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AGENCY, IMAGINATION AND RESILIENCE: FACILITATING SOCIAL CHANGE THROUGH THE VISUAL ARTS IN SOUTH AFRICA

by

Kim Shelley Berman

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Humanities,
University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis presents case studies of five projects that use the visual arts to effect social change in post-apartheid South Africa. Artist Proof Studio, Paper Prayers, Phumani Paper, Community Engagement at the University of Johannesburg and the AIDS Action Intervention exemplify a range of approaches to social activism through the arts that parallels the political transformation to democracy.

The first case study traces the history of the community printmaking studio, Artist Proof Studio, from 1991 to 2008 in three phases: redress, reconciliation and rebuilding. Artist Proof Studio was founded in 1992 to provide visual arts training to highly creative, but previously disadvantaged individuals. The Paper Prayers for AIDS Awareness initiative was implemented as a program of the studio in 1998. Originally funded by government, the campaign reached thousands of people nationwide. Phumani Paper, a national hand papermaking programme for job creation, was founded in response to a state directive to higher education institutions to implement technology transfer and poverty alleviation initiatives. The Papermaking Research and Development Unit was established at the University of Johannesburg in 1996. The principles and approaches established through these programs are analysed in the fifth case study, the AIDS Action Intervention. This three-year intervention brings all the initiatives together in a multi-disciplinary program that applies participatory action research as well as visual arts methodologies that help catalyse meaningful social action.

There are common elements running through each of the case studies that derive from the fact that each intervention was based on the democratic values of human rights and equity. Further, the methodology throughout is dialogical, consultative, and designed to facilitate participants recognizing their own voices. The idea is that practice leads to understanding and stems from a fundamental ethical principle or ideal that all human beings have the capacity to realize their potential in their own way.

The central argument of these case studies is that the projects continue to survive, against significant odds, because of the power of imagination, aspiration and dreaming. I interrogate the projects' foundational premise that participants are empowered by the creative process, which promotes a sense of pride, and generates leadership as well as income. In addition, I argue that grass-roots visual arts projects, which ordinarily go un-analysed in any systematic way, can offer a model for transforming knowledge-creation through their non-hierarchical and participatory methodologies. In sum, this thesis documents and analyses eighteen years of arts activism; it assesses the actual outcomes of the interventions against the idealistic aims on which the projects were founded, and provides a resource guide for cultural activism in South Africa. It demonstrates the dynamic possibilities that exist in the domain of development and arts education.

Key Words:
Agency, resilience, community-engagement, social change, community-arts, participatory methodologies, Photovoice, AIDS Action, sustainable development.

DECLARATION:

I declare that this thesis is, unless otherwise indicated, my own unaided work. It is submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It is has not been submitted before for any other degree or examination in any other university.

_____

Kim Shelley Berman

----------day of ----------, 2009

For Robyn van der Riet, my life partner
who has blessed me with love, support and richness in my life.

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In many ways this journey was inspired by loss, and a response to loss:

- the new Artist Proof Studio was rebuilt in memory of Nhlanhla Xaba, my founding partner and friend
- the Ford Foundation AIDS Action program was designed to honour the life and leadership of Nozipho Buthelezi (and the eight additional KwaZulu-Natal Paper group members who have passed away as a result of silence and fear of the AIDS epidemic)
- the quiet passing of Jones Mathabule, a bright light who brought art into the lives of a thousand children, inspired the Reclaiming Lives project
- Reclaiming Lives II is inspired by the loss of Osiah Masekwameng whose senseless death continues to make me angry enough to keep fighting.

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CONTENTS

ABSTRACT ..... **i**

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS ..... **iv**

CONTENTS ..... **x**

LIST OF ACRONYMS ..... **xiii**

LIST OF FIGURES ..... **xv**

PREFACE ..... **xxviii**

CHAPTER ONE: MAPPING THE JOURNEY **1**
Introduction 1
Rationale 4
Aims 7
The Chapters 9
Theoretical Framework 12
Methodology 22
Assessing Change 28
Conclusion 30

CHAPTER TWO: ARTIST PROOF STUDIO: Redress, Reconciliation and Rebuilding **32**
PART ONE: Redress: Founding and Early Years, 1991-2003 ..... **32**
Introduction 32
The Founding of Artist Proof Studio 32
Redress 33
Redress, a journey towards Reconciliation 40
PART TWO: Reconciliation: Artist Proof Studio 2003-2005 ..... **41**
Recasting Reconciliation: The Fellowship program at Brandeis University 2003-2005 45
The Aftermath of the Fire: Building toward Reconciliation 46
Ubuntu as a framework for Reconciliation 49
Defining the project and launching the new studio 49
Incorporating ubuntu as Organizational Structure and Practice 50
Researching ubuntu in APS students' communities 53
Transforming through creativity 55
PART THREE: Rebuilding: The Artist Proof Studio Artist as Change Agent **59**
African Identity and South African Art 60
Artist as change agent 63
Engaging Community: Expanding the Concept of 'Community Centres' 64
Men as Partners 67
Citizens at the Centre 69
Experiential Learning 69
Team Building through Mural Painting 70
Artists as citizen-agents 72
Assessing Community-based arts centres as social movements 72
Conclusion 74

CHAPTER THREE: CREATING AWARENESS – COUNTERING DENIAL: THE NATIONAL PAPER PRAYERS HIV/AIDS AWARENESS AND ACTION CAMPAIGN 1996-2008 ..... **76**
Introduction 76
The Implementation of the Paper Prayers Campaign 84
Paper Prayers: from Awareness to Action, some conclusions 100
Activism and Action: Paper Prayers, 2006-8: The Reclaiming Lives case study 101
Conclusions: Can art save lives? 108

CHAPTER FOUR: PHUMANI PAPER: FROM A GOVERNMENT POVERTY ALLEVIATION PROGRAM TO SUSTAINABLE ENTERPRISES **112**
Introduction 112
Papermaking as Research: Setting up the Papermaking Research and Development Unit (PRDU) 118
Phumani Paper Projects: A Brief Introduction to the Sites 122
The Pilot project: Eshowe, KwaZulu-Natal 122
Papermaking sites for the regional provinces: Gauteng 123
North West Province Sites 125
The Free State site 127
Sites in the Eastern Cape 128
The Limpopo Province sites 129
The Western Cape Paper sites 130
The Case-study of Kuyasa Papermaking in the Western Cape 131
Poverty Alleviation: Linking Practice with Theory 133
Phumani Paper: Poverty alleviation project or small business? 133
CSIR Case study 137
Sustainability or Dependency: the Challenge of Phumani Paper 146
Archival Paper Production: A case of failed promises by government 153
Systems Theory as a critical lens for analysing development 157
Reflections on Resilience 161
Assessing Impact 164
Conclusions 167

CHAPTER FIVE: TRANSFORMATIVE PEDAGOGY IN HIGHER EDUCATION: A CASE STUDY **170**
Introduction 170
Traditional Research versus Public Scholarship 179
Papermaking as a Research and Development Program 185
Case Study: David Tshabalala 192
Phumani Paper and the University of Johannesburg 196

CHAPTER SIX: CULTURAL ACTION FOR CHANGE: AN AIDS ACTION CASE STUDY **205**
Introduction 205
PART ONE: Framing and Methodologies **206**
Starting the Process: Goals and approaches 206
Framing the Approach: Concepts, issues and theory 208
Visual Culture and Public Action 210
AIDS Action and Gender: HIV and women's empowerment 212
Methodology for the Intervention 216
Academic goals and approaches for the AIDS Action interventions 216
Multi-disciplinary, Arts-based Research 217
Visual Methodologies: Photovoice, Paper Prayers and Community Mapping 220
Photovoice: Imaging and Imagining the world 220
Paper Prayers: Expressions of Hope 221
Community and Visual Mapping: a pathway out of poverty 222
Assessment Methods 223
PART TWO: The Intervention **225**
PHASE ONE: The Pilot Phase: New Partners/New Knowledge: 2005-6 ..... **225**
Summary of the 2006 Pilot Project Intervention 227
Kutloano – A Case Study of the Intervention: July-August 2006 231
The Photovoice discussion and images 233
Action Plans 233
General Summary of the Findings of the Pilot project intervention 234
Visual outcomes as research evidence 234
PHASE TWO: The Roll-out of the AIDS Action Intervention 2006-8 ..... **235**
Case Study of Phase Two: The Kutloano Group 2007-2008 238
A visit after the second Intervention in Kutloano: May 2007 238
PHASE THREE: The Third Intervention of the Kutloano Case Study: March-July 2008 ..... **240**
Visual Mapping or the *Tshupatsela* 240
Summary of Findings from the Intervention: Cultural Action for Change 241

PART THREE: CONCLUSIONS **245**
Possibilities arising from the Intervention and Public Policy Implications 245
The Use of Mapping for navigating a way out of Poverty: The way forward for Cultural Action for Social Change, 2008-2010 247

CHAPTER SEVEN: FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS **252**
PART ONE: Navigating Possibilities Using Visual Voices **252**
Reflections 252
Capacities for Building Resilience 254
The value of the arts in enhancing democratic practice 255
The Challenges of transformative citizenship 258
Linking democratic citizenship with self-creation and social transformation 259
Applying Theory to Practice to chart a way forward 260
Visual mapping: a process of navigating possibilities 262
Cultural Sites: influencing the formation of values 263
Transforming Leaders in Practice 264
Assesing Cultural Action: Beyond the Cultural Lens 265
Shifting the Paradigm 269
PART TWO: Voices from the Field **270**
From this story to many stories 270
Themes 271
Agency: Thabang's story 271
The power of dreaming: Felicia's story 274
Artistic curiosity and creative adaptability: Aletta's story 275
Resilience and Agency: Roselina 276
Artist as democratic citizen: "One man can" – an Artist Proof Story 277
Economic agency and Aspiration: The Bosele Papermakers, Lehurutse 278
Self-creation: Nelson's story 279
Narrative as an agent for citizen-activism and healing: Gadi – Creating hope for the hopeless 281
Resilience and the power of the visual voice: John's story 282
A paradigm shift: Lilo 284
Deep democracy: David 285

APPENDIX 1 ..... **288**

REFERENCE LIST **295**

LIST OF ACRONYMS

AiD	Artist in Development Programme
AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
ANC	African National Congress
APS	Artist Proof Studio
ARC	Agricultural Research Council
AZT	Azidothymidine (an anti-HIV drug)
BAT	Bartel Arts Trust Centre
BEE	Black Economic Empowerment
CARE	Community AIDS Response
CAS	Create South Africa South
CCMA	Commission for Conciliation, Mediation and Arbitration
CFDR	The Centre for Design Research School of Design Northumbria University
CICI	Creative Inner City Initiative
CIGS	Cultural Industries Growth Strategy
CRIC	Community Resource and Information Centre
CSD	Centre for Science Development
CSIR	Centre for Scientific and Industrial Research
DAC	Department of Arts and Culture
DACST	Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology
DST	Department of Science and Technology
EDL	Educate Develop Learn Foundation
GEAR	Growth, Employment and Redistribution
FADA	Faculty of Art Design and Architecture
FRD	Foundation for Research Development
FUBA	Federated Union of Black Artists
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
IDASA	Institute for Democracy in South Africa
IRSDP	Integrated Rural Sustainable Development Programme
MAP	Men as Partners
MAPPP-SETA	Media and Publishing Print and Paper-Sector Training Authority
MTN	Mobile Telephone Networks
NAPWA	The National Association of People Living with HIV and AIDS
NRF	National Research Foundation
NGO	Non Governmental organization
NOAH	Nurturing Orphans of AIDS for Humanity
OVC	Orphaned and Vulnerable Children
NORAD	The Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation
NQF	National Qualifications Framework
PAR	Participatory Action Research
PP	Phumani Paper
PRDU	Papermaking Research and Development Unit

RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
RAU	Rand Afrikaans University
SAB	South African Breweries
SABC	South African Broadcasting Corporation
SAQA	South African Qualifications Authority
SASPU	South African Students Press Union
SAYCO	South African Youth Congress
SEE	Serving Emerging Enterprises
SMME	Small, Micro and Medium Enterprise
STIs	Sexually Transmitted Infections
TAC	Treatment Action Campaign
TWR	Technikon Witwatersrand
TRC	Truth and Reconciliation Commission
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNICEF	The United Nations Children's Fund
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UJ	University of Johannesburg
WSSD	World Summit on Sustainable Development
VCT	Voluntary Counselling and Testing
WITS	University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg

LIST OF FIGURES

CHAPTER TWO

Figure 1: Plate 01	Print workshop for Sekhukhune Youth of the ANC Youth League, Limpopo Province, 1990.
Figures 2a & b: Plate 01	Freda: The French Tool Etching Press, 1992.
Figure 2c: Plate 01	APS 57 Jeppe Street, Newtown: Johannesburg, 1992.
Figures 3a: Plate 02	Founding artists: Nhlanhla Xaba, Gordon Gabashane and Sokaya Charles Nkosi, APS, Newtown: Johannesburg, 1993.
Figure 3b: Plate 02	Founding Members APS, Artist Proof Studio, Newtown: Johannesburg, 1992.
Figure 4a: Plate: 02	APS Nhlanhla Xaba with class of 1995, Artist Proof Studio, Newtown: Johannesburg. 1995.
Figure 4b: Plate 02	Nhlanhla Xaba with FUBA Students Neo Mda, Lucky Jiyane, Mike Nene: APS, 1994.
Figure 5a & b: Plate 03	Street printing with a steamroller, Jeppe Street Newtown, Arts Alive Festival, 1993.
Figure 6: Plate 03	Exhibiting street prints, Jeppe Street: Newtown, 1993.
Figure 7a & b: Plate 03	Project Literacy: APS collaboration with writers (a series of 12 readers), 1996.
Figure 8a: Plate 04	Volatile Alliances Group portraits behind Kim and Nhlanhla presenting Portfolio, at Artist Proof Studio, 1995.
Figure 8b: Plate 04	Volatile Alliances Collograph plates, 1995.
Figure 8c: Plate 04	Volatile Alliances Portfolio for Africus Johannesburg Bienale. A Portfolio of 60 colour etchings involving nine countries and 35 South African artists, 1995.
Figure 8d: Plate 04	Collaborative monoprint tile-print, 1995.
Figure 8e: Plate 05	Peter Scott from the Museum School of Fine Arts with APS participants of Volatile Alliances collaborations, 1995.
Figure 8f: Plate 05	Constructing New Identities: Portrait composed juxtaposing the ‘exquisite corpse’ process of different portrait section combinations, 1995.
Figure 9: Plate 05	Collaborative collograph print: ‘Celebrating Arts and Culture’ for the Gauteng Legislature, 1995.
Figure 10a & b: Plate 06	Urban Futures: Collaborative Printmaking at APS (The late Jones Mathabula and team of youth group), 1999.
Figure 10c: Plate 06	Xenophobia Urban Futures Print enlarged by the Cell C city-art initiative on Turbine Hall, 2003-2006.
Figure 10d: Plate 06	‘Xenophobia’ linocut print by Masekwameng, Sikhosana , Phailane, Dlamini and Phuma, 1999.

Figure 10e: Plate 06	An Exhibition of Urban Future Collaborative Prints at Brandeis University, Waltham: United States, 2003.
Figures 11: Plate 07	Artworks by APS members and students: 2004-7.
Figure 12: Plate 08	Teacher Training Graduates from Curriculum Development Project (CDP), APS and former TWR (The facilitator, Charlotte Schaer in the centre), TWR, Johannesburg, 1999.
Figure 13: Plate 08	International Workshops at APS Visiting Artist Veerle Rooms from Belgium demonstrating a new technique of chine collé, Newtown: Johannesburg, 2006.
Figure 14a: Plate 08	Visiting artists Birgit Blythe and Judy Quinn from Boston with second-year class, APS, 2005.
Figure 14b & c: Plate 09	Learning cyanotypes, van Dyke Brown, photograms and alternative photo techniques, APS, 2005.
Figure 15: Plate 09	Eileen Foti from Rutgers University teaching collaborative printing in Lithography, APS, 2000.
Figure 16a: Plate 09	Aftermath of the Fire, APS, 1 President Street, Newtown: Johannesburg, 2003.
Figure 16b & c: Plate 09	Searching through the rubble at APS, 2003.
Figure 17a & b: Plate 10	Press cuttings after the fire, 2003.
Figure 18a: Plate 10	Discovery of Kim's State of Emergency print: 'burnt victim', 2003.
Figure18b: Plate 10	Plaque written in ash "I miss you Bra", 2003.
Figure 18c: Plate 10	Kim Berman, Fires of the Truth Commission', 2001.
Figure 19a: Plate 11	Collaging from fragments of prints pulled from the ashes, Bus Factory Basement, Newtown: Johannesburg, 2003.
Figure 19b: Plate 11	Group Collage: Healing, Permanent Collection, APS, 2003.
Figures 20a & b: Plate 11	Collages on the stairway of the New APS, Newtown: Johannesburg, 2004.
Figure 20c: Plate 12	Detail of Reconciliation Panels, group collage, 2003.
Figure 21: Plate 12	The staircase of New APS showing welded plates, Newtown: Johannesburg, 2004.
Figure 22: Plate 12	The welding team: Thomas Ncube, Nathi Ndladla and Synneth Ndaleni making the metal fence collages at APS, Newtown: Johannesburg, 2004.
Figure 23: Plate 13	Temporary Basement Workshop below the New APS, Newtown: Johannesburg, 2003/4.
Figure 24: Plate 13	Tribute prints to Nhlanhla Xaba: by Jacob Molefe, Paul Molete, Newtown: Johannesburg, 2004.
Figures 25a: Plate 13	The Launch of APS, 9 March: Ritual Performance by students, Newtown: Johannesburg, 2004.

