely to vary when different communities of meaning read the policy from different contexts and standpoints. Those differences are most likely to result in conflict and in interpretive policy analysis it is the researcher's duty to be able to identify the points of conflict. For example, in the context of

this study, if one discourse from the government officials is the democratization of culture, the other discourse from artists is about forgotten communities or discourse of being forgotten, and the other discourse from traditional leaders who represent the publics is about community development, this means these different discourses are not intended. They are not meeting, and each community of meaning sees things differently. It is worth highlighting that when different readings of the same policy are going in different directions, appropriateness is read differently.

## **5 Identification of interventions**

In Yanow (2000) five stages of interpretive policy analysis he identifies and calls this stage an intervention stage. Intervention stage relates to identifying those interventions or possible solutions that might help us to at least manage the points of conflict that we have identified from the differences in discourses of the different communities of meaning relating to the interpretation of the same policy. We recognize that there are three different and conflicting discourses coming from the three different communities of meaning due to an interpretation of the same policy artifact. How do we find a common ground? Yanow (2000) says "once we have identified the differences, we can only manage the differences. We don't try to find a common place because a common place may not be found, we must try and manage the differences" (Yanow, 2000). For example, when it comes to the provision of arts centres, government officials will continue to think and say that they are doing what the policy says but the community will continue to see that there is no unification of their performance spaces and their ritual spaces which depict their culture and rhythm of their way of life, and artists will say but these performance spaces are not appropriate. Therefore, we can only manage conflict and conflicting discourses, but we cannot completely resolve it. One of the interventions I have identified for this study is collaborative governance amongst a couple of others which I will discuss in greater detail when I discuss the findings in chapter four of this report. Yanow (2000) recommends that we view the implementation of public policy as a continuous reflective process.

#### **Chapter 4 –Different Meanings of Performance Spaces to Different Stakeholders**

In this chapter I am answering the central question of this study on how do key stakeholders of the arts and culture sector such as government officials, the artists, and traditional leaders/chiefs collaborate and create systems that allow for the distribution and allocation of culturally appropriate rural performance spaces that acknowledges, respect and reflect the rhythm of the way of life of the people of Bizana? I am doing this by identifying, describing, and discussing different cultural policy artifacts that relate to the distribution and allocation of appropriate performance infrastructure in the context of the rural community of Bizana. Using Yanow (2000)'s 'identification of cultural policy artifacts' is my way of presenting while simultaneously discussing findings. These are "artifacts that are created in response to arts and cultural policy interpretation" (Yanow, 2000: p5) by the government officials, local artists, and local traditional leaders/chiefs as the three different communities of meaning concerned with this study. These are "artifacts that carry arts and cultural policy meaning" (Yanow, 2000: p7). As briefly discussed in the previous chapter, I am describing and discussing Statements and/or Speeches as the first type of artifacts, Events and/or Rituals in Bizana as the second type of artifacts, and objects that are available in Bizana as the third type of artifacts. In each section of the three different types of artifacts I identify and discuss discourses that arise from the three different communities of meaning relating to the different cultural policy artifacts. That is followed up by another discussion on the points of conflict I identified in the arising discourses from the three communities of meaning. Those sections are followed by a final section where I'm discussing possible interventions that arise from both the participants and literature to manage the identified points of conflict in relation to the distribution and allocation of culturally appropriate rural performance spaces.

When it comes to matters of performance spaces and the interpretation of those spaces, "it is always a tough task to expect the same interpretation from various stakeholders who are involved in the arts and culture sector and the provision of those spaces" (Yanow, 2000: p7). according to Yanow (2000)'s interpretive policy analysis, "the way in which an artist view and interpret a performance space is often different from how a government official view a performance space and the way in which a traditional leader/chief views a performance space is also different from how the other two stakeholders view performance space" (Yanow, 2000: p7). Even if individuals are coming from the same organizations, it is interesting to note that their interpretations are most likely to be different. This is what Yanow (2000) describes as 'communities of meaning', different communities of meaning interpret the same cultural policy artifact differently. The local artist's perspective of a

performance space is one that is in line with the type of artistic work that the artist is engaged with. This perspective includes anything between a stage, lights, sound etc. However, the traditional leader's perspective of a performance space is that which acknowledges the local people's cultures and traditional practices while reflecting the rhythm of the everyday way of life of the community. This perspective includes but is not limited to Ubuhlanti (Kraal), Inkudla (Open Field), Rondavels, IsiGodlo. The perspective of the government official in relation to performance spaces is the one that is inclusive of multiple arts and cultural performance forms. This perspective includes spaces such as art centers, multipurpose centers (Community halls), cultural villages and youth centers. The difference in interpretation of a performance space by the three communities of meaning raises complex discourses relating to the distribution and allocation of culturally appropriate rural performance spaces thus the question of appropriateness remains complex.