Figure 25b: Plate 13	The Launch of APS, 9 March: The launch outside the studio, Newtown: Johannesburg, 2004.
Figure 25c: Plate 14	The Launch of APS, 9 March: Opening Speech by Steven Sack, Director of Art and Culture of the City of Johannesburg. Newtown: Johannesburg, 2004.
Figure 25d: Plate 14	The Launch of APS, 9 March: Blessing by Sangoma, Newtown: Johannesburg, 2004.
Figure 26a & b: Plate 14	The New APS, Newtown: Johannesburg, March 2004.
Figure 27a: Plate 15	Ubuntu Project with Staff, Staff Workshop, on a team building retreat, Broederstroom, 2004.
Figure 27b: Plate 15	Organogram: New Management and Team structure, 2005.
Figure 27c: Plate 15	Organogram: APS Organizational Structure, 2005.
Figure 28a & b: Plate 15	Kim Berman and Stompie Selibe at the Brandeis Fellowship: Recasting Reconciliation, Boston, 2004/2005.
Figures 29a & b: Plate 16	Selibe and APS class participating in an Ubuntu workshop using Music and Dance, APS, 2005.
Figure 30a & b: Plate 16	Ubuntu Project with students: Relief linocuts: Washing the Feet and The Chair, 2005.
Figure 30c & d: Plate 16	Nelson Makamo Ubuntu story: The Tree of Life, 2005.
Figure 31: Plate 17	The New Artist Proof Studio, Newtown: Johannesburg, 2005.
Figure 32a & b: Plate 17	Professional Studio Collaborations (Muzi Donga and Gordon Gabashane), New APS, Newtown: Johannesburg, 2005.
Figure 33a: Plate 18	Activism: APS Panels used for Advocacy workshops by Men as Partners (MAP) 2006.
Figure 33b & 33c: Plate 18	APS gender rights Activism: Men as Partners Murals: Unveiling at Baragwanath Hospital, Johannesburg, 2006.
Figures 34a & b: Plate 18	Sonke Justice Artists against Xenophobia: Murals in Yeoville, 2008.
Figures 35 a, b, c, d: Plate 19	One Man Can: Sonke Justice and APS, Bree Street Taxi rank and Soweto, School 2007.
Figure 36a & b: Plate 20	Workplace learning outreach: APS volunteers providing art activities for refugee children, Refugee Centre for victims of Xenophobic violence, Rifle Range, Boksburg 2008.
Figure 36c & d: Plate 20	Noah Centres outreach for orphans and vulnerable children Diepkloof and Pimville. Visiting APS for the Exhibition event, 2008.
Figure 37a: Plate 21	Team Building Murals: Trevor Thebe and APS Mural team for Standard Bank, Standard Bank Gallery basement garage, 2006.
Figure 37b: Plate 21	APS artist teaching Standard Bank employees to paint murals, Standard Bank basement garage, 2006.
Figure 38a: Plate 21	Team building murals for law firm Bell Dewar: Murals. John Taos and his team of attorneys. Parking basement of Bell Dewar, 2007.

Figure 39: Plate 22 Thabo Moseki and Lehlohonolo Mashaba, APS graduates, 2007.
Figure 40a: Plate 22 Xenophobia Mural, with Sonke Justice, Yeoville, 2008
Figure 40b: Plate 22 APS students painting a wall to honour John Taos's story from Rwanda and protest against Xenophobia in South Africa, Outside Johannesburg Art Gallery, 2008.

CHAPTER THREE

Figure 1a: Plate 23 Printing a Paper Prayer, anonymous, 2008.
Figure 1b: Plate 23 Paper Prayers, from the campaign, North West Province, 1998.
Figure 2a & b: Plate 23 The earliest 'embroidered prayers' made by the collectives of women in Bushbuck Ridge, Northern Province, 1998.
Figure 3a: Plate 24 Paper Prayers Embroidery collectives, Women's Embroidery Collective, Bushbuck Ridge, 1998.
Figure 3b: Plate 24 Mapula Embroidery Group, Winterveld, 2002.
Figure 3c: Plate 24 Chivurika Collective, Mphampo Village, Limpopo Province, 2002.
Figure 3d: Plate 24 Ikageng Collective, Artist Proof Studio, Gauteng, 2007.
Figure 4a: Plate 24 Siyazama Project, Break the Silence, KwaZulu-Natal, 2001.
Figure 4b: Plate 25 Break the Silence – HIV/AIDS portfolio, Art for Humanity KwaZulu-Natal, 2001.
Figure 5: Plate 25 Roselina Molefe, Women on Purpose project, Winterveld, 2008.
Figure 6: Plate 25 AIDS Memorial Quilt: The Names Project. Washington DC, 1998.
Figure 7: Plate 25 Gideon Mendel Positive Lives, Durban Art Gallery, 2000.
Figure 8a: Plate 26 APS student preparing a pallete for printing Paper Prayers. APS, 1998.
Figure 8b: Plate 26 Phumzile Rakosa from the Art Therapy Centre attending a Paper Prayers workshop, APS, Newtown: Johannesburg, 2008.
Figure 9a & b: Plate 26 The Paper Prayers Campaign: Carol Hofmeyr Teaching Paper Prayers to school children in Jane Furse, Limpopo Province, 1998.
Figure 9c & d: Plate 26 The Paper Prayers Campaign: Terence Fen teaching Papermaking for Paper Prayers, Winterveld, 1999.
Figure 9e: Plate 27 Workshops for Clergy (Parktown Parish and others), APS, Newtown: Johannesburg, 1998.
Figure 9f: Plate 27 Workshops for clergy: Rabbi Singer with mixed group, APS, 1998.
Figure 9g: Plate 27 Leaf printing workshop at Tinswalo Hospital, Mpumalanga Province, 1998.
Figure 10a: Plate 27 Paper Prayers for World AIDS Day Exhibitions: Paper Prayers workshop, APS, Newtown: Johannesburg, 2008.
Figure 10b: Plate 27 Exhibition at the BAT Centre, Durban, 1998.
Figure 11a: Plate 28 Making Paper Prayers: Using a Press to print a found object, APS, 2006/7.
Figure 11b: Plate 28 Making Paper Prayers: Hand colouring, Bosele group, North West Province, 2006/7.

Figure 11c: Plate 28	Making Paper Prayers: Rubbing plate with a spoon, Sodwana Bay, KwaZulu-Natal, 2006/7.
Figure 11d: Plate 29	Making Paper Prayers: pulling a linocut print, Sodwana Bay, KwaZulu-Natal, 2006/7.
Figure 12a: Plate 29	Paper Prayer by Dipuo Letanka, Madikwe, North West Province, 2007.
Figure 12b: Plate 29	Comments by participants on making a Paper Prayer, 2007.
Figure 13a & b: Plate 30	Embroidered panel by Karos Workers, Latabele, Mpumalanga 1998.
Figure 13c, d, & e: Plate 30	Embroidered Panels by Chivurika women, 1999-2000.
Figure 14: Plate 30	Emily Maluleka, Mapula embroidery, 2000.
Figure 15a: Plate 31	Kopenang Group, Tsakane, Gauteng, 2005.
Figure 15b: Plate 31	Ikageng Group, APS, Newtown Johannesburg, 2005.
Figure 16a: Plate 31	Mphambo Home Based Care group, Giyani, Limpopo, 2005.
Figure 16b: Plate 31	Chivurika Group, Mphambo Village, Giyani, Limpopo, 2005.
Figure 17a & b: Plate 32	National Campaign: Embroidered panels: collaboration between APS linocuts and embroidery groups, 2000.
Figure 18a: Plate 32	Karos Workers narrative cloth, Tzaneen, Mpumalanga, 1998.
Figure 18b: Plate 32	Embroidered narrative: Lestina Malatjie, 'The Cycle of AIDS', Karos Workers, Mpumalanga, 1999.
Figure 19a: Plate 33	Deputy Minister Brigitte Mabandla making her speech to launch the National Campaign, APS, Newtown: Johannesburg, 1998.
Figure 19b: Plate 33	Linocut Paper Prayers, 1998.
Figure 20a: Plate 33	AIDS Memorial Wall: Unveiling by DACST, 1998.
Figure 20b: Plate 33	Wall in disrepair outside the former APS, 1 President Street , Newtown, 2004.
Figure 21: Plate 33	Pledge cloths for different Ministries, a collaboration between APS and Paper Prayers collective, 2000.
Figure 22a: Plate 34	International World AIDS Conference, Durban, 2000.
Figure 22b: Plate 34	Cultural Program, BAT Centre, 2000.
Figure 23: Plate 34	Minister Ngubane making a Paper Prayer, International Conference, Durban, 2000.
Figure 24: Plate 34	Paper Prayers Workbook for facilitators: *A Guide to extend the National Campaign into schools*, 1999.
Figure 25a: Plate 35	Joyce Sithole giving a lecture, Frauen Museum, Bonn, Germany, 2000.
Figure 25b: Plate 35	Workshop, Frauen Museum, Bonn, Germany, 2000.
Figure 25c: Plate 35	Exhibition, Frauen Museum, Bonn, Germany, 2000.
Figure 26: Plate 35	Tumelong Hospice, Winterveld, 2005.
Figure 27a: Plate 35	Exhibitions of the Paper Prayers Campaign for United Nations, location unknown, 2001.

Figure 28: Plate 35	Chivurika Group preparing Paper Prayers banner for the exhibition at the United Nations, Mphambo Village, Giyani, Limpopo, 2001.
Figure 29a: Plate 36	Product Development for Paper Prayers embroideries: ties and hats for Barcelona International AIDS Conference, 2002.
Figure 30a, b & c: Plate 36	Paper Prayers products for the World Summit on Sustainable Development, APS, Newtown: Johannesburg, 2002.
Figure 31a: Plate 36	Ikageng Group, APS, Newtown: Johannesburg, 2008.
Figure 31b: Plate 36	Ikageng products, stuffed felt animal toys, APS, Newtown: Johannesburg, 2008.
Figure 32a: Plate 37	Paper Prayers outreach program: Teen project: Paper Prayers made at APS, Newtown: Johannesburg, 2006.
Figure 32b: Plate 37	Vatiswa Mtyalela (3rd year student mentor) standing with Pretty Mazinga, (a teen participant) in front of their Paper Prayers and portraits, APS, Newtown: Johannesburg, 2006.
Figure 33: Plate 37	Chris Molefe with a group of children at a NOAH Centre, Diepkloof, Soweto, 2008.
Figure 34a: Plate 37	NOAH exhibition with children from Diepkloof NOAH site, APS, Newtown: Johannesburg, 2008.
Figure 34b: Plate 38	Children from NOAH site in Katlehong performing their musical program at APS, Newtown: Johannesburg, 2008.
Figure 34 c: Plate 38	Artwork on exhibition, APS, Newtown: Johannesburg 2008.
Figure 35a & b: Plate 38	Sonke Murals in collaboration with APS: Soweto Schools Mural 2007.
Figure 36: Plate 39	Jones Mathebula, APS, Newtown: Johannesburg, (Deceased November 2005).
Figure 37: Plate 39	Sasol Wax Awards Poster, 2006.
Figure 38a: Plate 39	Reclaiming Lives Project 2006: 'Honouring Lives', Tribute portraits, 2006.
Figure 38b: Plate 39	Molefe Twala printing a tribute portrait for the book, APS, Newtown: Johannesburg, 2006.
Figure 39a: Plate 39	Reclaiming Lives: Tribute Wall: Aardklop Exhibition, Free State, 2006.
Figure 39b: Plate 39	Kim Berman demonstrating dipping a print into wax to seal the print for the overlay print on the wall, APS, Newtown: Johannesburg, 2006.
Figure 40: Plate 40	Kim Berman, 'Mourning our Future', etchings (800x1600cm) 2006.
Figure 41a & b: Plate 40	Installation at Sasol Gallery, Rosebank, Johannesburg, 2006.
Figure 42a: Plate 40	Tribute Cloths APS artist in collaboration with Paper Prayers Collective: Chivurika embroidered portraits, 2006.
Figure 42b: Plate 40	Detail of cloth embroidered and beaded by Women's Health Collective, Hillbrow, 2006.

Figure 43: Plate 40 Artist book of 100 tributes: Etchings and artists statements on handmade paper. Edition ½ compiled by Kim Berman, bound by B Marshall, August 2006.

Figure 44a, b, c, d & e: Plate 41 Extracts from Reclaiming Lives: Artist Book, 2006: Artists' portraits and statements.

Figure 45a, b, c & d: Plate 42-43 Paper Prayers Workshop: Reclaiming Lives ll at APS, Newtown: Johannesburg, 2008.

CHAPTER FOUR

Figure 1a & b: Plate 44 KwaZulu-Natal Paper and craft packaging Group, Eshowe, 2001.

Figure 2a: Plate 44 PRDU collection of bast fibres for paper research, Marydale Basement, University of Johannesburg, Doornfontein, 2000.

Figure 2b: Plate 44 Research in the PRDU, Marydale Basement, 2004.

Figure 2c: Plate 44 The Phumani Paper Training team with Asao Shimura, (former TWR) 2004.

Figure 2d: Plate 45 Zhané Warren, Paper as an expressive medium, University of Johannesburg, 2006.

Figure 3a: Plate 45 Phumani Paper products display, SARCDA Trade Fair, 2006.

Figure 3b: Plate 45 Lifestyle products developed by UNESCO AiD program, Phumani Paper National Office, Doornfontein Campus, 2006.

Figure 4a: Plate 45 Research, training and technology in papermaking production: Lee MacDonald, visiting expert from Boston, USA, PRDU, Doornfontein Campus, 2005.

Figure 4b: Plate 45 Research, training and technology in papermaking production: Gail Deehry, visiting expert from Rutgers University, USA demonstrating bookbinding for Papermaking trainers, PRDU, 2002.

Figure 4c: Plate 46 Research, Training and technology in papermaking production: Asao Shimura giving the 'Golden Pineapple Workshop' to students and papermakers in the Marydale Basement of the former TWR, 2002.

Figure 5: Plate 46 Sales Graph from Phumani Paper Annual Report, 2007/8.

Figure 6: Plate 46 Phumani Paper Section 21 Company marketing banner, 2007.

Figure 7a: Plate 46 The Tswaraganang Group, Winterveld, 1999.

Figure 7b: Plate 46 Making Paper, Tswaraganang, Winterveld, 2007.

Figure 8a: Plate 47 Cubuya decorticated and drying in Gethsemane, Ecuador, 1999.

Figure 8b: Plate 47 Sisal/cubuya plant, Gethsemane, Ecuador, 1999.

Figure 8c: Plate 47 Papermakers, Gethsemane, Ecuador, 1999.

Figure 8d: Plate 47 Transporting fibre by donkey, Gethsemane, Ecuador, 1999.

Figure 9a: Plate 47 Bronwyn Marshall, Archival Research Project, University of Johannesburg, 2003.

Figure 9b: Plate 47 Cotton and Sisal fibre for archival paper, 2003.

Figure 10: Plate 47	Minister Ngubane with Siyazama members Launching PPRP in Parliament, Cape Town, 2001.
Figure 11: Plate 48	Organogram: 21 Phumani Paper Projects in seven provinces, 2002.
Figure 12a: Plate 48	Map with original Phumani 21 Sites, 2001.
Figure 12b: Plate 48	Map with current 15 Phumani Sites, Phumani Paper Annual Report, 2006/ 2007.
Figure 13a: Plate 49	Sorting sugar cane leaf fibre for processing into pulp, KwaZulu-Natal, 1999.
Figure 13 b: Plate 49	KwaZulu-Natal Pilot; Gathering sugar cane for processing into paper, KwaZulu-Natal, 1999.
Figure 14a: Plate 49	Zulu pots and plates packaged with handmade sugarcane fibre paper, 2002.
Figure 14b: Plate 49	Nozipo Buthelezi, former Station leader at KwaZulu-Natal Papermaking and Craft, 2001 (Deceased 2005).
Figure 15a: Plate 49	Modifying designs of the packaging for the pots, Eshowe, KwaZulu-Natal, 2003.
Figure 15b: Plate 49	Training silkscreen printing, KwaZulu-Natal paper and packaging group. Eshowe, KwaZulu Natal, 2003.
Figure 15c: Plate 49	Modifying pots by adding paper pulp to the clay, Endlovini, KwaZulu-Natal, 2003.
Figure 16: Plate 50	Endlovini Potters with Fundi Biyela, visited by D. Kruger, Phumani Paper Project accountant, Eshowe, 2002.
Figure 17a: Plate 50	Original Eshowe papermaking group, KwaZulu-Natal, 2001.
Figure 17b: Plate 50	DST (Deputy Minister Hanekom) Visit to KwaZulu-Natal Paper and Packaging, Eshowe, 2003.
Figure 18a: Plate 50	Thandanani Group and products,, Doornfontein Campus, University of Johannesburg, 2007.
Figure 18b & c: Plate 50	Handmade paper stationery products by Thandanani, Doornfontein Campus, 2006.
Figure 19: Plate 51	Selina Pule and Gertrude Mngadi from Tandanani, Phumani Paper National Office, 2008.
Figure 20a: Plate 51	Twanano Group, Ivory Park, 2005.
Figure 20b: Plate 51	Twanano and the Eco-cities Co-operative, Ivory Park, 2002.
Figure 20c: Plate 51	Showcase for WSSD, Twanano, Ivory Park, Gauteng, 2002.
Figure 20d: Plate 51	Milkweed paper from Twanano, Ivory Park, 2003.
Figure 21a: Plate 52	Kopenang Group, Tsakane, Ekurhuleni District, Gauteng, 2005.
Figure 21b: Plate 52	Sr Sheila Flynn with the Sithand'izingane Care Project, Tsakane, 2005.
Figure 22a: Plate 52	Thutukani group, Tsakane, Ekurhuleni, 2007.

Figure 22b: Plate 52	Eco-fuel briquettes, Doornfontein Campus, University of Johannesburg, 2006.
Figure 23a: Plate 52	Bosele group in their new premises, Lehurutse, North West Province, 2008.
Figure 23b: Plate 52	Jacobeth Lepedi: Bosele project manager, Lehurutse, 2008.
Figure 23c: Plate 53	Bosele women casting paper, Lehurutse, 2004.
Figure 24a: Plate 53	Tswaraganang group, Winterveld, 2005.
Figure 24b: Plate 53	Nhlanhla Mabizala from MAP with Tswaraganang women, Winterveld, 2007.
Figure 24c: Plate 53	Tswaraganang women making paper and pulp, Winterveld, 2005.
Figure 25a: Plate 54	Amogolang group, Mmkau Village, North West Province, 2005.
Figure 25b: Plate 54	Woman casting paper, Amogalang, Mmakau, 2005.
Figure 26a, b & c: Plate 54	Madikwe group processing Sisal for cooking and pulping, North West Province, 2007.
Figure 27a & b: Plate 54	Mandy Coppes, 'Richie Man' Kgabane Paper fibre range, University of Johannesburg, 2001.
Figure 28a: Plate 55	Kutloano warehouse, abandoned mining site, Welkom, 2000.
Figure 28b: Plate 55	Kutloano group, Welkom, 2008.
Figure 29a: Plate 55	Rising Sun building their workshop, Organic Farm, Mdantsane, Eastern Cape, 2002.
Figure 29b: Plate 55	Rising Sun group Launching their building, Farm, Mdantsane, Eastern Cape, 2002.
Figure 30a: Plate 56	Ma Vera and group casting paper on the organic farm, Mdantsane, Eastern Cape, 2002.
Figure 30b: Plate 56	Rising Sun Products, Mdantsane, Eastern Cape, 2004.
Figure 31a: Plate 56	Asao Shimura demonstrating uses of pineapple fibre, PRDU, University of Johannesburg, 2004.
Figure 31b: Plate 56	Lilo Papermaking Bathurst, Eastern Cape, 2004.
Figure 32a: Plate 56	F Vukeya and G Tshikhuve outside Papermill at Akanani Centre, Elim, 2004.
Figure 32b: Plate 56	Komenani group making products, Elim, Limpopo Province, 2002.
Figure 33a: Plate 57	Komenani group processing banana fibre, Akanani, Elim, Limpopo, 2005.
Figure 33b: Plate 57	Banana Fibre cooking, Akanani Centre, 2005.
Figure 34a: Plate 57	Chloe group (Dikopaneng) cooking sisal fibre, outside Polokwane, 2005.
Figure 34b: Plate 57	Kim Berman and Walter Ruprecht with a stack of sisal pulp sheets produced by Chloe Dikopaneng group, Phumani Paper National Office, 2005.
Figure35a: Plate 57	Lebone group with Walter Ruprecht, Makopane, Limpopo, 2005.

Figure 35b: Plate 57	Lebone papermakers casting and couching paper, Makopane, 2005.
Figure 36a: Plate 58	Kwa NoThemba, workshop for the disabled in Khayelitsha, Western Cape, 2002.
Figure 36b: Plate 58	Siyazama group, Khayelitsha, Western Cape, 2007.
Figure 36c: Plate 58	Siyazama Stationery products, Khayelitsha, Western Cape, 2003.
Figure 36d: Plate 58	Siyazama group visited by Deputy Minister and Norwegian dignitary, Khayelitsha, Western Cape, 2006.
Figure 37a: Plate 58	Kuyasa members couching paper, Kommetjie, 2001.
Figure 37b: Plate 58	Kuyasa products from Port Jackson Willow fibre and natural dye, Kommetjie, Western Cape, 2003.
Figure 37c & d: Plate 59	Kuyasa paper Products at the Craft Festival, Spier Wine Estate, 2002.
Figure 38: Plate 59	Flower Valley Trust: a papermaking project on a fynbos farm: pounding invasive plant fibre for making paper, Western Cape, 2001.
Figure 39: Plate 60	CSIR Beater at Imboni Craft, Sodwana Bay, KwaZulu-Natal, 2005.
Figure 40: Plate 60	Government officials from DST visiting a CSIR site, Richards Bay, KwaZulu-Natal, 2005.
Figure 41: Plate 60	Visit to CSIR Bakery by DST officials, Richards Bay, 2005.
Figure 42: Plate 60	Durant Sihlali showing his paper pulp paintings, Amakondo Paper Sudio, Roodeport, 2004.
Figure 43a: Plate 61	Twanano group visited by Deputy Minister Derek Hanekom, Ivory Park, 2003.
Figure 43b: Plate 61	Twanano hand-beating milkweed fibre, Ivory Park, 2002.
Figure 43c: Plate 61	Beaten fibre ready for casting, Twanano, Ivory Park, 2002
Figure 44a: Plate 61	Harvesting milkweed outside Ivory Park, Midrand, 2003.
Figure 44b: Plate 61	Twanano bast fibre strippers, Ivory Park, 2003.
Figure 44c: Plate 61	Milkweed bast fibre, PRDU, University of Johannesburg, 2003.
Figure 45a, b & c: Plate 61	Phumani pets produced by Twanano Group, Phumani National Office, Doornfontein, 2007.
Figure 46a: Plate 62	Phumani Archival Mill, University of Johannesburg, Doornfontein Campus, 2005.
Figure 46b: Plate 62	Moreno Duplex Hollander Beaters, PRDU, 2003.
Figure 46c: Plate 62	Products made for the South African National Archives, Archive Mill, University of Johannesburg, 2005.
Figure 46d & e: Plate 62	Deputy Minister Department Arts and Culture, Ntombazana-Botha launching the Archive Mill, University of Johannesburg, 2005.
Figure 47a: Plate 62	Archival product range for catalogue, PRDU, University of Johannesburg, 2007.

Figure 47b: Plate 62	Jeannot Ladeira and Bronwyn Marshall (PRDU) presenting paper to Alexio Motsi of the SA National Archives, Phumani Paper National Office, 2006.
Figure 47c: Plate 63	Archival Mill Registered as a co-operative: Rags2Paper, May 2008.
Figure 47d: Plate 63	Manuscripts from Timbuktu, Mali requiring restoration, 2002.
Figure 48a: Plate 63	Storeroom of sisal fibre Chloe, Limpopo Province, 2006.
Figure 48b: Plate 63	Cotton rag cut up for archival papermaking, PRDU, University of Johannesburg, 2003.
Figure 49a: Plate 63	UNESCO-funded new product development (AiD) for Amogalang, Mmkau, North West Province, 2006.
Figure 49b: Plate 63	Hermina Sephati demonstrating new products to Tswaraganang, Winterveld, 2006.
Figure 50: Plate 64	Women on Purpose: Hermina Sephati, Winterveld, 2008.
Figure 51: Plate 64	University of Johannesburg Vice Chancellor visiting Phumani Paper, University of Johannesburg,Doornfontein, 2007.
Figure 52: Plate 65	David Tshabalala, promoted to National Program Manager of Phumani Paper profiled in *Legends News*, October 2008.
Figure 53: Plate 65	New Products for Ambiente Gift Fair February 2009, Frankfurt , Germany, Phumani Paper National Office, 2009.

CHAPTER FIVE

Figure 1: Plate 66	Teaching paper pulp sculpture to youth in a Correctional Services rehabilitation centre, Hillbrow, 2002.
Figure 2a & b: Plate 66	David Tshabalala with 6 000 dolls, preparing for the WSSD March, Braamfontein, 2002.
Figure 3: Plate 67	The start of the march organized by Friends of the Earth for the WSSD Summit, Johannesburg, September 2002.
Figure 4: Plate 67	The paper dolls stored outside Wits University, Johannesburg, 2002.
Figure 5: Plate 67	The march with the dolls received headline news in *The New York Times* (5 September 2002).
Figure 6a: Plate 68	Papermaking students (Mandy Coppes) in the Basement of Marydale Building, Doornfontein Campus, 2000.
Figure 6b: Plate 68	David Tshabalala & Steven Mokoena preparing pulp, Doornfontein Campus, 2000.

CHAPTER SIX

Figure 1a& b: Plate 69	Eshowe group, KwaZulu-Natal, 2000 and 2002.
Figure 2a: Plate 70	Eco fuel briquette project, Doornfontein Campus, University of Johannesburg, 2007.
Figure 2b: Plate 70	Eco fuel briquette project, porta-press, Doornfontein Campus, 2007.
Figure 2c: Plate 70	Packaging of Eco-fuel briquettes, Graphic Design Department, University of Johannesburg, 2007.

Figure 2d: Plate 70	Logo of Eco-fuel briquettes, University of Johannesburg, 2007.
Figure 2e: Plate 70	Thutukani Paper and Craft group, Tsakane, Gauteng, 2007.
Figure 3: Plate 71	Photovoice and Change, Caroline Mashiane's story, Twanano, 2006.
Figure 4a & b: Plate 72	Ra Hlasane demonstrating printing techniques, Madikwe group, 2007.
Figure 4c: Plate 72	Example of a Paper Prayer and Narrative, (K. Oordira), Madikwe, 2007.
Figure 5a & b: Plate 73	APS Trainer conducting workshop, at national Phumani Mapping Workshop, University of Johannesburg, July 2008.
Figure 6: Plate 73	Map of sites for AIDS Action intervention, Phumani Paper Annual Report, 2008.
Figure 7a & b: Plate 73	Transcribing stories using a multi-disciplinary team, Winterveld, 2005.
Figure 8: Plate 74	Stompie Selibe and Twanano Papermaking Group, Ivory Park, 2005.
Figure 9a & b: Plate 74	Demonstration of printmaking techniques for Paper Prayers, Ivory Park, 2006.
Figure 10: Plate 75	Photovoice: Rose Mashile, Winterveld, 2006.
Figure 11: Plate 75	Pilot project training team (partial) with Kutloano Group, Welkom, 2006.
Figure 12: Plate 76	Kutloano Group, Welkom, 2006.
Figure 13a& b: Plate 76	Kutloano members learning how to use a camera, Welkom, 2006.
Figure 14: Plate 76	HIV Training using role play, Kutloano, Welkom, 2006.
Figure 15: Plate 77	APS Facilitators teaching Paper Prayers, Kutloano, Welkom, 2006.
Figure 16: Plate 77	Mamoeti Mano and Masechaba Molelekoa creating their Paper Prayers, Kutloano, 2006.
Figure 17a: Plate 77	Paper Prayer by Matshidiso Sepagela, Kutloano, 2007.
Figure 17b: Plate 77	Paper Prayers by Masechaba Molelekoa, Kutloano, 2007.
Figure 18a: Plate 78	Photovoice: Mamoeti Mano, Kutloano, Welkom, 2006.
Figure 18b: Plate 78	Photovoice: Masechaba Molelekoa, Kutloano, 2006.
Figure 19a & b: Plate 79	Paper Prayers: Imboni, KwaZulu-Natal Qongwana District, Sodwana Bay, 2007.
Figure 19c: Plate 80	Making Paper Prayers, Imboni, Sodwana Bay, KwaZulu-Natal, 2007.
Figure 20a: Plate 80	Lesego Khunou conducting an AIDS Action workshop, Madikwe, 2007.
Figure 20b: Plate 80	HIV Training materials, PAR handbook (Equity in Integrated Health Care), 2008.
Figure 21a, b, c, & d: Plate 81	Mapping Workshop at Kutloano, Welkom, 2007.
Figure 22a: Plate 82	Women on Purpose: Tlaki Radebe, Winterveld, 2008.
Figure 22b: Plate 82	Women on Purpose: Fundii Biyela, at the University of Johannesburg Paper Prayers Exhibition, 2008.
Figure 23: Plate 83	Interviews: Women on Purpose Mamoeti Mano and Masechaba Molelekoa Welkom, 2008.

Figure 24: Plate 84	Portrait of Masechaba Molelekoa, Kutloano 2008.
Figure 25: Plate 84	Julie Mehretu: 'City Citings', Detroit Institute of Arts, and Reflections about Visual Mapping (Kim Berman).
Figure 26: Plate 85-87	Table1 Poverty Indicators: KwaZulu-Natal: Umkhanyakude District Municipality.
	Table 2: Poverty Indicators: Free State: Matjhabeng.
	Table 3: earnings, social grants and bread winner status Mid-term review.
	Table 4: Knowledge of HIV organizations, referral and own testing.

PREFACE

The period in South Africa between 1991 and the first democratic elections in 1994 could be regarded as the most significant moment of change in the country's history. Many feared that South Africa was on the edge of chaos. But, simultaneously, an opening was created for cultural and social transformation: this particular time created significant possibilities for South Africans to comprehend themselves in new ways. With the prospect of political change, the country was faced with the challenge of transformation, and the promise of the fulfillment of the anti-apartheid movement's vision of unity, diversity and democracy. I interpreted this challenge as an opportunity not to reject or turn away from its complexity, but to learn to live with complexity creatively.

In the late 1970s and 1980s, South African university students were caught up in the political turmoil of the time and my experience of that period of revolution and protest changed my life. What took place in the 1980s, led to a new economic and social order. It was a period of struggle against the system on many levels. I immersed myself in the debate about the role of art in politics and society. My art was strongly political, despite the lack of support on the part of my teachers. I left South Africa for the United States in 1983, and having the opportunity to think even more deeply about these issues, I wrote my Master's thesis at the School of the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston on the subject of the political role of art (Berman 1989). At that time I became convinced that if art is to be socially transformative it cannot remain limited to so-called high culture and confined to the sacred precincts of the museums, but rather must be engaged with communities. In the 1990s, after my return to Johannesburg from the United States, I was once again inspired to become immersed in contributing to the process of change toward an equitable society in South Africa. In addition to making artwork, I founded community-based arts projects that were aimed at the empowerment of black South African artists and crafters who, due to the inequities of apartheid, would otherwise have no or very few opportunities for further education and training.

At the start of this dissertation, I ask the question: Why?
Why do I do this?
For me, making an artwork has a significant physical and emotional impetus; it is driven by a need to translate a personal and visceral response to one's life experience into a mediated expression of a public communication. Embarking on a PhD is not, for me, precipitated by the same urge or impulsive need; it is driven by something else.

In 2003, during a research visit to the United States, I was scavenging in the Brandeis University library on a quest for inspiration to convince myself to register for a doctorate. My institution (that evolved from a Technikon to a University in 2005) required that I extend my studies, even though the Master's of Fine Art is the terminal degree in studio art. Although I had been a recipient of significant research funding for many years, I now had to translate that activity into a doctoral proposal to upgrade my academic qualifications in order to qualify for continued funding support.