#### **4.1 The meaning of Speeches and/or Statements as cultural policy artifacts in Bizana**

Statements and/or speeches as the first group of artifacts are constructed in response to cultural policy interpretations by the three chosen different communities of meaning in this study. Whilst referring to many other statements and speeches made by different communities of meaning in relation to the distribution and allocation of rural performance infrastructure, this study focuses on the '*MEC Policy Speech*' and a statement made by the minister of sports, arts, and culture as part of the '*Annual performance plan 2020/2021*' report. The Eastern Cape MEC of sport, arts, culture, and recreation is the head to which the Eastern Cape department of arts and culture including Mbizana local municipality is under and reports to. The *MEC Policy Speech* was delivered by the Eastern Cape department of Sports, Recreation, Arts and Culture MEC as part of '*Celebrating 100yrs of Our Struggle Icons: Nelson Mandela & Albertina Sisulu*' celebrations. The MEC spoke about the development of arts and culture in the province particularly in the rural parts of the Eastern Cape province. She spoke about plans that will enable the provision of performing arts spaces such as art centers. The MEC also said that "the Department will set up a clear cooperative governance plan that will assist in improving the capacity of the Arts and Culture sector. The Department will focus on eight vibrant Arts Centers with a view of making a meaningful impact on cultural and creative industries at the level of the districts" (MEC Policy Speech, 2018). At the center of the MEC's speech is a focus on strengthening working relations with strategic partners such as municipalities and Department of Arts and Culture in the province as part of creating a vibrant environment in the art centers. The main point that the MEC makes in her speech is around the provision, developing and

revitalizing arts centers, and the upscaling of the department's activities in the craft hubs. The policy meaning carried by the MEC's speech is that of redistribution of cultural infrastructure.

The arising discourses from the MEC speech on the government officials' perspective is that of democratization of culture versus cultural democracy. These are comparable discourses around provision of appropriate performance spaces. Democratization of culture through performance spaces versus cultural democracy through performance spaces. Matarasso and Landry (1999) describe these discourses as strategic dilemmas in cultural policy. Matarasso and Landry (1999) claim that this approach is "giving people access to a predetermined set of cultural values, expressions and products. an inadequate response by democratic states. It is seen to reflect a "top down" dispensation of elitist cultural values developed in the context of time and class, and which neglected or dismissed many forms of cultural expression and identity" (Matarasso & Landry, 1999: p13). This discourse is supported by statements such as "the Department will set up a clear cooperative governance plan that will assist in improving the capacity of the Arts and Culture sector. The Department will focus on eight vibrant arts centers with a view of making a meaningful impact on cultural and creative industries at the level of the districts" (MEC speech, 2018: p4). From this statement there is a feeling of assurance and the belief that the department is responding to policy requirements. However, from the artists' perspective there is a discourse of distrust. This discourse lives in statements such as ""our arts and culture department are occupied by visionless politicians who don't care about the arts" (Thobi, 2020). Most local artists believe that the MEC is just politicking and providing lip-service by making empty promises. For traditional leaders/chiefs there is a discourse on community development. Traditional leaders/chiefs may not care about the arts as much as artists, but they appear to be placing their value more on community development. All these discourses by the three communities of meaning are arising in relation to the distribution and allocation of appropriate rural performance spaces.

The above identified discourses arising from three different communities of meaning on the same policy artifact are not meeting at the same point. Discourse on the democratization of culture versus discourse of distrust are two conflicting discourses. Even though the discourse on community development from the traditional leaders/chiefs' perspective appears to be in line with the government officials' discourse but the conflict in discourse between the artists and government officials as two different communities of meaning present a challenge. The local artists and the local government officials are not seeing with the same eye, and this is a point of conflict that brings

about different feelings for the different communities of meaning. Wa Thiongo (1997) makes a claim that “the struggle between the arts and the state can best be seen in performance in general and in the battle over performance space in particular” (Wa Thiongo, 1997: p11). This point of conflict presents what Matarasso, and Landry (1999) refers to as “social development dilemmas” (Matarasso and Landry, 1999: p33). Roodt (2006) claims that “one of the misconceptions causing conflict that obstructs progress with the Cultural Policy Project is that Schedules 4 and 5 prevent local authorities from making by-laws and regulations dealing with cultural issues that will affect their jurisdictions” (Roodt, 2006: p211). This point of conflict has a direct impact on the distribution and allocation of appropriate rural performance spaces. Wa Thiongo (1997) defines this conflict as “the state and the artist may have a different conception of time, place, content, goals, either of their own performance or of the other, but they have the audience as their common target [...] but the main arena of struggle is the performance space: its definition, delimitation, and regulation” (Wa Thiongo, 1997: p12). One may argue that this conflict stems directly from constitutional imperatives and Roodt (2006) argues that “As a result of this particular misunderstanding of constitutional imperatives, many local authorities have sidelined culture as an issue of and for development” (Roodt, 2006: p211). With these arising discourses and points of conflict in mind that are directly impacting on the provision of culturally appropriate rural performance spaces, what does the national department of Sport, Arts, and Culture say?

The minister of Sports, Arts, and Culture in his speech claims that the vision of the national department is to “enable an active, creative, winning and socially cohesive nation” (Executive authority statement, 2020). Part of the many things that the minister speaks of in his statement, the central focus of his statement is on the nation’s “task to remake out of our fractured past a more socially and economically inclusive society that is proud of all its cultural expressions; and a people that act together to enable the birth of a new culture and create new forms of engagement towards greater unity” (Executive authority statement, 2020). The executive authority also in the statement claims that “the challenge we face as a society is the process of building our nation out of a vast cultural and economic legacy of difference and inequality” (Executive authority statement, 2020). To this end the minister also acknowledges that provinces such as the Eastern Cape and a couple of others are the victims of the injustices of the past.