The problem is that I tend to be a sceptic, a radical. I operate on the margins of academia in that I challenge the hierarchy and institutionalism of the university system, and for that matter most systems. I am intoxicated by the notion of transformation: that space for radical change, creative re-invention; the arena of possibilities. I believe that the most meaningful learning happens outside the classroom, and outside the confines of entrenched systems.

My own experience as a lecturer in a higher education institution has been to create radical pockets and spaces for students' active engagement with a nation in the process of change. At Brandeis University, I was hunting for alternative models for fulfilling this new research requirement of upgrading my academic qualifications, but in a way that made sense to me. How to own the idea of transformation, internalize it, receive it as a new ground for creative engagement and challenge? While at Brandeis University, I met with the Director of the Women's Studies Research Center and Professor of Sociology, Dr Shulamit Reinharz, and was inspired to read her book, *On Becoming a Social Scientist* (1979). During the 1970s she was, as I am now, questioning the uses of methodology. I was struck by her argument:

> Social scientists approach problems … with many strategies at their disposal. Their first responsibility, after reviewing the literature on a given topic, is to select methods that best fit the problem at hand. Methods are selected not by asking 'which particular method is useful for this problem?' but by asking 'which methods are legitimate at all?'

She concluded: "To overcome alienation, the discipline of sociology must be changed" (Reinharz 1979: 35). In spite of the fact that Reinharz's book is over two decades old, it provided me with a model for seeing the research process as a radical journey that could well include rejection initially, if it is in the end to make a genuine contribution:

> My journey consisted of learning, using, becoming dissatisfied, rejecting, and then creating a method of my own.… I was able to break the cycle of expectation, alienation, and rejection by examining the process itself and using, rather than denying, my own experiences. Through this process, I learned that rejection is an instrumental component of development and creativity. The very act of rejecting that which others take for granted or hold sacred releases creativity at the social cost of assuming the status of deviant.

> To reject social conventions creates the possibility of social invention (Reinharz, 1979: 45-46).

Two years after reading this, and with support from my long-term mentor Pam Allara, I finally found the courage, as well as an enthusiastic and open-minded supervisor based locally, Lara Allen, who was willing to take the risk with me, to register for a PhD. Since the time of Reinharz's publication, revolutionary strides have liberated knowledge from the positivistic and Cartesian model of scientific knowing, yet many institutions still cling onto traditional pedagogical styles and institutional structures. Not infrequently, these structures can cause resistance to new technologies, community engagement, broader access and changed ideologies of learning. All of these I have faced in the process of researching this PhD, and may well face in its reception.

The central question of this thesis is: Can the visual arts contribute to positive social change in post-apartheid South Africa? This question does not fit into a particular discipline, but straddles the arts, development studies, sociology, politics and cultural studies. It has no comfortable disciplinary home, and no linked subject area for a degree qualification. The departmental home for this doctoral thesis is the Division of Cultural Management, Heritage and Tourism, within the University of Witwatersrand's School of Arts. While this was a relatively new program that had recently been initiated, my PhD proposal was accepted as the first in the division, thereby entering into an open space with no precedents. The idea of self-creating an opportunity in collaboration with intellectuals I have long admired in this opening field of the cultural industries appealed to me. This research has therefore evolved in a space for creativity, exploration, rejection, imagination and invention, akin to the practice of art-making.

Despite my initial hesitancy in embarking on this thesis, it is a remarkable privilege to have been an artist, activist and educator in South Africa from 1990 to the present. The challenges posed by social, political and cultural transformation in the country opened up creative spaces that permitted innovation, imagination and dreaming to take place. Epochal shifts span the discursive conditions in which the initiatives I analyse emerged. The politics of resistance in the 1980s, the utopian dream of President Nelson Mandela's rainbow nation of the late 1990s,[1] and the realities of President Thabo Mbeki's government from 1998-2008, have shaped the kinds of responses discussed in the case studies. Dynamic possibilities emerged: yet if these stories are not told and collective experiences shared, this creative space will start

[1] The former Archbishop Tutu has been credited with coining the phrase *Rainbow Nation* to describe the multiculturalism of post-apartheid South Africa, but it is widely associated with Nelson Mandela's presidential term.

to close and be forced back into restrictive systems of certainty and 'safety.' A conservative trend in institutions has, in fact, already started closing doors on participatory and collective practice. It is therefore imperative to find or create methodologies for interventions, analysis and critique that will strengthen multi-dimensional and interdisciplinary practice and theory in the domains of development and arts education.

A Personal Reflection

This preface serves as a self-reflexive investigation of why my work in this thesis is the way it is, and what shapes my radical view of my world. I was asked by my supervisor, Lara Allen, to dig deeper into the core of what is behind my ability for not giving up and fighting a system that seems impossible to change. She encouraged me to explore my personal belief system: what the principles are that drive my understanding of the world and why I have such resilience and persistence in fighting an unfair system. I considered the formative phases of my life growing up in a family that was at odds with their philosophies: capitalism on my father's side and socialism on my mother's side. I joined a radical student movement at Wits University, leaving the country in the 1980s and working for the anti-apartheid movement abroad, returning home only after Nelson Mandela was freed. I deeply believed that the idea of building a rainbow nation was possible to transform South Africa and I have dedicated myself to this cause ever since. This belief drives both the projects I have founded and my own art-making.

I have also gradually understood that my awareness of the Holocaust made a deep impression on me as a child and has a strong connection with my artwork. During August 2008 I attended a moving service of Yom Hashoa – the day of remembrance for the six million Jews who perished and the millions of others who died senselessly in the Holocaust. It is one of many I have attended over the years. As children growing up in the years following the second World War, my siblings and I heard many stories of survivors and were encouraged to read testimonies, listen to their poems and narratives, and to see the photographs and art works – "lest we forget". I am sure these visual images changed my perceptions of human behaviour. I learned that survival is a mission of resilience, determination and faith in the future. It is about purpose, possibilities and responsibility to others. We as children learnt to use the Holocaust experience to try and understand the horrors of extreme evil, hatred and racism and to learn how we can contribute towards a just, moral and humane society. My understanding of the Holocaust gave me the strength to speak out, abhor the consequences of racism and be aware that an ideology of supremacy, power and hate can and did lead to the extermination of a people.

It was in this context that I grew up in apartheid South Africa instinctively knowing that a system that separated people by their race was iniquitous. My own 'nanny' who was entrusted with caring and nurturing me and my sisters was living in entirely inferior conditions to our family and not even permitted to eat food from the same plates as we were. The only difference I could detect was that she was black and therefore not equal to us. Racism in South Africa became an irreconcilable burden for me.

Both my mother and father's families escaped the pogroms in Lithuania at the turn of the century. My father's family landed in London and made their living from selling merchandise in the East End of London before coming to South Africa where they established a shipping and confirming business. My maternal grandfather's family came from a religious family in a small village of Lithuania but who in the late twenties adopted a secular socialist and communist philosophy. When they arrived in South Africa in 1910 they started a small business that grew until it became a large wholesaling warehouse. They became successful businessmen who used the opportunities available to them to not simply acquire wealth, but to become philanthropists and patrons of the arts. My maternal grandfather was a founding member of the Labour Party, which at one time was the main opposition to the Nationalist apartheid government in power. He fought for the rights of every South African for a fair and equitable society and was radically opposed to the inadequate living conditions, schools and health services endured by the poor black communities. Perhaps in retrospect, I could characterize one of the sources of conflict in our household as a philosophical conflict between socialism and capitalism; the materialism of the early Jewish immigrants in Johannesburg and the enclave of the Yiddish cultural group of writers, poets, artists and musicians. Because of my grandparents' patronage, I grew up surrounded by and influenced by the art of Irma Stern, whose paintings and colourful narratives of her life filled their walls. The stories told by my grandfather to us as children were about the triumph of the downtrodden and poor over their circumstances. These early influences shaped my sense of right and wrong in the world.

There are no direct analogies for the Holocaust but there are lessons to be learnt. I cannot bear to see young people die of AIDS when they have a choice of survival and often refuse to fight for their lives because of the social stigma of the disease. By hiding their condition and choosing not to take anti-retroviral medication, they are surrendering their right to life. Victimization as a result of oppression and hatred is unacceptable. How do we respond, other than to find ways within our own lives to fight it – "lest we forget"?

Perhaps my experience as a student ensured that I have made my mission to help foster a positive sense of self in my students, especially when the politics and social structure of racism worked to break down the individual's sense of self-worth in the world.

My sisters and I attended a government school where I confronted anti-Semitism and racist ideology from my classmates and teachers. Furthermore, intuitively, I did not accept the world view that was presented at a young age in school and continued at university where the teaching style of one particular lecturer was to break down students' confidence through ridiculing our work. When I arrived at Wits University in 1978, I was also particularly ostracized for insisting on including a social or political message in all of my work. This had the effect of increasing my determination to achieve and to speak out. I joined the radical student movement and became deeply involved in student politics that included making artworks for the radical student press union's newspapers (SASPU National) which were banned as soon as they were printed.

In 1983 I left South Africa with my partner at the time to attend a Summer Art program in Boston. The sense of freedom we experienced as a lesbian couple in that nurturing and supportive environment was liberating, and we decided to apply to graduate school and study for Master's degrees in Boston. I remained on a student visa for four years accumulating valuable experience as a printing intern and teaching assistant, and became active in the anti-apartheid movement in Boston. When I watched Nelson Mandela's release on an American television set in 1990, I felt convinced that it was time to go home. My relationship had ended two years prior and I wanted to be part of Mandela's rainbow nation. I returned home and founded the Artist Proof Studio in Johannesburg.

The style of pedagogy in the Boston School of the Museum of Fine Arts and Tufts University was to facilitate each art student's growth and expression. I thrived on this nurturing approach, and have since adopted it in my interaction with my students, along with setting up high expectations for achievement.

The feelings and identity of being a victim of an unjust and de-humanizing apartheid system, leaves one incapacitated, and is not conducive to being open to learning. Many of the students I taught at Artist Proof Studio in the 1990s arrived psychologically and emotionally damaged, and angry, resenting those who had privilege and benefits. Many Artist Proof Studio artists at that time had a negative sense of themselves and did not trust their ability to shape their worlds. They were poor and resented hand-outs. They were ashamed of their inferior levels of literacy and therefore refused to write, or dropped out of learning programs because their

writing and reading skills in many cases were inferior to the more junior students. Teaching in the early and mid-1990s there was much to overcome, yet extremely talented Artist Proof Studio students who acquired enhanced skills were able to develop confidence and leadership, and to compensate for the gaps in their apartheid education.

My sense of achievement as an educator stems from my ability to inspire people to imagine themselves out of poverty, or out of mediocrity. To help students find their own sense of potential and power. I can experience that ability by making a difference to someone else's life through teaching or sharing creative skills and capacities. Making a difference in someone's life becomes a motivation or even a mission. In many ways my students at Artist Proof Studio, the University of Johannesburg and Phumani Paper have experienced this sense of meaning in their ability to facilitate the development of an individual's growth. Perhaps this nurturing process, feeds my own sense of self, and it is what keeps me doing the work I am doing. Expressing my belief in the potential of the individual has worked for some students to achieve beyond their average expectations of themselves while others get angry for having pressure put on them and it adds to their stress. Yet the satisfaction of achievement is often appreciated in retrospect and the individual develops a self-motivated work ethic that takes them beyond what they thought they would otherwise have settled for. This is the journey of 'self-creation'.

Helping to reformat another person's vision of themselves through imagination and creative processes is not only empowering to the receiver, it is incredibly powerful for the facilitator. I get a sense of deep satisfaction and reinforcement of an otherwise fragile ego, when leaving a workshop or class that I know has inspired students, or increased their determination to move out of their apathy, energizing them to achieve greater heights. This process of supporting the students' belief in themselves demonstrates that each of us is able to make our own contribution to change.

Perhaps the lesson of this exercise is no more profound than the impetus to use our own gift of trust and learning (passed on by our teachers) and to pass it onto others in order to facilitate growth and agency. This helps individuals to imagine their own potential to be agents of positive change. In many ways this impetus for passing on lessons learnt is the underpinning rationale for this thesis. It is another medium and format for the expression of voice and for 'self-creation,' a theme that runs through this work.

The voice and role of the artist is central to this thesis. Yet, the focus is not on the making of art, but rather on how creative activity can be the catalyst to create change. My own art-making does not form part of this narrative, but yet being an artist, and finding a visual and

metaphoric voice is a key part of my identity and energy, or creative juices that run through who I am. My artistic voice is quieter than my activist/educator voice in some way, but it is an essence that feeds my energy, restores my sense of self, nurtures my broken spirit and gives me the well-spring to be resilient. These are the qualities or sensibilities that seem to belong in the realm of the romantic mythology of the artist. Perhaps this research project is a quest to dissolve this form of elitism and make it more accessible. I chose to be a printmaker because of its accessibility. Printmaking is the ultimate democratic medium in art. But beyond the craft and the skill of making, is a place where self-creation happens. It is that feeding of the soul, the reconciliation of spirit and practice; the achievement of balance. Even for a moment. This is the gift of art-making that I am trying to articulate and share through the long narrative journey ahead.

CHAPTER ONE: MAPPING THE JOURNEY

Introduction

The argument that the visual arts can play a positive role in creating social change is based on the premise that a creative collaboration between the community arts and development fields is possible. This thesis argues for a paradigm shift in approaching development in a way that an art educator approaches the facilitation of an artist's personal and creative growth. Dreaming and imagination facilitate self-expression. Developed further, self-expression is arguably a transforming process of self-creation. Empowerment is the ability to become an agent of one's own life and to achieve self-actualization. When individual agency is applied as a catalyst to inspire new possibilities, social systems respond to stimulate change.

This thesis proposes that the visual arts can contribute positively to community development. The literature in the community arts and development fields refers to people as "beneficiaries". Beneficiaries are always viewed in groups or as a block, rather than as individuals.[1] I suggest that this reveals a fundamental problem in the development sector: the humanity of individuals, driven by desires, hopes and dreams, is not acknowledged. It appears that in the process of building a post-apartheid democracy, those in the development sector (and particularly within government) have outlined their approaches to community development in ways which have not yet incorporated methods of reaching out to and nurturing the humanity of the individual. It is not true that beneficiaries are inert units within a collective. This thesis proposes that this misconception is one of the primary reasons why development projects fail. However, the question arises: If the recipients of development interventions are not passive collective beneficiaries, then what are they? How can development facilitators assist people to fulfil their potential and act productively for themselves and the collective?

The premise underlying this argument is that if the development practitioner can help participants to achieve agency, then development projects will have a much better chance of

[1] Numerous examples of this use of 'beneficiaries' are included in government documents; to give one example from the Department of Social Development :

> This discussion document is aimed at proposing strategies to link the beneficiaries of grants and the unemployed to economic activity. Beneficiaries are unlikely to be in a position to use their social grant income to invest in wealth-creating ventures. Instead, an investigation into the possibilities of creating opportunities for social grant beneficiaries and the unemployed to participate in economic activities should become a key focus if government is to meet the MDG's 2014 (Extract from the Department of Social Development Discussion Document 2006: 2) (*www.welfare.gov.za/documents/2006/link.doc*).

working. Further, I assert that the visual and creative arts are a means of acknowledging and developing potential in people, and of facilitating the change in current terminology and attitude from 'beneficiaries' to creative human beings. The investigation into the ways in which art can contribute to social change derives from this premise.

In arguing that the visual arts can contribute to change, this thesis explores five case studies to analyse how change manifests itself. Each case study presents different social challenges. These include: linking research and practice in higher education; creating leadership and professionalism in community arts education; encouraging agency and action in response to HIV/AIDS education and support; facilitating poverty alleviation through economic and social sustainability and, finally, combining the projects in a multi-modal Cultural Action intervention. These challenges are explored in the different social arenas of Community Arts, Higher Education, and urban and rural poor communities affected by HIV/AIDS and poverty. Each of the case studies in these domains applies different pedagogical approaches and methodologies that include: research and visual arts training; economic strategies using technology and skills transfer in craft development; and visual arts strategies to facilitate voice through HIV/AIDS education. Chapter Six combines these methodologies through an intervention that assesses and provides evidence of the impact of individual and group change that occurs through creative processes.

The case studies suggest that the following themes articulate the challenges for development: agency, empowerment, voice, resilience, dreaming and imagination. This thesis proposes that sustainability is complex and that these are the capacities that make or break it. It becomes evident that these attributes are ignored when people are considered to be beneficiaries. Development interventions that are targeted towards beneficiaries ignore the complex psychological humanity of the individuals involved. The combinations of these capacities put together permit the achievement of self-actualization. The visual arts as methodology can be used to achieve self-actualization. Self-actualization enables individual and group change.

This proposition is made in a particular political and social context. Underlying my argument is the historical conflict between between socialism and capitalism. Put in the simplest possible terms, capitalism can be generalized as economic growth arising through individuals acting in

self-interest,[2] whereas socialism, in its broadest definition, assumes that the individual has little importance, and that people work in collectives to progress.[3] However, poor people often do not have the economic capital to advance effectively as individuals within the capitalist system. The developmental response is often to persuade poor people to act in collectives in order to move forward. The response by the neo-liberal policies of the Mbeki government has been to promote the concept of entrepreneurship, which asserts that the wealth created by the few trickles down to benefit the many poor.

The question I ask is that if the energy for forward movement lies with the individual, as a capitalist model holds, how then is it possible to harness that individual drive for the benefit of the collective? How can one extract the entrepreneurial urge from the goal of exclusively self-interested enrichment? I hold that the first step is to acknowledge that 'beneficiaries' are individuals, with the individual seen as a person distinguished from others by a special quality – as in the Western, enlightenment, democratic, capitalist definition. From this starting point each case study proceeds from activities on the ground, using a range of practical approaches that aim to expand the capacities of each individual within a group to empower themselves as agents of change. The evidence for change that is offered is empirical and is based on grassroots experience. This approach at the same time seeks a balance that is counter to the self-enrichment ideology of capitalism to approximate the philosophy of ubuntu.[4] This theory and methodology argues for an eco-systems approach in which sustainability and renewal are reliant on values of interdependence, partnerships, flexibility, diversity and complex networks. Individual capacity-building is of little use without the comparable development of networking skills.

My argument about the need to encourage individual potential is supported by A.H. Maslow (1943), one of the original theorists of self-actualization, which Maslow defines as a desire for self-fulfilment: "the desire to become more and more what one is, to become everything that one is capable of becoming" (Maslow 1943).[5]

[2] Capitalism is an economic and political system in which a country's trade and industry are controlled by private owners for profit, rather than by the state (Oxford English Dictionary 2007). Capitalism not only encourages individuals to better themselves, but provides market incentives for them to do so.
[3] Socialism is a political and economic theory of social organization which advocates that the means of production, distribution, and exchange should be owned or regulated by the community as a whole (Oxford English Dictionary 2007).
[4] Ubuntu is derived from Zulu humanist ethics "*umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu*" translated as "a person is a person through other persons" or, "I am because you are!" Ubuntu is one of the principal values of the South African Constitution.
[5] Kurt Goldstein (1939) defined self-actualization as a driving life force that will ultimately lead to maximizing one's abilities and will determine the path of one's life.

I present the use of the visual arts as one way to explore this driving force of life in combination with the complexity of economic development, and propose that by using creative self-expression, it is possible to achieve in development interventions that which has not been achieved before. The empowered individual can work as part of a group in implementing change.

I also argue that the systems under investigation in this thesis are complex, and that a linear reductionist analysis would be inappropriate. Complexity theory argues for the importance of possibilities that lead to creativity and system transformation. This approach holds that systems are most creative when they operate with a combination of order and chaos. I suggest that this manifests as an individual drive for self-actualization within the paradigm of ubuntu. This requires a balancing of socialism, as defined by collective action, and the individualism that accounts for capitalist-style drive. The processes of creative dreaming and imagining can assist an individual to aspire to be an agent of change; to go beyond self-actualization towards agency and collective participation.

The argument of this thesis is that the hierarchy of the usual goals of current development practice should be reversed so that the focus is firstly on the creation of empowerment, agency and resilience, and only secondly on job creation and skills development. While empowerment and resilience are certainly partly achieved through skills development, this thesis holds that creative practice and aspiring towards change are greater goals, and the ones that better guarantee long-term sustainability.

Rationale

One rationale for this thesis is the need to fill a gap that exists in the field of cultural activism, that of sharing lessons and findings from interventions in order to build research and policy, in order to increase the possibility of meaningful change taking place. My impression is that, in the context of South Africa, activists for the most part are so busy acting and responding to crises that not enough reflection takes place, and that the impact of interventions is often not measured or monitored. This is partly because the culture of research is alienated from that of practice: they occupy distinct worlds, with great divides between them. Research happens in the elite world of higher education, while activism and community engagement happen on the ground. Mark Taylor has recognized the importance of bridging this divide in his book entitled *The Moment of Complexity*: “Theory without practice is empty; practice without theory is blind. The ongoing challenge is to bring theory and practice together in such a way that we can theorize our practices and practice our theories” (Taylor 2003: 233). Perhaps, as the

American critic Lucy Lippard suggests, it is best to think of ideas rather than theories, which tend to lock “ideas up into boxes to which not all of us have the key.” The best theories evolve organically, from practice (Lippard 2005: xxiii). It is in this manner that I aim to contribute to theory through this research.

The rationale for this study has the following central components:

1) While there is an extensive range of community-based cultural activities, both within South Africa and worldwide, systematic studies of their outcomes are mostly in the initial stages. Therefore, qualitative analysis of projects that have employed different visual arts strategies for change will contribute to knowledge in the creative, education and development fields.
2) Central to the establishment of each of the case studies to be examined has been the participation of students and artists in experiential learning programs, both in a formal, research-linked educational context, and in an informal, non-governmental, organizational capacity-building context. Progressive educators in the United States have published extensively on the benefits of this link between formal and informal learning environments. The analysis of these case studies will contribute to their arguments for a fundamental transformation of the role of community engagement within the academy.
3) The processes of reflection, self-criticism and analysis at the core of this thesis are necessary for the continuity and regeneration of any community-based cultural projects. Such processes help to clarify the many complex levels on which these projects must work in order to ensure their survival.
4) Sharing strategies and narratives of resilience and agency can contribute to a deepening of the discourse on development practice. The rationale for this approach also holds that practice and experience should contribute to theory, from the bottom up, and not the other way around.

Supervisors and the first readers of my thesis proposal advised me to reduce the number of case studies in order to ensure that the scope of the thesis would remain within manageable limits. However, I have insisted that the full sum of the parts is necessary for a comprehensive investigation of creative approaches in each of the sectors of my involvement as an educator. All four case studies and their summation in a final analysis are necessary in order to substantiate the primary arguments put forward.

As a founder and leader of the programs that have been selected as case studies, a further rationale for conducting the thesis research has been the need to address the following

discouraging questions that many cultural organizations face, particularly in an unstable funding landscape:

- Why do so many cultural organizations fail?
- Why is it that some projects that have developed the complexity needed to be sustainable often fail to achieve significant results?
- Why does 'change' itself, the event that cultural organizations are supposed to be managing, feel overwhelming and create confusion rather than clarity?
- Why do many cultural activists find themselves swimming upstream, against the system?
- Why do the expectations of cultural organizers frequently diminish to the point that the best they hope for is to survive the disruptive forces?

And, finally, academia excels in theorizing systems. No real systems are as clean as the models that are theorized. Activism is instrumental, theory is detached – are the two incompatible? How can theory that is applicable to everyday life be integrated into academia?

Specific responses to these broad questions will be addressed throughout the thesis, but are posed here as the following initial questions: How can creative strategies respond to state imperatives for democratic change? To what extent does the state impede or facilitate art and culture as transformative in creating a new society? How can collectives that are organized around creative activity engage social trauma effectively?

I have based my research on the following proposals that will be tested in this thesis:

a) The visual arts can provide a valuable tool for social transformation, particularly in developing countries where literacy levels are low.
b) Grass-roots creative arts projects that ordinarily go un-analysed in any systematic way are an important research resource in providing the foundation for new knowledge. The projects' participants are partners and collaborators in generating this knowledge.
c) The comparative approach generated by juxtaposing these case studies can provide useful examples and strategies to inform South African cultural and developmental policies and practices.
d) The faculty of the imagination is an essential component in re-envisioning change in complex environments such as post-apartheid South Africa. Visual artists bring special strength to the project of facilitating the role of the imagination in aspiring for a better future.

e) Many of the individuals who have participated actively in the projects under investigation have become 'empowered.' Empowerment in this context refers first, to the products or the art objects produced as manifestations of visual expressions that are both healing and transformative, and, second, to the process of empowerment whereby the external world is transformed through dreaming and vision. Self-empowerment in this context also has livelihood implications, as the resulting products are a source of income. I argue that the two functions of product and process can assist in redressing the conditions of disempowerment resulting from damage caused by the apartheid system.
f) The creative arts can be applied in different ways to alleviate social, spiritual, environmental and economic poverty.
g) The arts promote agency and resilience; they enable individual dignity as well as collective pride in culture; and they provide a means of expression to find 'voice': voice is a tool participants can use to "navigate their way out of poverty" (Appadurai 2004).

Aims

This thesis sets out to investigate the above questions and assumptions through the case studies of four community-engaged initiatives that have each, in different ways, responded to state policies, foundation guidelines, and social imperatives. Artist Proof Studio, Paper Prayers, Phumani Paper and community-engaged arts at the University of Johannesburg each reflect a range of approaches that parallel the political transformation of a post-apartheid South Africa from 1991 to the present. Further, the aim of this thesis is to document and to critically reflect on the contributions to change arising from the various strategies used in the case studies. Other objectives are to provide additional criteria for a re-interpretation of current concepts of economic development and poverty alleviation; and to contribute to new methodologies in approaching complex, sustainable community development projects.

A broader aim of this analysis is to provide a resource guide for cultural activism in South Africa, and to demonstrate the dynamic possibilities that exist for collective experiences and participatory approaches that have the potential to strengthen multi-dimensional and interdisciplinary practices in the domains of development and arts education.

The following section will clarify defining concepts frequently referred to. 'Social change', 'agency' and 'empowerment' are terms repeatedly employed in this thesis. While these words have become jargon in development, this thesis attempts to reclaim their content and context.

The concept of 'social change' is linked to the meaning of change as set out by the South African government in 1994 in its Reconstruction and Development Programme for transformation:

> South Africa has begun, for the first time in its history, to undertake the task of the equitable development of the life opportunities of all its citizens. It has a unique opportunity at this time to transform the means and the methods through which its social goals are to be achieved (RDP 1994, White Paper).

'Empowerment' in the context of this study is defined as an individual's or group's capacity to make effective choices and the capacity to transform those choices into desired actions and outcomes. The extent or degree to which a person is empowered is influenced by personal agency (the capacity to make purposive choice) and the given opportunity structure (the institutional context in which choice is made) (Alsop and Heinsohn 2005). The World Bank has developed a set of tools for measuring empowerment in development practice. Alsop and Heinsohn, who contributed to the World Bank's policy paper, have provided a useful differentiation between agency and empowerment. They suggest that asset endowments be used as indicators of agency. These assets may be psychological, informational, organizational, material, social, financial, or human. Opportunity structure is measured by the presence and operation of formal and informal institutions, including the laws, regulatory frameworks, and norms governing behaviour. Degrees of empowerment are measured by the existence of choice, the use of choice, and the achievement of choice (Alsop and Heinsohn 2005).

While I rely on the definitions provided by the World Bank policy document, I expand on the meaning of agency, using the definition provided by Alexander and Mohanty. For these scholars, agency requires that people imagine themselves as authors of their own lives:

> Agency is understood here as the conscious and ongoing reproduction of the terms of one's existence while taking responsibility for the process (Alexander and Mohanty 1997: xxviii).

Through its 1997 White Paper for Social Welfare and Population Development, the South African government admirably articulated the aim of achieving an empowered populace as the development of human capacity and self-reliance (Ministry of Welfare and Population Development 1997: 15). Unfortunately, government's ability to achieve this goal has proved to be limited. Due to its lack of capacity to implement policies, the State is currently limiting the development of human potential; some of its policies and practices enable growth, whereas others undermine it. Currently, many of the cultural programmes that have contributed to the growth of the cultural sector are experiencing severe damage through corruption and funding

cuts resulting from the neo-liberal economic priorities of the government's Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) policies. This situation issues a greater imperative to individual and non-government organizations to infuse the country's educational and development strategies with a multi-dimensional and holistic approach, which converts the culture of waiting, unfulfilled expectations and falling victim to poverty and HIV/AIDS, into collective agency and a belief that "We are the ones we have been waiting for".[6] This thesis argues that the creative arts are able to facilitate the placement of individuals at the centre of their own lives as empowered agents of change, and can inspire ideas for collective action that are rooted in the democratic processes of discussion and consensus.

The Chapters

The first four case studies constitute differing responses to the South African government's imperatives for social change towards the transformative ideals of non-racialism and equality of rights and opportunities. Chapter Six combines these case studies in a series of participatory action research interventions that aim to measure the processes of change in terms of individual responses to the HIV pandemic. The interventions further seek to measure increased economic and social participation of the community groups. The methodologies used, and interventions described in Chapter Six use visual arts processes combined with personal narratives. The narratives, stimulated by the visual artistic processes, contribute to deepening the quality of the findings that are partially included in a commissioned sociological impact assessment. What follows is a brief outline of each chapter that maps the structure of the thesis.

Chapter One introduces the reader to the themes, rationale and objectives of this thesis. It briefly outlines the core activities of each case study and the specific creative processes and methods used in each project. It presents the framing theories and methodologies that will be explored with different emphases in each chapter.

Chapter Two introduces the first case study, Artist Proof Studio (APS), and its key goal of developing leadership and activism among students training to become professional visual artists. APS is a community printmaking studio founded in 1992. The fire that burnt down the APS premises in 2003 provided an opportunity for rebuilding and for organizational change after ten years of democracy. The founding inquiry that this case study explores is the role of the imagination in envisioning a new organizational identity suitable for artistic practice within

[6] This is a phrase used by Harry Boyte in his discussion on Civic Agency (2006). The original source is a song from the civil rights movement in America dating to the 1950s.

post-apartheid South Africa. The chapter argues that the community-based art studio is especially conducive to the process of preparing emerging leadership in the new democracy. The journey of APS parallels South Africa's cycle of transition that involved the three-part process of reconciliation, redress and rebuilding. Finally, this chapter explores the different visual strategies for developing and preparing artists as change agents in society.

Chapter Three explores the Paper Prayers initiative that was implemented as an HIV/AIDS awareness programme of APS in 1998. The program was originally funded by government as a highly successful visual arts awareness campaign that reached thousands of people nationally. A year later, due to the reduction in government funding for creative HIV/AIDS initiatives, the program had to seek new sources of financial support and new directions. This case study argues that Paper Prayers offers a model of adaptability for a national program of community-based interventions that respond not only to erratic funding sources, but also to the shifting political terrain of HIV/AIDS policies in South Africa.

One of the key themes of this program involves the social consequences of HIV/AIDS with regard to gender. Paper Prayers began as an awareness program directed primarily at women, and gradually became a tool for social activism, particularly as elaborated in the program "Cultural Action for Social Change" in Chapter Six. Chapter Three also explores a case study intervention, "Reclaiming Lives," that is directed primarily at changing the ingrained patriarchal attitudes held by the predominantly male constituency at Artist Proof Studio. It uses a collaborative and interactive art process to catalyse discussion and offer support to overcome denial, and encourages all members to undergo voluntary counselling and testing (VCT).

Chapter Four examines the issue of sustainability in arts-based poverty alleviation projects. Phumani Paper, a national hand papermaking programme for job creation, was started through a government objective of funding higher education institutions to implement technology transfer and poverty alleviation. Although the grant offered exciting possibilities for educational innovation as well as social transformation, extensive damage was caused by the imposed program requirements. This chapter argues that the Government's top-down, bottom-line policy for poverty alleviation is based on a narrowly conceived and ineffectual approach that ignores the capacities for practice, such as creativity and imagination, which I hold are crucial to success. Using current development theory as well as systems and complexity theory, the chapter examines Phumani Paper as a multi-layered project that fosters community voice and agency, and argues that these are fundamentally important factors that contribute to sustainability.

While Chapter Four addresses the weaknesses of government policies and suggests more effective means of fostering social change, Chapter Five, “Transformative Pedagogy in Higher Education,” examines the crucial role that I argue universities should play in that process. It argues that research in the arts can play a role in empowering previously disadvantaged students and providing a model of knowledge creation that is fluid and collaborative. Multidisciplinary and participative approaches to research have the potential to both strengthen the role of the arts in the academy and to assist in shifting the paradigm to an African-centred approach that values the role of community engagement in developing new bases of knowledge. The goal of creative processes – to enhance the self-actualization of individuals – provides the catalyst for activating a participatory and community-centred paradigm.