The policy meaning coming out of the minister’s speech is social cohesion through revitalization. The arising discourse from the government officials’ perspective is the promotion of cultural tourism and

the advancement of social cohesion through revitalization of small towns. This is evident in the statements made by the local authorities concerned with providing arts and cultural infrastructure in the community of Bizana. The statement made by Thobi (2020) attest to this discourse where they claim that “they want to create a socially and economically inclusive society that is proud of all its cultural expressions. A community that acts together to enable the birth of a new culture and create new forms of engagement towards greater unity in the community” (Thobi, 2020). Discourses arising in the artists’ circles there is that of neglect where local artists of Bizana feel neglected as they are not provided with appropriate performance spaces resulting from being led by visionless leaders and according to Mr X (2020) “most people who work at Mbizana local municipality are there because of their political affiliation (cadreship), not because they are skilled, talented and qualified and that’s why there is a lack of appropriate performance spaces here in Bizana” (Mr X, 2020)). Discourse arising from the traditional leaders/chiefs’ perspective is that of exclusion as they claim that they are not included in the decision-making processes but only informed after the decision has been taken about their community.

There are points of conflicts that arise from the discourses of the three different communities of meaning. While the government officials speak of cultural tourism and the advancement of social cohesion, local artists see and feel neglect, and traditional leaders/chiefs see cultural exclusion. local community artists and traditional leaders are of the view that they are not consulted in the discourses that lead to establishment of such projects. This means that the government officials are providing the community of Bizana with the type of spaces they think the community needs which is informed by their policy interpretation but, the community leaders and local artists say that these spaces do not benefit them. This point of conflict may be the reason there is a lack of culturally appropriate performance spaces in the community as all three communities of meaning do not see from the same perspective. This conflict may also be another contributing factor to the conflict relating to appropriateness of performance spaces between the government officials who are strictly responsible for the distribution and allocation of appropriate performance spaces, Traditional chiefs / leaders who are custodians of culture, and local performing artists. These points of conflict have resulted in the lack of trust from the local performing artists to the government officials, the lack of trust in the work of local performing artists from the community. Traditional leaders/chiefs are left unconvinced about the role they are meant to play in the distribution and allocation of cultural infrastructure. This uncertainty is further validated in The White Paper for Traditional Leadership and governance. According to the Department of Provincial and local government (2003) “there is no universally acceptable approach for dealing with the accommodation of the institution

of traditional leadership within newly established democracies” (Department of Provincial and local government, 2003: p15).

#### **4.2 The meaning of Events and/or Rituals as cultural policy artifacts in Bizana**

Artistic events such as the *O R Tambo Homage Concert* which usually takes place around the December festive season in the week leading to Christmas day annually, and *Mbizana Mayibuye cultural Festival* which takes place on Christmas day or a couple of days after annually are directly linked to the way of life of the people of the community of Bizana. These artistic events carry policy meaning and were created in response to policy interpretations. The concert brings together performing artists in the music industry together to share one performance space. These performing artists vary from amateurs, semiprofessionals, and professionals from the community of Bizana and surrounding towns. Most of the artists who are well established in this event come from the KwaZulu Natal (KZN) province, while the less established artists are from the community of Bizana. The *cultural festival* comprises mostly musicians but also includes other arts industries such as dance, craft, and others. This is also a cultural event that carries policy meaning and unlike others, this event is dominated by local artists from the community but the headlining performing artists are almost always from the neighboring towns. This event brings together artists who are at different levels of their works including beginners to share the same performance space and the same audience. The organizers and the Mbizana local municipality claim that these events are meant to bridge the gap between the established and less established artists of the community of Bizana while celebrating a local political struggle icon O R Tambo and where he was born. These two events provide local artists with performance spaces which they share with artists from outside the community. Policy meaning that is carried by these events is cultural exchange and cultural revitalization.

As with most cultural policy artifacts, also from these two there are arising discourses from the different communities of meaning that stem from their feelings, beliefs, values, fears, and desires. According to Wagenaar (2011) interpretive policy analysis allows us to “record and analyze the original language in which people express their feelings, beliefs, ideals, fears, and desires, in relation to themselves, their neighborhood, their community, or the impact of a particular public policy” (Wagenaar, 2011: p3). With this point in mind, there are mixed feelings and discourses that arise from the three different communities of meaning in relation to these events as policy artifacts. Yanow (2000) claims that “Interpretive analyses consider a wide range of language, including not only the written language of the policy itself but also the spoken and written language of committee

debates and testimony, implementing agencies' multiple forms of documents (annual reports, correspondence, etc.), and interviews" (Yanow, 2000: p2). The discourses arising from the government officials are on improving the capacity of the arts and culture sector, and to create a meaningful impact on cultural and creative industries in the community of Bizana. This discourse is supported by statements such as "Mbizana is a place to be this festive season – arts live in Bizana" (Zakes, 2020). There is a feeling of pride in the officials' voices.

The discourses arising from local artists is that of exclusion. Local artists do not feel included in these events citing low local performing artists representation at these performance platforms. Local artists claim that performance space like the concert is only beneficial for the well-established performing artists from outside of the community more than it is for local artists. The discourse that arises from the traditional leaders/chiefs' perspective is that of rejection. To them these events are just another party and an excuse for the youth to go wild. These arising discourses between the three communities of meaning presents what Matarasso and Landry (1999) describe as social development policy dilemmas. Dilemma between external image versus internal reality. Matarasso and Landry (1999) claim that "the need to communicate a particular image may therefore be very strong but may also conflict with the image which local inhabitants have of their lives" (Matarasso & Landry, 1999: p42). Local leaders claim that these performance spaces are destroying the community youth and cultural practitioners as they are not inclusive of local artists and cultural practitioners. These are different discourses arising from the three different communities of meaning regarding the events as performance spaces.