In each of the four case studies I argue that the fundamental reason that the projects and programs discussed continue to survive, although faced with significant problems, is the power of imagination, aspiration and dreaming. I propose that participants in these interventions are empowered by the creative process, which promotes dignity, pride, creativity and leadership, in addition to income, and that these ‘soft’, intangible attributes are the active ingredients for success.

Chapter Six explores a multi-modal AIDS Action program that brings together the lessons learnt from the four case studies to help sustain the struggling Phumani Paper enterprises, which are coping with losses due to HIV/AIDS. Bringing together institutions of higher education, Artist Proof Studio and the Phumani sites, the program uses the methodology of Participatory Action Research and the visual interventions of Paper Prayers, Photovoice and community mapping to provide the tools that nurture the development of voice and the means to navigate one’s way out of disabling environments. The goal is to create the conditions for agency to make choices that can improve health, social welfare and livelihoods. Monitoring these changes through traditional social scientific methods in combination with creative and innovative visual and participatory processes has started to build an archive of methodological resources that can systematically track empowerment and social change.

Chapter Seven is the conclusion that analyses the findings of each case study and assesses these together. The creative processes adopted in each project are presented as methodologies to enhance sustainable development processes in countries such as South Africa where poverty and low literacy rates create environments that are not conducive to growth. The chapter argues that creativity, dreaming, enhanced skills and pride in achievement, all work together to establish the resilience needed to survive the trauma of loss

and despair caused by the disappointment in government's failure to deliver on promises, the HIV/AIDS pandemic, the impact of gender violence and crime, and the cycle of poverty. This concluding chapter is divided into two parts: the first examines the development challenges and opportunities presented by the thesis, and the second presents the voices and stories of the participants linked to specific themes of empowerment, agency and resilience. These voices and stories from the field contribute to make a compelling case for the role of visual arts in creating social change.

Theoretical Framework

The framing theories, terms of reference and new applications of concepts set out below will begin to add substance to what has been identified in much of the preliminary work on the role of the arts in social engagement. I argue that "shifting the boundaries of knowledge" (Marcus and Hofmaenner (eds) 2006) cannot be achieved by research and theory alone, but requires the inclusion of practice, active participation and engagement. I have found that the visual arts can be used as an effective bridge between academic knowledge and social change. The theoretical frameworks summarized below are those that provide the philosophical basis of my approach. Rather than attempting to be comprehensive, the discussion focuses on the work of authors who have rigorously addressed the question of bridging theory and practice, and who envision a new paradigm for defining and creating knowledge.

This interdisciplinary study draws from post-colonial theory, theories of cultural engagement, and theories of economic development, as well as the critique of research methods offered by practice-based and Participatory Action Research. The latter implies a repositioning of more traditional research and scholarship from the individual and the archive to the communal and the collective. I also present systems theory and complexity theory as a means of framing the multimodal and multidisciplinary flows that constantly shift the boundaries of knowledge-making. What follows are short descriptions of the discursive fields that are expanded on in each chapter. The categories presented integrate a selected literature review as part of the theoretical framework below.

The first theoretical field to consider is concerned with cultural agency. A growing body of literature has recognized the value of public practice that links creativity with social contribution. I draw on the work of Doris Sommer, who has defined and analysed the term 'cultural agency' in *Cultural Agency in the Americas* (2006), in which she argues: "Giving the name 'cultural agency' will perhaps make these arts and their effects more visible to

scholarship and to activists who stay alive to inspiration" (Sommer 2006: 20). She distinguishes this grassroots-based approach from the older discipline of cultural studies, which is "seen as a label for standard interdisciplinary practices [that] describe or denounce, political and economic asymmetries. But critique can dead-end if it doesn't nudge toward change" (Sommer 2006: 4). To counter this stasis, Sommer advocates the founding of "a scholarly praxis, a blueprint for academic work committed to advancing energetic, creative, non-harmonious but non-violent democratic relations" (Sommer 2006: 7). Sommer goes on to outline the approach and practice of the cultural agent, which aptly expresses my own philosophy.

The cultural agency approach insists on academic study and cultural activism as reciprocal and mutually beneficial enterprises. The scholar of cultural agency is thus at the same time a cultural agent: "the scholar as cultural agent … seeks a path out of the long-acknowledged sense of despair and paralysis that has gripped engaged intellectuals since the late 1980s" (Pratt 2006: 330). Sommer has been influenced by prominent cultural studies scholars who have long argued for a shift in the field. For example, in his essay "Cultural Studies and its Theoretical Legacies", Stuart Hall states that cultural theory is not "a will to truth" but "a practice which always thinks about its intervention in a world in which it would make some difference, in which it would have some effect" (Hall 1992: 286).

Finally, Sommer also warns against universalizing theories and generalized practices. "Instead of tracing the familiar routes from inequalities back to power, where movement gets stuck and protesters can feel paralyzed, cultural agency pursues the tangents of daily practices to multiply creative engagements with power and to get some wiggle room" (Sommer 2006: 20). As she points out, "the goal is no longer the dusk of capitalism before the dawn of an egalitarian utopia, but rather many small foci of reform … The virtue of this pluralized approach is to recognize multiple if modest agendas" (Sommer 2006: 7).

The theoretical fields of globalization, nationalism and cultural theory provide an important context for cultural agency. Although community activism is locally based, it is strongly influenced by the effects of the spread of global capitalism over the past quarter century. Arjun Appadurai (2001) cautions that globalization threatens to homogenize cultures, making it difficult to find a position from which to criticize its effects. However, he argues that one positive result of globalization is the emancipatory potential of a politics of the imagination. "The imagination is no longer a matter of individual genius," and "It is a faculty that informs the daily lives of ordinary people in myriad ways: it allows people to consider migration, resist state violence, seek social redress and design new forms of civic association and

collaboration, often across national boundaries" (Appadurai 2001: 6). Urban sociologist Saskia Sassen (2001) proposes that the nation state is little more than a territory within the global, capitalist economy, but she argues that the geography of globalization is partial and not all-encompassing and challenges contemporary theory and research to "identify and decode what 'national' means today" (Sassen 2001: 276). Sassen's analysis is pertinent to South Africa, where the 'new' nation was declared when globalization's reach appeared unstoppable. As a result of its decision to participate fully in the global economy (through GEAR), the country's identity could perhaps be regarded now as less a nation state than as a brand.

Community cultural development is a theoretical field in the United States with a growing body of literature being published that includes James Grave on *Cultural Democracy* (2005), Colin Mercer *Towards Cultural Citizenship* (2002), William Cleveland *Making Exact Change* (2005) and *Art and Upheaval* (2008) and Don Adams and Arlene Goldbard. In their first book, *Creative Community: the Art of Cultural Development*, Adams and Goldbard provide a range of definitions, core purposes, processes and methodologies, paving the way for the theoretical analysis of the artist as cultural practitioner. In their view, "community cultural development practice is uniquely suited to respond to current social conditions, uniquely powerful in its ability to speak to the whole person and the whole community, nurturing and supporting communities' resilience, especially in the face of globalization" (Adams and Goldbard 2001: 105). Their seven 'unifying principles' guide my analysis, with an emphasis on the fourth principle: "Culture is an effective crucible for social transformation, one that can be less polarizing and create deeper connections than other social change initiatives" (2001: 14).

Their second volume, *Community Culture and Globalization,* examines community cultural development as an oppositional response to globalization, which "determines what aspects of culture will be preserved and supported" (Adams and Goldbard 2002: 19). Although I fully support their belief in the effectiveness of grassroots action, I argue that in proposing the local as a direct counter to the global, the authors overstate their case. The effectiveness of community-based interventions must surely be judged in part by their integration into public policy. This view is supported by educator Henry Giroux's analysis of pedagogy: "Culture is a strategic pedagogical and political terrain whose force as a crucial site and weapon of power in the modern world can be extended to broader public discourses and practices about the meaning of democracy, citizenship, and social justice" (Giroux 2000: 38). The challenge, I suggest, is to work on many levels simultaneously. In "Evolution of Intentions in Development Institutions," Metsi Makheta, a policy advisor for UNDP, argues for a new level of thinking

that would solve intractable problems, such as development work in the face of the HIV/AIDS pandemic. In her view, creativity is central to leadership's meeting this task. "By leadership I refer to the quality to be courageous enough to act without precedence – taking a leap into the dark with belief in the creative faculties of development actors" (Makheta 2004: 149).

The courage required to implement effective action is likely to be counter to rational business practices that funders expect from development projects. In their paper, "'Irrational' Organizations: Why Community-based Organizations are really Social Movements," Susan Seifert and Mark Stern (2000) summarize the results of their study of over fifty community-based arts and cultural providers in the Philadelphia area. They argue that rational business practice is the wrong measurement stick for assessing these projects; rather, arts organizations are the glue of community life, sustained by the beliefs and commitment of their members. They argue that because these are social movements, lacking orthodox organizational practices, community cultural centres could be judged as failures. I argue with Stern and Seifert, that development projects should be regarded as social movements and that the criteria used to judge success must therefore be different: standards of 'sustainability' should give credit to organizations that succeed in engaging and mobilizing their communities. Their premise is supported by the essays in an anthology edited by Vijayendra Rao and Michael Walton entitled *Culture and Public Action* (2004), which address the complex interrelation between culture and development and propose that a "cultural lens" can better inform future research and public policy on development.

One of the arguments investigated in this thesis is that art can improve people's lives in the face of ongoing multiple traumas of violence and disease. The questions posed earlier generate others that include: How is it possible to train in times of plague? What are the effects of trauma, and how can such projects address them? What must happen to make such projects sustainable? And more fundamentally: is the belief that creativity provides a means to foster empowerment and aspiration viable? If so, can small interventions, such as those represented by the case studies, have a wider application?

These questions are explored in many of the chapters, most fully in Chapter Six. The Cultural Action Intervention I analyse there has developed indicators that measure significant change in collaboration with cultural action methodologies such as Photovoice, Paper Prayers and community mapping.

Another field of theory that provides a context for this research is the role of art as cultural activism. The extensive body of literature on activist art in the United States, by Carol Becker

(2002), Grant Kester (1995), Suzanne Lacy (1995), Nina Felshin (1995) and others, has argued strongly for the importance of the role of the artist in society, as opposed to the outdated modernist conception of the artist as positioned exclusively in the realm of the aesthetic. A prominent critic, Carol Becker, Dean of Columbia University's School of the Arts, challenges artists who "cross over, move between cultures [and] struggle to raise serious issues of gender, class and race … to reach out to audiences greater than just the art world" (Becker 2002: 37). South Africa has its own inspired history of activist art, from the resistance art of the 1980s – Paul Stopforth, Dumile Feni, William Kentridge (in Williamson 1989 and Williamson and for example Sue Williamson,[7] Jan Jordaan,[8] Kate Wells[9]). Activist art exists in many different guises, from public art (murals, performance interventions) to community-based projects. Whatever forms they take, all share the belief that art does not belong to an economic elite, but is a communal resource where the line between creators and viewers is often blurred. In a 1994 seminar presented by Zakes Mda on the role of culture in the process of reconciliation, the novelist argued that the notion of the arts playing a role in social action and transformation is not new in Africa. "In pre-colonial Africa, art did not only 'mean', it also functioned. This was before its commodification, which came with westernization. Art was part of the common festival, and all members of the society, among other activities, participated in its production and enjoyment" (Mda 1994b: 1).

The literature of economic and development theory and practice has provided the underpinning theoretical framework that directs the link between cultural activism and economic development. This thesis argues for the use of the visual arts as a methodology to facilitate the process of self-creation that permits individuals to make a difference in their communities. In order to pursue the goal to "multiply creative engagements with power" (Sommer 2006), I propose a creative approach to community development. To structure an argument against the South African government's approach to development, which has focused on economic improvement at the expense of human values and emotional wellness, this thesis adopts the influential development theory of Amartya Sen, who critiques 'fierce' development approaches that neglect 'soft-headed' issues, such as social safety nets and basic democratic rights (Sen 1999a: 35). The validity of Amartya Sen's concept of 'development as freedom,' that is, development as the fostering of individual and community

[7] The work of South African activist artists, such as Sue Williamson's AIDS activist billboards, can be found in a range of texts including *A Decade of Democracy* (Bedford 2004).
[8] Jan Jordaan's activist work through Artists for Human Rights and Art for Humanity has been well documented in a new Anthology: *Art and Upheaval,* William Cleveland (2008). This book also documents my own arts activism in a chapter entitled "Prayers, Paper, Fire" (pp.127-151).
[9] See activist artists: Kate Wells, Siyazama (http://www.siyazamaproject.co.za),,Carol Hofmeyr, Keiskamma Trust (http://www.keiskamma.org), Andries Botha's *Amazwi Abesifazane*, Voices of Women (http://www.cas.org.za/).

agency in any program of economic aid, is a core argument of this thesis. Based on his research on development projects in India, he argues persuasively that development cannot succeed if framed exclusively in terms of economic aid provided to passive recipients. Rather, if development is to be successful, it must be part of programs that provide for individual agency: "With adequate social opportunities, individuals can effectively shape their own destiny and help each other" (Sen 1999a: 11). Sen redefines development as "a momentous engagement with freedom's possibilities" (Sen 1999a: 298). This argument has direct implications for the study of community cultural development and economic empowerment. The concept of poverty must be redefined through this lens, which includes a crucial feminist argument that the agency of women is key to poverty alleviation.[10] Poverty so defined has many different aspects, including lack of access and opportunity. This is discussed further in Chapter Four.

The gap between economic theory and practice is difficult to bridge, but the existing literature documenting development projects provides helpful guidelines.[11] Naresh Singh further argues that sustainability is a key indicator of success in development projects. In *Sustainable Livelihoods*, he puts forward the conditions that must be met for sustainability: economic efficiency, social equity, ecological integrity, and resilience. In addition, sustainable development must be inter-sectoral, inter-level and participatory (Helmore and Singh 2001: 71, 89).

In South Africa most development projects are defined by a set of external objectives: the priorities and criteria set by the donor agency. There is an expectation that the local implementing agency will impose these requirements onto a target community. I argue with Edgar Pieterse that when these development interventions are mono-dimensional and the deliverables are pre-determined by the donor without community participation, they fail. Pieterse confirms that when the government or non-governmental organization agenda is 'delivery', descending on a target community in order to 'do good,' the impact can be damaging and disempowering (Pieterse 2004: 330). I have found Pieterse's propositions that comprise "a development praxis suitable for our transitional times" useful as a framework for an approach to community development (Pieterse 2004: 330). These principles elucidate the multiple social layers that must be penetrated for development to be sustained. Pieterse's

[10] This is discussed further by Sen (1999: 189-203), and Alexander and Mohanty (1997: 1-13).
[11] Literature includes Helmore and Singh (2001): *Sustainable Livelihoods;* Pieterse and Meintjies (2004): *Voices of the Transition;* Kaplan (1996): *The Development Practitioner's Handbook* and Sen (1999): *Development as Freedom.*

model identifies the key interactive factors of the state, the global economy, civil society, politics, individual aspirations, economic empowerment and institutional values.

Pieterse's position is drawn from the work of cultural theorist Arjun Appadurai, whose argument has influenced the theoretical positioning of this thesis. In his essay, "The Capacity to Aspire: Culture and the Terms of Recognition," Appadurai posits that when community activists operate with the premise of "aspiration" and imagination, rooted in the participants' articulated needs, they can bypass the inevitable, repetitive disappointments, anger and failed expectations on delivery (Appadurai 2004: 69). Core to this thesis is Appadurai's discussion of futurity and the idea of agency and voice as the tools to "navigate out of poverty." "By bringing the future back in, by looking at aspirations as cultural capacities, we are surely in a better position to understand how people actually navigate their social spaces" (Appadurai 2004: 84). I agree with Appadurai that the work of development and poverty reduction has everything to do with working toward a better future, and that a deeper capacity to aspire can only strengthen the poor as active participants in the battle against poverty.

Feminist activist and educational theory provides another frame of reference for critiquing traditional development theory. According to feminist scholar Honor Ford-Smith:

> As far as most development agencies are concerned, the place of theatre and the arts is a non-issue. 'Development' apparently does not include pleasure, even the pursuit of pleasurable opportunities for reflection or the creation of cultural products that mirror the collective consciousness. 'Development', one concludes, is a 'scientific' phenomenon opposed, it is implied, to the arts, which are dangerous luxuries threatening to undo all of science's sweet categories and Western social organization (Honor Ford-Smith 1997: 229-230).

This was written more than ten years ago, and much of her later argument continues to reflect some of the attitudes common to socio-economic development practitioners, as well as traditional approaches to research in the academy. For example, the revolutionary contribution by social economists and anthropologists such as Sen, Appadurai, Pieterse and Rao and Walton, has since introduced creative and expressive concepts into the language of development. I argue that the introduction of creative methodologies in the practice of development can extend an understanding of economic poverty to the alleviation of poverty of the spirit. My own role as an artist and activist is closely tied into a commitment to social justice and gender equity. The development of my personal belief system was informed by Marxism and feminism, and my radical politics were forged during the apartheid regime's repressive 'State of Emergency.' Both Marxism and western second-wave feminism, which dominated debate during my student years, has since been influenced by post-colonial and non-western feminist theories, such as those of Homi K. Bhabha (1994) and Chandra

Mohanty (2003), who call for a more nuanced examination of the intersections of race, class, gender and culture.

In addition to race and class, all discussions of the disadvantaged and disempowered must address the issue of gender. As the essays in Alexander and Mohanty's *Feminist Genealogies* make clear, "neo-liberalism operates through different gendered ideologies of women's work" (Alexander and Mohanty 1997: xxiii). Defining Third World feminism in opposition to Western feminism and academic Women's Studies programs, they argue that post-colonial nation states are inherently masculinist, and thus "discipline and mobilize the bodies of women in order to consolidate patriarchal and colonizing processes." Gender issues in South Africa are affected by the dual legacies of white and traditional African patriarchal systems, which impede women's empowerment and aspirations (Ouzgane and Morell 2005: 13).[12] In addition to Alexander and Mohanty (1997), Mohanty (2003), Albertyn and Goldblatt (2007) and Ramphele (2008) have found that female education, reproductive agency and economic empowerment enhance not only the position of women, but that of society as a whole. In other words, they confirm Sen's conclusion that, "The changing agency of women is one of the major mediators of economic and social change, and its determination as well as consequences closely relate to many of the central features of the development process" (Sen 1999b: 203-204). Sen's position is convincing in that leadership amongst women is a crucial aspect of "development as freedom."

The theoretical approaches of Sen and Appadurai have been expanded upon by Edgar Pieterse and Mark Swilling, who, in addition, apply the principles of complexity theory in physics to social scientific analysis. I have adopted an aspect of the theory of complexity as a useful framing paradigm for this thesis. Swilling's premise is as follows: the paradigm of complexity and uncertainty should be part of the mapping and analysis of development projects. According to Swilling, even though complexity theory has been inspired by developments in physics, it "is not a single body of thought that stems from a clearly identifiable central source" (Swilling 2004: 321). Citing the work in the field by Paul Cilliers (1998), he argues that complexity theory offers a means to "successfully rethink and re-imagine society from an evolutionary and sustainability perspective" (Swilling 2004: 321). The key elements of complexity theory as outlined by Swilling provide a useful provisional guideline for the comparative analysis of the four projects under investigation. Among these elements is the tenet that complex systems comprise a large number of elements that

[12] "The recognition that these factors [gender inequalities, violence and sexualities] are critical in the spread of HIV/AIDS has made the construction of masculinities an important part of the research and intervention agenda for the pandemic." In Lahoucine Ouzgane and Robert Morrell, *African Masculinities* (2005: 13).

interact dynamically to form intricately textured patterns. This process of identifying and analysing patterns is also central to the writing of narrative texts, as discussed by sociologist and educator Sara Lawrence-Lightfoot (Lightfoot and Davis 1997: 4). A complex system has a collective memory that constitutes its history, and that, if documented as in this thesis, can guide its future. Swilling suggests that complex systems theory "holds promise because it invites us to look for patterns rather than parts, probabilities rather than predictions, processes rather than structures and non-linear dynamics instead of deterministic causalities" (Swilling 2004: 321). The concept of complexity as an embracing theoretical frame accommodates the multi-layered approach of this thesis.

The moment of democratic change in South Africa in 1994 opened up new possibilities for re-imagining the country's future, facilitated by Nelson Mandela and a vision of possibility that used the metaphor of a rainbow nation.[13] To understand that moment in time and what makes it so different from any other, it is helpful to frame it as "a moment of complexity". In his book, *The Moment of Complexity: Emerging network culture*, Mark C. Taylor writes about the era in which we live as a moment of unprecedented complexity, when change and information can move faster than our ability to comprehend them. Falling between order and chaos, the moment of complexity is the point at which self-organizing systems emerge to create new patterns of coherence and structures of relation (Taylor 2003: 24).

In the context of this thesis, the systems under investigation are complex, and a linear reductionist analysis would therefore be inappropriate. Complexity theory argues for the importance of possibilities that lead to creativity and system transformation. It proposes that systems are most creative when they operate with a combination of order and chaos. These premises can support organizations to value diversity, change, and transformation, rather than predictability, standardization and uniformity. In its approach to organizations as dynamic, self-evolving complex systems, systems theory is now frequently used in organizational change-management efforts. This popularization notwithstanding, the basic insights of this approach are still illuminating for the analysis of the case studies in this thesis.

Fritjof Capra's *The Web of Life, A New Synthesis of Mind and Matter* reaffirms the value of complexity theory in his work in the closely related field of systems theory. I have adopted his approach as a useful framework for understanding the complex interrelationships described

[13] The term "Rainbow nation", coined by Desmond Tutu (1994) was elaborated on by President Nelson Mandela in his first month of office, when he proclaimed: "Each of us is … intimately attached to the soil of this beautiful country … a rainbow nation at peace with itself and the world." (http://africanhistory.about.com/od/mandelanelson/p/qts_mandela1.htm).

in this thesis. According to Capra, living systems are networks that are organizationally closed, but open to the flows of energy and resources. He describes shifts from a mechanistic, linear hierarchical view to a holistic, ecological view; from the 'objective' to 'epistemic' (that is, the process of knowing). Systems thinking is process thinking characterized by continual flow and change. Concepts of self-regulation and synthesis in ecological systems exhibit the same basic principles of organization in human communities. Values of interdependence, recycling, co-operation, partnership, flexibility and diversity all contribute to sustainability (Capra 1996: 40). Systems theory is dependent not only on information, but also on experience. For systems to be viable they must be sustainable and resilient. The new sciences theories from which Capra draws argue convincingly for the value of "autopoiesis" and self-organization, which can be understood as another rationale for constructing reflexive positioning and dialogic process.[14] The "new mathematics of complexity" is qualitative in that it "embodies the shift of emphasis from objects to relationships, from quantity to quality from substance to pattern" (Capra 1996: 184).

This thesis explores alternatives to existing systems and theories in order to open up a space for continuing questioning and imaginative responses to challenges of empowerment among participants in development projects. In an edited compilation of essays "New Paradigms, Culture and Subjectivity", one of the editors, Dora Fried Schnitman, expands on the concept of flexible, evolving "New Paradigms":

> The innovative-creative perspective of time, chaos as an organizing force, complexity as an open world of possibilities, the active construction of subjects in contexts, the view of knowledge as a generative process, are resources of the new paradigms that allow us to shift from visions associated with an ordered and predictable world to others in which turbulence, oscillation, and innovation are part of everyday life: from visions in which we believed in a future guaranteed by political, scientific, or therapeutic systems, to others in which the future is yet to be constructed (Schnitman 2002: 346).

This theoretical approach creates an opening to the new and unexpected. It acknowledges creativity as an ongoing response to particular events in particular situations. The new paradigms allow the possibility to "conceptualize designs or patterns in order to carry out this task of constructing the future". Fried Schnitman makes an argument for self-reflexivity founded on and rooted in, "the responsibility for our own constructions and the actions that accompany them". She continues:

[14] Models of dynamic living systems were pioneered by biologists and ecologists who stressed that living organisms are best understood as integrated wholes. Capra draws on the new science and mathematics theories from Nobel Prize winning chemist Ilya Prigogine (1980), Chilean neuroscientist Humberto Maturana (1980), fractal mathematician Benoit Mandelbrot (1982), microbiologist Lynn Margulis (1991), and geochemist James Lovelock (2000).

> From a dialogic point of view, truth is born locally, between people collectively searching for it in the process of their dialogic interaction. The notion of dialogic truth is a process, a meta-narrative, not content. These times demand that we find ways to institutionalize dialogue as the form, (not the content) of meta-narrative in postmodern society (Schnitman 2002: 347).

Participants in the studies under investigation jointly create a dialogue that develops through action. The activities are 'generative processes': surprise, uncertainty, and discovery, rather than control and certainty, are the emotions associated with dialogue. In this pluralist vision, dialogue searches for multiple voices. These networks of dialogues are significant components of the creation of knowledge. New criteria are required for evaluating the knowledge created:

> a criterion for evaluating any research methods or other forms of participation and their results is the reflexive ability to discern both one's own horizons and voices that speak languages different from one's own (Schnitman 2002: 349).

Art may be considered one of those modes of knowledge that requires that we keep ourselves reflexively open to diversity, to the unexpected, in order to discern those elements that do not fit into our theories or dominant codes.

This investigation will explore contexts or conditions that facilitate the emergence and maintenance of new possibilities of meaning and action. I see a challenge for facilitators, educators, artists and group members to transform themselves from being observers in the world to becoming active participants and constructors of a better environment. When individuals are able to see themselves as being part of the solution for making a difference in the world, positive change happens.

Methodology

The principal methodology used in each of the projects is one that percolates up from the bottom. The premise is that the experiential approach feeds theory, and practice leads to understanding. In this way, new knowledge is created. This approach continually asks the question: What are the participants revealing about life? In order to envision changes in their lives, all participants are encouraged to actively use their imaginative capacities, to 'dream.' Dreaming is the ability to make what is not there appear. It opens up the possibilities for self-creation. The methodology in each case study therefore views art-making as fundamental in the dual processes of integrating life skills and dreaming a better future. Below I have presented a short discussion of different methodological approaches to be used in this thesis; namely research and education methodologies, Participatory Action Research and visual

research, self-reflexivity and, finally, methods of assessment. Each method is expanded on in the various chapters, and Chapter Six explores these methodologies in combination.

Paulo Freire's *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1970) remains the foundational text for a model of teaching and learning that begins with the existing knowledge of the 'learners' and considers learning to be collaborative rather than force-fed. In *We Make the Road by Walking*, (Bell 1990) the conversations between Freire and Myles Horton provide cross-cultural examples of changing systems from within. As Freire's writings make clear, there often tends to be a radical disjunction between academia and the community at large. The literary scholar Julie Ellison has identified this as the "two cultures problem," and argues that universities can strengthen their academic reputations by fostering experiential learning and research (Ellison 2002b). In *Cultural Politics and Social Movements*, M. Darnovsky cautions that academics cannot fill their public roles adequately without strong ties to social movements or community organizations (Darnovsky 1995: xix). During its 'transitional' phase, South African educational policy (White Paper 1997), directed tertiary institutions to engage with issues of community access and rebuilding. In response to this directive, most higher education institutions list three tenets for academic excellence: learning, research and community (Perolda and Omar 1997: 88). However, the third element, which I argue is crucial, is in practice often ignored. Despite the promise of the 1996 White Paper on education, the more radical impulses within higher education communities have been constrained by the neo-liberal economic policies established under President Thabo Mbeki. George Subotzky argues that the concern for "public good through pursuing redress, equity, and redistributive justice [is] increasingly constrained by the hegemony of global market-orientated, neoliberalism." He argues that the transformation agenda of the first eight years of democracy was replaced with a globalized market model of the university. I explore in Chapter Five how community-based arts research can counter the influence of competitive, power-driven, conflict-ridden organizational processes that characterize the academy at present, toward more consensual, cooperative ways of learning. The arts can play a role in introducing the concept of research as relevant, fluid, inclusive and collaborative and I propose that this model can contribute to the challenge of evolving an 'African' research and education paradigm for the arts.

American educator Henry Giroux lays the blame for educational institutions' lack of community involvement on their increasing corporatization, and argues that if they are to properly fulfil their roles, schools must "play a vital role in developing the political and moral consciousness of [their] citizens." He calls for "educators to develop ethical projects out of the specificity of the contexts and social formations in which they undertake efforts to combat

various forms of oppression" (Giroux 2000: 35). Expanding Giroux's concept of pedagogy to academic research, Appadurai argues for a research culture based on imaginative rethinking of given relationships between pedagogy, research and activism in the age of globalization. He calls for the democratization of research in the "context of certain dominant forms of critical knowledge" (Appadurai 2004: 3).

The approach common to each project is premised on Freire's (1970) and Augusto Boal's (1979) philosophical and ethical underpinning that transformational learning starts from the bottom up. The predominant methodology for democratic, collaborative academic research, Participatory Action Research, is used to frame the case study analyses. There are a number of prominent methodologies and terminologies for participative inquiry, including experiential learning, cooperative inquiry, action learning and action research (Reason 2001). Without attempting to draw fine distinctions, I will adopt the term Participatory Action Research (PAR) in this thesis. As defined by Peter Reason, PAR is a "coming to know," rather than a formal academic method of research. He defines PAR as a methodology for an alternative system of knowledge production, based on the people's role in setting the agendas, participating in data gathering and analysis, and in controlling the use of its outcomes. PAR emphasizes the political aspects of knowledge production, creating knowledge directly useful to a group of people. The research process involves full reciprocity, so that "each person's agency is fundamentally honoured, both in the exchange of ideas and in action" (Reason 2001: 324-339). This thesis presents PAR as embracing richer, more intense forms of inquiry when applying artistic forms of expression.

As an expanding PAR methodology, one of these artistic forms of expression, Photovoice, has been successfully used in a range of interventions to give expression to voices that have not been heard. As defined by Caroline Wang, "Photovoice is a participatory action research strategy by which people create and discuss photographs as a means of catalyzing personal and community change" (Wang 1998: 75). Psychologist Brinton Lykes has used Photovoice to record the stories of genocide in Guatemala that had been silenced for years (Lykes 2001: 363) and Caroline Wang has used it as a healing process in clinics in rural China (Wang 1998: 85). The findings and presentation of annual PAR exchange programs with the University of Michigan and seminars held at the University of Johannesburg from 2005-8 have confirmed the value of Photovoice as a research method suitable for visual arts

practice.[15] Chapter Six explores an art-based variant of PAR in the implementation of Photovoice, which has been successfully used to catalyse change in a range of interventions. While the case studies in this thesis focus on the use of art methodologies as an instrumental way to achieve social goals, they also acknowledge the fundamental power of art-making as a way to make meaningful objects. The combination of the two has the effect of voicing experience for the individual and the group.

Self-reflexivity is a core methodology in this thesis. My theoretical approach to analysing the case studies is influenced by the work of anthropologist Clifford Geertz. Following Geertz, I will position myself as an "insider researcher," who, as the founder of these projects cannot claim to be an objective observer (Geertz 1973). However, I will attempt to achieve some distance in order to examine the fundamental assumptions underlying my efforts.

As a senior lecturer in the Fine Art Department at the University of Johannesburg, I have been engaged in an invigorating and challenging process of linking research activities with community engagement and artistic practice since 1995. In this thesis I document and analyse over eighteen years of activism, comparing the idealistic aims with the actual outcomes. As I am the founder of, and therefore a subjective figure in, the projects under investigation, there is an inherent challenge in researching and evaluating my own work. Tensions arise as a consequence of my varied positions as participant, observer, researcher and manager. Reflexivity, I argue, opens systemic discourse that challenges a linear, analytic and traditional approach to research methodology. Furthermore, one of the rationales for my inquiry in the form of a PhD thesis is the need for reflection, that is, for development activists to be highly critical of their own practices and motivation for engaging communities. The questions to be addressed are: Can development activists propose a model of good practice from lessons learned? Is it possible to draw on a community's history to come to terms with the past in order to shape a future? What role does the imagination play in this process? I discuss the impacts of my positionality below, but also include self-reflexive analysis at various other points in this thesis. These include personal reflections in some of the chapters that seek to respond to the broader theoretical questions using an introspective and personal voice.

Throughout this thesis, my own role as the founder and director of the programmes is continually interrogated. However, it is important to address directly the impact of the

[15] "New Partners/New Knowledge: Sustaining Learners and Social Change through Participatory Action Research." A collaboration between the University of Michigan and the University of Johannesburg. Annual Seminars at University of Johannesburg, 2005-2008.

stereotype associated with being a white South African middle class Jewish woman who is the founder and director of an arts organization. Artist and critic Shalene Kahn is critical of this 'type' in the South African art world. Her article "Doing it for Daddy" describes the "white-female-only ascendancy" into positions of power in the art world:

> There is a growing dissatisfaction with the white domination of the visual arts industry. The ascendancy of white women into positions of power suggests a glaring lack of faith in black cultural workers and intellectuals. Viewed cynically, the rise of white women into exclusivist structures, many of them dating back to the apartheid era … will sometimes infiltrate the centre not to effect change but to maintain power (Kahn 2006: 56).