These are all conflicting discourses arising from the three communities of meaning concerned with the distribution and allocation of culturally appropriate rural performance spaces in the community of Bizana. These points of conflict in discourses result in cultural policy dilemmas that hinder the provision of appropriate rural performance spaces. Matarasso and Landry (1999) refer to these points of conflict in arising discourse "implementation dilemmas" (Matarasso and Landry, 1999). Wa Thiongo (1997) makes a claim that "the real politics of the performance space may well lie in the field of its external relations; in its actual or potential conflictual engagement with all the other shrines of power, and, with the forces that hold the keys to those shrines" (Wa Thiongo, 1997: p13). Perhaps this point of conflict presents us with an opportunity to engage the three communities of meaning in collaborative processes that will enable the distribution and allocation of appropriate performance spaces in the community.

Strategic events such as *Celebrating 100yrs of Our Struggle Icons: Nelson Mandela & Albertina Sisulu event*, and the *Annual performance plan meeting* are strategic meetings where civil society are given a mandate to go and implement a policy. With this mandate they are given parameters to operate the performance standards. These events have a direct implication on performance space, the type of spaces and where those spaces are going to be is often determined at these strategic meetings. “The prioritized art centres will include Komani (Chris Hani) Dakawa (Sarah Baartman), Gompo (BCM), Mthatha (OR Tambo), Peddie (Amathole), Sterkspruit (Joe Gqabi), Emaxesibeni (Alfred Nzo) and Mendi (Nelson Mandela Bay Metro)” (MEC Policy speech, 2018: p4). This statement by the MEC further validates the point about the implications of the strategic meetings on performance spaces.

Discourses that arise from these strategic meetings are those of political millage through performance spaces versus community development through performance spaces. The gap between political millage and community development in this community of Bizana “can be dangerous and may feed cynicism and disaffection among local people on whom development will depend on and whose co-operation with the process is essential” (Matarasso and Landry, 1999: p42). From the government officials’ perspective, the focus is on the lobbying of youth and private sector participation in arts and culture affairs. Local artists are demonstrating a lack of faith or trust in the local traditional leaders/chiefs, and local government officials. Local artists claim that “there is a lack of local representation at these strategic events, and it is the duty of the local traditional leaders/chiefs to ensure that there is local representation at these meetings” (Zubha, 2020). As a result of this exclusion local artists start creating their own independent performance spaces without the help of government officials or the involvement of local traditional leadership which result in the divorce between the three communities of meaning in the community. This comes from comments such as “if you want to succeed as an artist in Bizana you need to do things for yourself and forget about asking for assistance from the local authorities” (Thobi, 2020). For local traditional leaders/chiefs the discourse that arises is that of insignificance. Traditional leaders are not trusted by the artists, and they are not included in these strategic events as the custodians of culture in the rural communities. There is a feeling of being misplaced coming from local traditional leaders/chiefs in relation to the distribution and allocation of rural performance spaces.

Discourse from the government officials' perspective on lobbying of youth and private sector participation versus artists' discourse on distrust and independence are major points of conflicts. If the three communities of meaning who were supposed to be working in harmony are working and pulling in three different directions, the question is what is the role and the relationship of the local government with the community and with the other two spheres of government in relation to the distribution and allocation of appropriate performance spaces? Are the local authorities competent in creating systems that will manage this point of conflict? According to Roodt (2006) "arguments in support of the competency and role of local authorities in matters cultural have been advanced elsewhere, but it is worth noting that the legislative framework of the new order enables the three spheres of government to undertake local cultural policy and planning together with cultural communities" (Roodt, 2006: p51). If the legislative framework enables, surely a collaborative approach between the three communities of meaning and a functional relationship between the three spheres of government can assist in managing this point of conflict. Stark et al (2013) claims that "the White Paper fails to acknowledge the scale of the imbalance in the distribution of resources and to take full account of the critical role of local government in achieving a national infrastructure of engagement" (Stark et al, 2013: p13). This point of conflict has led to local performing artists doubting the role of their local officials and the relation they have with the other two spheres of government in relation to the distribution and allocation of culturally appropriate rural performance spaces in the community. Local traditional leaders/chiefs claim that these performance spaces are not culturally appropriate and not suited to the community's way of life as they do not add any value to the culture of the people of Bizana. Local traditional leaders/chiefs claim that this is also the same reason that there is a lack of representation by the local performing artists at these events as performance platforms. The three communities of meaning do not see things from the same perspective in relation to these events as performance platforms.

"In seeking to identify acts that are significant conveyors of meaning to various audiences, it is often useful to search for regularly repeated patterns of activity, which we commonly call "rituals" (Yanow, 2000). Cultural events such as rites of passage may not be artistic events but there are cultural expressions taking place at these events. These are community events that carry policy meaning particularly in the eyes of the traditional leaders/chiefs who are custodians of culture in the community. Events such as uMemulo, iNtonjane, the introduction of a newborn to the ancestors (iMbeleko) and many other are cultural events that have direct implications on performance space, and they are directly linked to the rhythm of the way of life of this community of Bizana. Schechner (2002) as cited in Gerofsky (2006) makes a claim that "rituals take place in special, often sequestered

places, the very act of entering the sacred space has an impact on participants" (Schechner, 2002: as cited in Gerofsky, 2006: p8). These are sacred ritualistic events that are practiced by all three communities of meaning, the artists, traditional leaders/chiefs, and local government officials. These are sacred events that are performed at sacred spaces. Therefore, the provision of cultural infrastructure should be culturally appropriate in a way that reflects this sacredness. It is only the locals who can understand the depth of that appropriateness. Therefore, Wa Thiongo (1997) makes a claim that "locals can think, and they can communicate those thoughts, the understanding of their environment to other people. They can understand what makes them that which they are" (Wa Thiongo, 1997: p20). These ritualistic events come with a feeling of pride and ownership in this community and its people. The policy meaning carried by these ritualistic cultural events is that of the preservation of culture. Bernstein (1977) as cited in Yanow (2000), defines ritual as a "pattern of acts, specific to a situation, which constructs a framework of meaning over and beyond the specific situational meanings" (Bernstein, 1977: as cited in Yanow, 2000: p4). Perhaps the distribution and allocation of culturally appropriate rural performance spaces should respect and take this into account.

#### **4.3 The meaning of Objects as cultural policy artifacts in Bizana**

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the third type of artifacts are objects which in this context are objects that are available in the community of Bizana, Objects that were constructed because in response to cultural policy interpretations and carry cultural policy meaning.

"Analysis of built spaces (including, when appropriate, their decor, furnishings, or "props") can focus on one or both ways in which spaces communicate meanings: through their use and through their materials. Built spaces act on their users—through such design elements as their mass, interior proportions, and shape, and use of light—to evoke feeling, in the emotive, aesthetic, and kinesthetic senses of that word, and associated behavioral responses" (Yanow, 2000: p2)

In relation to the above statement by Yanow (2000), Built performance spaces such as the *O R Tambo Cultural Village* popularly known as the Mbizana Cultural Village, *Mbizana Lovelife Y-Centre*, *KwaNikhwe community hall* and other community halls across the community all carry policy meaning. These are spaces that are enacted and commissioned by the local government officials in response to the White Paper's recommendation on redistribution of cultural infrastructure. Wa Thiongo (1997) claims that these types of performance spaces incorporate the architecture of material or immaterial walls into itself and becomes a magic sphere made still by its own motion-but it is potentially explosive, or rather, it is poised to explode. That is why the state, a repressive

machine, often targets its nervous eyes on this aspect of the performance space" (Wa Thiongo, 1997: pp12-13). According to Yanow (2000), "the spaces designed, built, or modified for implementing agencies or for policy programs may communicate policy meanings" (Yanow, 2000: p2). The meaning of the White Paper is seen through these community halls, Arts centers, cultural villages, art hubs and youth centers but there are ripple effects. The policy meaning carried by these types of performance spaces is that of redistribution. However, the interpretation is a continuous and an endless process. There is an endless creation of alternative spaces, festivals events etc.

There are those types of sacred ritualistic events that require a sacred performance space. These are alternative performance spaces that are not provisioned by local government officials through their arts and culture departments. These are performance spaces such as eBuhlanti (Kraal), Rondavel (a traditional circular African building with a conical thatched roof), iNkundla (An open field), IsiGodlo (A section in the center inside a rondavel). Schechner (2002) as cited in Gerofsky (2006) makes a claim that "in such spaces, special behavior is required [...] Ordinary secular spaces can be made temporarily special by means of ritual action (Schechner, 2002: as cited in Gerofsky, 2006: p8). These are the spaces that are designated by the community itself and sometimes only the elect few may enter these types of spaces. Organically most of these performance spaces are coming out of the community and are determined by the culture and the rhythm of the way of life of this community. This further adds to the point that the distribution and allocation of culturally appropriate rural performance spaces should be done in collaboration with the community and that the community should have a strong hand in the decision making relating to such provisions. Yanow (2000) claims that "policy meanings are communicated and interpreted not just through policy and implementing agency language, but also through objects (physical artifacts) initiated or modified by policy language and/or by agencies as they enact that language" (Yanow, 2000: p2). Consequently, the meaning that is carried by this type of performance spaces is on the preservation of the culture of the people.

The discourses that arise from the government officials relating to the provisioned performance spaces are those of democratization of culture and servicing the sector. When government officials build a community cultural structure such as the above-mentioned artifacts, they say that they are making culture accessible to the whole community. They claim that "when we as government officials create these performance spaces, we are responding to what cultural policy asks of us" (Mr X, 2020). According to Kelly (1984) as cited in Robbroeck (1992) claims that "cultural democracy is an

idea which revolves around the notion of plurality, and around equality of access to the means of cultural production and distribution” (Kelly, 1984: as cited in Robbroeck, 1992: p53). There appears to be countless and endless discourses that arise from the local artists in the rural community of Bizana relating to the distribution and allocation of the performance spaces in the community.

The major discourse coming from the local artists in Bizana is that of being forgotten where most local artists in this community feel that they receive more support from outside and neighboring municipalities rather than their own local authorities. This discourse is supported by statements such as “our arts and culture are sleeping on us as performing artists” (Zakes, 2020). This feeling of being forgotten from the local artists is also geared towards local traditional leaders/chiefs and local artists feel that “local traditional leaders are not playing their part in support of the performing artists in Bizana” (Gringo, 2020). This discourse is validated by statements like “we should call our minister a minister of sports and not a minister of arts and culture because he pays more attention to matters relating to sports more than he does with matters relating to arts and culture” (Zuki, 2020). Another discourse that arises from the artists’ circles is that of access to the artifacts because of too much ‘red tape’ particularly for local performing artists. There is “too much red tape to access these spaces. When you come to these spaces as an artist it is like uzodlebelekisa (Ruin the space) but for any other gathering other than the arts, these spaces are opened with no questions asked” (Bhiza, 2020).

Local traditional leaders/chiefs in this community are of the view that performance spaces in the community of Bizana should play dual purposes to serve both the performing artists and the community and these spaces do not exist in Bizana thus there is a discourse on community development. “We need performance spaces that can be used by artists and the community to perform our traditional rituals” (Nkantolo, 2020). Local traditional leaders/chiefs also raise a discourse on the misappropriation of cultural practices such as rituals. They claim that “our government officials do not respect our culture and the spaces they are providing for this community are not suitable for our ritual practices / ceremonial performances, and how we live as this community” (Nqoko, 2020). From this statement by Nqoko (2020), one notes that the performance spaces provided for the community are culturally inappropriate. Another discourse that arises from local traditional leaders/Chiefs is that of a banking system, a top-down approach from the local arts and culture department. “The community is not consulted on the building of the structures such as the cultural village and the community halls you see around here. That is why

these things are always empty and under used because they are not what the community needs” (Skhoma, 2020). This discourse is shared by both the local traditional leaders/chiefs and the local community artists.

The meaning of a community hall through the eyes of an artist is that of insult, artists do not see redistribution. This comes with a feeling of anger, a feeling of an uncaring government. The artist sees a community hall and rejects it and builds an alternative space in their backyard. That backyard becomes a carrier of meaning because it is saying no to the provided space. The traditional leaders/chiefs see the same space as a space that does not suit the community’s rhythm of the way of life and their culture which makes these spaces culturally inappropriate. These are all conflicting discourses from the three communities of meaning on the same policy. These spaces cannot be used by the community to perform their day-to-day rituals and cultural ceremonies.

Performance spaces that were built to make arts accessible have turned into white elephants in the community of Bizana as they serve only a selected few rather than the community at large. It is interesting to note that the DAC White paper (2017) claims that “redistributing resources and opportunities for historical redress and inclusive access and through promoting human resource development, education and training for practitioners, administrators, technicians and educators” (Department of Sports, arts, and culture, 2017: p11) was achieved. Yet in response to the White Paper recommendations on the redistribution of cultural infrastructure the minister claims that “the department is embarking on a project that will ensure that there are built theatre structures in each of the nine provinces of the country to provide infrastructure that will enable artists and cultural practitioner’s creativity” (Executive Authority Statement, 2020). This statement further attests to the opinion that the government officials are merely replicating and providing communities with what is present in other communities without acknowledging the relevance and the cultural appropriateness of the provisioned performance spaces to each community. These performance spaces remain inappropriate for the community of Bizana as they are merely replications and not culturally specific to this community.

It is worth noting that the arising discourses from the three communities of meaning are not meeting at a common point and each community of meaning sees things differently. This is a complex problem that presents us with points of conflict, and it is worth highlighting that when

different readings of the same policy are going in different directions, appropriateness is read differently. It is difficult for the artist to understand and see things from the perspective and a point of view of the government official. It is also difficult for the government official to through the eyes of local traditional leaders/chiefs. It is also difficult for local traditional leaders/chiefs to see appropriateness through the eyes of the artist. All of this creates conflict between the three communities of meaning, a conflict that does not benefit the community of Bizana.

#### **4.4 What interventions can the community of Bizana adopt to make amends?**

There are differences in how different communities of meaning in Bizana interpret policy particularly arts and cultural policies in this case and this has a direct impact on the implementation of those policies. This is a policy implementation dilemma that raises discourses of consultation through the provision of performance spaces versus active participation through the provision of performance spaces. These differences in policy interpretations result in various stakeholders in the arts and culture sector not able to see through the eyes and the perspective of the other in relation to the distribution and allocation of culturally appropriate performance infrastructure. The rural communities like Bizana often fall victim to this challenge and as a result they remain impacted the most. In the rural communities such as Bizana in the rural Eastern Cape, this challenge has presented several discourses across the sector and presented multiple points of conflict between the local government officials, local community leaders/traditional chiefs, and local performing artists. The question is what needs to be done to mend this challenge? What interventions can these communities adopt to manage these resulting discourses and conflicts from different communities of meaning concerned with the distribution and allocation of culturally appropriate performance spaces in Bizana? Statements such as “local municipality together with local traditional leaders/chiefs should approach local private sector companies such as the local casino to develop appropriate performance spaces” (Thobi, 2020) suggests that there is a need for interventions that will allow for the provision of culturally appropriate performance spaces that serve the community’s needs. Matarasso and Landry (1999) attest to this when stating that “current practice in cultural affairs commonly lies somewhere between informing, consultation and active participation” (Matarasso & Landry, 1999: p21). Theoretically the solution to this complex challenge lies in collaborative governance, a form of intergovernmental relations.

The spaces provisioned by local officials and authorities in this forgotten community of Bizana play a very minimal role pertaining to performing arts in this community compared to those spaces erected by the community. However, they have a great potential to accommodate the performing artists in this community. Spaces such as the Mbizana cultural village revamped and modified have a potential to play a significant role in this forgotten rural community of Bizana, in a way that reflects the rhythm of the way of life in the community. This forgotten community is not short of arts and culture practitioners but with the distribution and allocation of culturally appropriate performance spaces that reflect the cultures and the rhythm of the way of life of the local people of Bizana. This community has a potential to become one of the arts and cultural hubs in the country. This can attract tourism to the community and boosts its economy and thus translating to a boost in the country's economy. For the ordinary people who are represented by the traditional leaders/chiefs, these spaces become important for them too because this is where people gather to have serious discussions about community developments. The spaces provided must serve dual purposes, as performance spaces and must be respected as spaces that serve the general community. As it stands, these performance spaces in the community are culturally inappropriate and most crucially they do not acknowledge and reflect the rhythm of the way of life and the culture of the people of the community of Bizana.

For the provision of culturally appropriate rural performance spaces that reflect the rhythm of the way of life of the local people to be possible, there are multiple approaches and interventions that can be adopted by the community. Some of these interventions are proposed by the different communities of meaning while others are emerging from the research. These proposed interventions are well supported by scholars who have done research in the arts and culture sector. These proposed interventions include but are not limited to processes that allow for the involvement and active participation of all three communities of meaning in making decisions that are for the development of Bizana. Exploring the distribution and allocation of culturally appropriate rural performance spaces in Bizana it is evident to me that there is a need for interventions that are community driven and cognizant of the cultures of that community. This is what Sabatier (1986) calls a "bottom-up policy implementation approach" (Sabatier, 1986: p11). Interventions that are for the community led by the community together with the community.

A bottom-up approach "starts by identifying the network of actors involved in service delivery in one or more local areas and asks them about their goals, strategies, activities, and contacts" (Sabatier,

1986: p13). The same approach “uses the contacts as a vehicle for developing a network technique to identify the local, regional, and national actors involved in the planning, financing, and execution of the relevant governmental and non-governmental program” (Sabatier, 1986: p13). In commentary to this policy dilemma Mataraso and Landry (1999) claim that “the range of choices faced by a government in involving citizens in this type of discussion has been set out, rising from a very negative root of non-participation and manipulation to a democratic ideal of citizen control which may be more aspirational than achievable in many situations” (Matarasso and Landry, 1999: p21). Complex problems such as the distribution and allocation of culturally appropriate rural performance spaces require a combination of interventions to manage. This is a complex problem I cannot find solutions to no matter how hard I tried. It will always surface as a problem because of the inability of the different communities of meaning to see from one another’s point of view. All that can be done is to find interventions that will enable the managing of this complex problem on the distribution and allocation of culturally appropriate rural performance spaces.

The vital intervention that should be adopted by the community of Bizana is a collaborative governance approach between local municipality, Alfred Nzo local authorities, KwaNikhwe traditional leaders/chiefs, and local community artists. Collaborative governance approach will afford the community a platform that will allow for all the stakeholders as different communities of meaning to sit around the same table and engage in the same discourses that will benefit the overall community. This approach will allow the three communities of meaning to manage their differences in cultural policy interpretation and meaning while minimizing the visible points of conflicts between the communities of meaning in relation to the distribution and allocation of culturally appropriate rural performance spaces. Ansell and Gash (2012) validates this approach by claiming that “the goal of collaborative governance is often to achieve coordination rather than to achieve decision-making consensus per se” (Ansell & Gash, 2012: p548). Collaborative governance approach will allow the forgotten rural community of Bizana through the three communities of meaning to establish a common understanding of what cultural appropriateness is thus enabling the provision of culturally appropriate rural performance spaces that reflect the rhythm of the way of life of the community. Booher (2004) also validates this approach by making a claim that “collaborative governance practice can resolve seemingly intractable public policy conundrums and produce successful policy outcomes” (Booher, 2004: p43) and this is vital in the context of the forgotten rural community of Bizana. However, for this outcome to be achieved it is crucial that these three communities of meaning manage their differences, collaborate, and work together towards a common goal for the

benefit of the community and adopting a collaborative governance approach will propel the community to a definitive destination.

The other intervention that is needed and crucial to solve the challenges faced by the forgotten rural communities such as the community of Bizana is a functional intergovernmental relations framework between the three spheres of government particularly the departments who are strictly responsible for the distribution and allocation of performance spaces. A functional intergovernmental relations framework is the one that clearly defines and outlines the role of each sphere of government in relation to provision of performance spaces. A functional intergovernmental relations framework that explicitly defines the role and responsibilities of local government. It is also pivotal that “local authorities make themselves available to serve culture to the point where they become established and confident in their own competency in this area” (Roodt, 2006: p221). It is crucial for a forgotten community and their local authorities to define their role for themselves to develop their own community in relation to the two other spheres of government. This approach will ensure that “contested meanings and ostensibly diverging views about what local government matters entail, will dissipate and the confidence that is gained will translate into effective advocacy” (Roodt, 2006: p212) for the distribution and allocation of culturally appropriate rural performance spaces. This framework must also make provision for ways in which each sphere should conduct itself and how to hold each sphere accountable to its roles and responsibilities as outlined in the framework. Roodt (2006a) in his critical look at the legal framework for arts, culture, and heritage, further claims that “the new policy of the Department of Arts and Culture must clarify the role and competence of all governmental levels in matters cultural” (Roodt, 2006a: p52). A functional intergovernmental relations framework will provide the three spheres of government with a platform that will enable a common understanding of their different roles and responsibilities in relation to the distribution and allocation of culturally appropriate rural performance spaces.

## **Chapter 5 – Is Bizana a forgotten rural community?**

### **5.1 Main Argument:**

In rural communities which I am calling forgotten communities in this study, there is a need for culturally appropriate rural performance infrastructure that acknowledges, respects, and reflects the culture and the way of life of the people in the rural communities. Rural communities such as Bizana in the Eastern Cape are often left in the peripheries of many development projects particularly when it comes to the provision of performance infrastructure. This paper argues not only for rural performance spaces but rural performance spaces that are culturally appropriate both commercially and traditionally. Key communities of meaning such as government officials, the artists, and traditional leaders should collaborate and create systems that allow for the distribution and allocation of culturally appropriate rural performance spaces that acknowledges, respects, and reflects the way of life of the local people of Bizana. Through the lenses of performance space, collaborative governance, intergovernmental relations framework, and interpretive policy analysis this paper argues that the role of each of the departments of arts and culture from the three spheres of government particularly the role of Mbizana local municipality in enabling culturally appropriate rural performance spaces. Government officials, local artists, and traditional chiefs/leaders through collaborative governance approaches must manage their differences to allow for the provision of culturally appropriate rural performance spaces.

“The precolonial African performance area was often the open space in a courtyard or in an arena surrounded by wood and natural hedge. It could also be inside buildings, where stories were told in the evening around the fireside. But the open space was dominant, and even in the intimate circle around the fireside, it was the openness of the performance area that was marked” (Wa Thiongo, 1997: p26). This small rural community of Bizana consists of several spaces that are used for performances of different kinds. There are two types of performance spaces available in this community. There are those performance spaces that are distributed and allocated by government officials and those that are erected by the community in response to the provisioned spaces. The provisioned spaces in this community include O R Tambo cultural village, Mbizana Y-Centre, KwaNikhwe community hall and a few others. These spaces are deemed culturally inappropriate in this community thus the community has erected their own performance spaces in rejection of the provisioned spaces. These community spaces include Rondavels, Kraals, backyards, inkudla and a few others. These spaces are used as both artistic and cultural performances by the community.

When it comes to factors that determine the distribution and allocation of appropriate performance infrastructure, there is a disconnect in points of view from the three different communities of meaning concerned with this study. Consequently, appropriateness in this context remains debatable and unclear. Wa Thiongo (1997) describes it as “the war between art and the state is really a struggle between the power of performance in the arts and the performance of power by the state-in short, enactments of power” (Wa Thiongo, 1997: p12). The government officials speak of democratization of culture and making culture accessible for all as a determining factor in relation to the distribution and allocation of appropriate performance infrastructure. However, the artists do not see democratization of culture when looking at the provisioned spaces, they see an uncaring government who has neglected them. For local leaders/chiefs the provisioned spaces represent community development despite the opinion that the spaces are not appropriate and not reflecting their cultures and the rhythm of the way of life of the people. Therefore, “when we think of theatrical space, we shouldn't think only of room space” (Schechner, 1990: p102).

The distribution and allocation of culturally appropriate performance spaces particularly in the context of rural communities can only occur once we start to acknowledge the interpretations and the meanings of policies to different communities of meaning. There after exploring different ways to manage the differences between the three groups of community of meanings. It is clear considering Yanow (2000) that trying to find a solution for the differences, or a common meeting ground is a tricky task particularly with matters of culture. Therefore, you find complaints have always been there and they continue to be there. However, the next best thing to do is to acknowledge the differences and manage them. Bizana community artists, local traditional leaders / chiefs who are custodians of culture in the community, and government officials particularly local government need to work together for the distribution and allocation of culturally appropriate performance infrastructure to occur. Interventions and/or approaches such as collaborative governance between the three different communities of meaning can assist in facilitating the collaboration between the three very key stakeholders in the community of Bizana. The also appears to be a disconnect in relationship between the three spheres of government with no common understanding of the role of each sphere of government in relation to the distribution and allocation of culturally appropriate rural performance infrastructure. This disconnect has left local government officials in limbo and in conflict with the local performing artists in the community. Government officials claim that they are providing the community with what the policy asks of them while the

community artists claim the government does not take their work seriously thus providing culturally inappropriate performance spaces. A functional intergovernmental relations framework between the three spheres of government particularly those departments who are strictly responsible for the distribution and allocation of performance spaces can help manage this challenge and that will serve as a proper foundation for local government and their implementation projects.

## **5.2 Concluding Remarks:**

After exploring the distribution and allocation of culturally appropriate rural performance in the community of Bizana and employing Yanow (2000)'s interpretive policy analysis as a broad methodological framework, it is clear to me that rural communities are indeed not forgotten as my title suggest but rather a case of different stakeholders pulling in different directions in terms of the provision of culturally appropriate performance spaces.

## **5.3 Where do we go from this point:**

Having made this conclusion, I am suggesting that if we spend more time exploring and looking at other rural communities across the country as individual case studies, we might be introduced to a different perspective. For us to discover a more comprehensive conclusion about these forgotten rural communities, there is a need for further and more comprehensive research in other rural communities which are not covered by this study. Further research with an improved research design that will allow for the exploration of the distribution and allocation of culturally appropriate rural performance infrastructure while covering more of the rural communities to unpack things that could not be done by this research.

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