Honor Ford-Smith, who was the founder of the feminist collective "Sistern" provides a useful analysis of colonial images of middle class women as patrons and 'social mothers' in Jamaica. This is a useful comparison in the context of South African post-colonial race, class and gender stereotypes as critiqued by Kahn:

> The 'good' middle class woman of both races is she who has no needs, never speaks about herself, never expresses anger except on another's behalf. She works tirelessly for the welfare of others, and she is passively heterosexual, or if necessary, asexual. She remains at the centre but does so without looking inward to her own needs … For women to speak out about their own needs is to presumably risk being seen as 'self-indulgent' in a situation in which oppression is formulated as a fundamentally economic relation and in which solutions to economic instability are equated with psychic well being (Honor Ford-Smith 1997: 247).

Honor Ford-Smith critiques her own role as leader in her group:

> by keeping our mouths shut, we allowed the construct of the good woman to remain intact. We missed an opportunity to envision and formulate new images of women's identity and interclass relations.

The opportunity to reflect on building new democratic organizations such as Artist Proof Studio and Phumani Paper, physically and symbolically from scratch, led me to understand the importance of identifying the diversity of roles, functions, needs, not according to education, class and colour, but as ranges of skills and capacities which could be acquired and built. The way we at APS understand the democratic organization is not simply white-run or BEE (black economic empowerment implies black-run and black-owned). The contradictions, differences, and ideological conflicts are not perceived as obstacles to the collective, but opportunities to develop the richness and complexity of group work. A variety of structures and decision-making processes take place in each unit according to the team structures. However, the matter of white female leadership is an ongoing issue, especially at Artist Proof Studio where the members have been frequently both dependent and resentful.

The term ‘management’ is still interpreted as the heavy-handed silencing of individuality. It still carries the baggage of the white authoritarian regime and racist oppression. Chapter Two explores a different model of an African leadership style expressed in the model of ubuntu practice, which can help reframe paradigms that are not so western-identified. The possibility for me to write and research, and to have the opportunity of stepping out of ‘doing’ has been a most valuable process in developing new models of leadership. The issue of race and class is fundamental to the dynamics of activism and networking in South Africa. I have included a brief discussion of racial identities here as it is integrated into the methodologies of participation and collaboration as fundamental to the approach of this thesis.

Post-modern theorists have critiqued fundamental categories of Western epistemologies, including those of personal, national and racial identities. Homi Bhabha has argued that:

> It is one of the salutary features of postmodern theory to suggest that it is the disjunctive, fragmented, displaced agency of those who have suffered the sentence of history – subjugation, domination, diaspora, displacement – that forces one to think outside the certainty of the sententious (Bhabha 1994: 56).

On the other hand, these critics do not deny the effects of racism or the importance of the examination of ethnic identity. As Paul Gilroy argues, “‘Race’, and its attendant imaginary politics of community … provide a contemporary example of how ‘traditional’ ties are created and re-created out of present rather than past conditions” (Gilroy 1994: 417). For example, in analysing race in the South African context, Adam Habib rejects the category of ‘Indian’ applied to him. Arguing instead for hybridity, Habib claims that:

> The reassertion of racial identities and the establishment of ‘racial cultural’ spaces is seen as necessary, because it is believed that the legacy of institutionalized racism is … a product of an invisible cultural norm that promotes ‘whiteness.’ The problem with this argument is that it detaches ‘cultural’ inequalities from their material dimensions. (Habib 2004: 246-7).

Despite this argument, Habib acknowledges that ‘redress’ for specific ‘racial’ groups remains a priority, highlighting the inevitable gap between theory and politics. The artist/activist cannot ignore this central issue of ‘race,’ whether or not the term is placed in quotes. Questions of representation, of the ‘right’ to depict ‘the other’, as well as the unavoidable fact that most community cultural development projects in South Africa are founded by whites, render ongoing arguments about ‘race’ central in practice, even if ‘unsettled’ in some theory. I argue that the visually-based methodologies presented through the different interventions in this thesis are able to cross and penetrate boundaries to activate agency. Each intervention in the different case studies explores different strategies and practices that use visual arts-based methods to transcend racial and cultural divisions in cross-cultural engagement.

Assessing Change

The challenge of assessing change that links participatory action-based research, creative practice and more traditional methods of social scientific research methods has required innovative, mixed-method and multi-modal approaches. Chapter Six explores an assessment and monitoring design that can accommodate a mix of 'hard' quantitative data and 'soft' information emerging from personal and visual narratives. The purpose of the assessment strategies is partially to provide evidence of the role of the arts in bringing about positive social change, and to contribute arts-based methodologies as new knowledge for the development field. This thesis argues that process-orientated research interventions produce more sustainable development results because they are locally relevant. As the AIDS Action intervention demonstrates in Chapter Six, participatory processes can be costly and time-consuming. It takes time to listen, negotiate, learn new skills and artistic practice, develop personal narratives and take action. The true value of participation is that for knowledge to have value to the community participants, it should lead to empowerment and agency. Edward Jackson and Yusuf Kassam have edited a book called *Knowledge Shared: Participatory Evaluation in Development Cooperation.* They define participatory evaluation as:

> a process of self-assessment, collective knowledge production, and cooperative action in which the stakeholders in a development intervention participate substantively in the identification of the evaluation issues, the design of the evaluation, the collection and analysis of the data, and the action taken as a result of the evaluation findings (Jackson and Kassam 1998: 3).

This approach, however, is not always possible or practical to implement, and the converse of using conventional approaches can result in self-centred analysis and non-participatory evaluations that do not engage the stakeholder. The assessment methodology in Chapter Six argues for blending participatory evaluation with results-based management, which requires both meaningful engagement as well as the use of indicators and monitoring methods to assess change.

The criteria for assessing the strengths and weaknesses of the other case studies in this thesis are primarily qualitative, and many of the positive outcomes cannot be accurately measured or assessed by numerical data. The argument for a qualitative analysis is supported by Mark Stern and Susan Seifert, who argue that the criteria used to judge community-based visual arts initiatives should be their success in engaging and mobilizing communities, rather than the values of rational business practice that are frequently used, such as profitability, or efficient operation (Seifert and Stern 2000: 4). The process of defining the terms 'active engagement' and 'mobilized communities' is the focus of my assessment approach (Pieterse 2004: 348, 349). I share with Edgar Pieterse the premise that processes

are as important as outcomes, and that, like community-based projects themselves, analysis must work on many complex levels.

Furthermore, the need for evidence of change required by the donor and research community has resulted in a collaborative design for an impact assessment of the program. Donor agencies want to know that their funding criteria have been met, and the academy wants to be reassured that scientific and verifiable research procedures are being followed. To meet the more inflexible requirements of documenting evidence of change, a social science researcher was commissioned to conduct an impact assessment of the AIDS Action project described in Chapter Six, using a range of indicators (du Toit 2008b). The research project was collaboratively designed to respond to methods and indicators that use a range of approaches, including the traditional ones. For example, the World Bank Policy research paper for measuring empowerment in practice, the method for assessing the success and uses the framework of asset endowments (Alsop and Heinsohn 2005). Another guide for NGO use in monitoring change is The Most Significant Change (MSC) Technique. The value of this approach is that it focuses on impact rather than activities. Because participants act as researchers, MSC has the potential to be an effective means for members of the community projects to articulate how change has occurred in their lives (Davies and Dart 2005).[16]

In order to present the voices of the current participants in the projects, a range of methodologies has been used, that include the use of student researchers, project participants and collaborators to gather data through focus group interviews and PAR-based student exchange projects. The data is both visual and textual, including photographs and paper prayers consisting of participant responses in diverse vernaculars. The narratives describing the visual responses and the evaluations of the workshops, together with a comprehensive documentation of the process of each intervention in the form of workbooks and in some cases tape recordings, have contributed to a rich archive of materials that provides a thorough documentation of challenges, dreams and aspirations of over 130 participants. I argue that these voices, both in the form of the artistic and narrative expression provide compelling evidence of the role that creativity and the visual arts have in catalysing agency and social change.

The anthology *Culture and Public Action* (Rao and Walton 2004) refers to a “cultural lens” as a way of addressing problems of inequality and empowerment. The authors acknowledge that a diagnostic process could involve a range of mechanisms including socio-economic

[16] See MSC manual www.clearhorizon.com.au KB Archives (UJ Draw 5: File 5).

assessments and participatory engagements. The participants of public action need to be engaged as central agents in the formation and implementation of policy (Rao and Walton 2004: 361). Similarly Arlene Goldbard in *New Creative Community* (2006) proposes values for unifying and assessing the cultural development field. She identifies values in practice as yardsticks to assess actualities against aims. Some of these include: active participation, diversity, equality of cultures, commitment to culture as a crucible for social transformation, prizing cultural expression as a process of emancipation, an encompassing understanding of culture and valuing artists as agents.

Much of the primary research used in this study is extensively documented in collected reports, grants, lectures, and master's theses. I have developed an archive of primary materials that includes annual reports for funders, including financial reports; collaborative learning projects within the organizations; individual student research projects linking formal and informal educational institutions, from the certificate to the master's level; impact assessments through student research, government and donor-commissioned poverty alleviation reports; commissioned due diligence reports; student/community Photovoice projects; student/participant workbooks and journals to create self-awareness and collective memory; external reports through international student internship programs; reports on collaborative international exchanges to build social awareness of Human Rights, HIV/AIDS, and indigenous stories/knowledge; and partnership-building reports by visiting artists, scholars and other professionals as mentors to help build student expertise and capacity within the organizations. The archive also includes relevant letters, memoranda, contracts and official documents relating to ten to fifteen years of the histories of these four programs as well as the raw data, including interviews and transcriptions of the impact assessments of the Cultural Action interventions. The documents referred to in the footnotes throughout the thesis form an archive of materials that are catalogued and housed in my office in the Visual Art Department at the University of Johannesburg. Artist Proof Studio houses the records of the visual materials.

Conclusion

The objectives of this thesis have been defined broadly as articulating a range of strategies and approaches that consider the role of art and artists in contributing to enriching and building sustainable communities and helping individuals to achieve self-actualization. Creative practice that involves dreaming and imagining allows for the development of agency and the belief in possibility. Flexibility and diversity equip the individual to survive disturbances or shocks and to adapt to changing environments.

A diverse and tolerant community is resilient, and capable of adapting to changing situations. The analogy to systems theory is useful to understanding the value of complex approaches. Complex systems suggest that diversity of interpretations, learning styles, mistakes and creativity enrich the process. This paradigm shift in methodological approach calls for exploring contexts or conditions that facilitate the emergence and maintenance of new possibilities of meaning and action. This study seeks to draw conclusions that may equip facilitators, educators, artists and participants with processes to transform ourselves from observers of our environments into participants and agents of change.

This thesis constitutes a critical assessment of each of the programs I am involved with. The theoretical framework draws from the diverse fields and approaches discussed above, and the methodologies are collaboratively designed with participants and in response to each program. The methodology described in the final chapter aims to monitor and measure the impact of change using visual arts interventions that will be ongoing until 2010. The initial results provide clear indicators of the efficacy of the visual arts as methodology and process that creates change and enhances sustainability in development. Yet, it is the voices and stories of the individual participants that for me are the most compelling evidence of the role of the creative arts and cultural practice in feeding the depth of agency needed to uphold South Africa's young democracy.

CHAPTER TWO: ARTIST PROOF STUDIO: Redress, Reconciliation and Rebuilding

PART ONE: Redress: Founding and Early Years, 1991-2003

To exist, humanly, is to name the world, to change it (Freire [1970] 2003: 88).

Introduction

This chapter traces the history of the Artist Proof Studio from 1991 to 2008 in three phases. These phases – redress, reconciliation and rebuilding – parallel the challenges faced by the country as a whole in its transition from an oligarchy to a democracy. The final section draws conclusions about the role of the artist as an agent of change and active participant in the South African democracy. In the early 1990s, after Nelson Mandela's release from prison, the nationalist government and anti-apartheid coalitions were actively engaged in trying to address the extreme inequities resulting from the oppression of the apartheid years. Once the new government was formed, it recognized the need to reconcile the nation as a whole to its tortured past, in order to move forward. Another need was to strengthen the new democracy through civic engagement. The programs of Artist Proof Studio (APS) addressed the needs for both reconciliation and citizen participation.

The Founding of Artist Proof Studio

It is not often that one gets an opportunity to implement a dream. Since the late 1980s, while I was making artwork that addressed the oppressive State of Emergency, I have always believed that printmaking and papermaking are artistic strategies or interventions that could make a difference to the lives of people in oppressed or impoverished communities. During the height of repression in South Africa, when the African National Congress (ANC) and anti-apartheid political activity was banned, I travelled to the rural Northern Province (now Limpopo) with Elleck Nchabeleng, a long-time ANC activist who was part of the underground movement of the MK (Umkontho We Sizwe)[1], to give 'art workshops' to youth. At the time cultural and art activities were not banned, so these were seen by the ANC activists (known as 'comrades') as a tool for motivating and organizing youth for political resistance. I provided a suitable cover when we were followed and questioned by the apartheid police: I was going to teach art to young people (Figure 1).

[1] Translated "Spear of the Nation," was the active military wing of the African National Congress.

The power and intensity of those days, when 'the young lions' embraced printmaking through making their own screens from nylon stockings and wooden frames, making their own ink from dye or food colouring, or woodblock prints carved from tomato boxes and printed with shoe polish, remain a model for me. The youth printed slogans and posters, carved images and symbols – they *toyi-toyied* [2] and sang and felt incredibly empowered from their newly acquired skills. I was convinced that visual art could contribute, as music and dance has often done, to political change. As I wrote in the research paper for my Master's of Fine Art degree from Tufts and the School of the Museum of Fine Arts in 1988:

> Creating art cannot release a person from her/his responsibilities as an individual in society. In this time of extreme crisis and abnormal conditions, is it not the responsibility of the artist as citizen to identify with the organizations and strategies fighting apartheid? (Berman 1989: 4).

In February 1990, on a television screen in Boston, I watched Nelson Mandela walk out of prison, a new era for South Africa had begun. I wanted to be part of building a post-apartheid South Africa, so I sold my car and possessions, bought a French Tool etching press – the Rolls-Royce of studio presses – and took home my vision to start a studio in South Africa based on the professional model of the Artist Proof Studio in Cambridge, Massachusetts, where I had been an apprentice for six years.

Art in South Africa during the years of apartheid was unbalanced and distorted. White students learnt only about Western European art, while black artists were able to enrol in only a few mission schools or community art centres. I returned to South Africa in 1991 and through my mother's frame-shop and gallery, Frame-Up, I met Soweto-based artists Nhlanhla Xaba and Vincent Baloyi. A relationship of trust was established through the sharing of our art. After recruiting several of their artist-friends, they joined me in fixing up a run-down warehouse building in a deserted part of Newtown. Together we scrubbed the premises and knocked up a few shelves to create a home for Freda, the French Tool Etching Press (Figure 2).

Redress

Our initial funding in 1992 came from the Creative Arts Foundation (which became the National Arts Council), which provided ten bursaries, primarily for current students and graduates from Funda Community Art Centre in Soweto, and classes began. Teaching was

[2] *Toyi-toyi* is a South African militant dance step that became famous for its use in political protests during the apartheid era.

far more than imparting technique, it was a process of mutual learning and exposure to our different experiences of both life and art. Language and cultural differences made communication difficult. But sometimes this was overcome using other modes. For instance, one evening, when some of us were making monoprints, Gordon Gabashane, who is also a musician, started dancing to the rhythms created by the colour and energy of the work pinned on the wall. These small initial problems and the strategies unconsciously applied to try to solve them were prescient. The struggle to address the insidious long-term effects of racism and de-humanization would prove to be the major challenge that I and the founding artists faced during the first decade of Artist Proof Studio's existence, as these obstacles held back our efforts to address their lack of opportunities for artistic and educational training (Figure 3).

During the 1990s the key issue for South African artists was the struggle for economic and personal empowerment. Many of our students faced parental disapproval for choosing art, as they carried the very real burden of being the breadwinners for their families. As a result, the studio's focus was of necessity on capacity building and income generation. At Artist Proof Studio, I developed three parallel programs in the areas of education, health, and poverty relief to confront the difficult realities that could sabotage the achievement of hard-won democracy in South Africa. (The latter two, which resulted in the Paper Prayers and Phumani Paper projects, are discussed in subsequent chapters.) The first is the APS education and capacity building program. At the time, only one in ten of South Africa's black population had a high school certificate.[3] Even today, artists are accepted into the studio on the strength of their portfolios and their commitment to making a career in art; few have completed their high school matric certificates. At the studio, they receive scholarships for teacher training and curriculum development, computer literacy and workplace development (Figure 4).

Registered as a non-profit organization in 1992 and accepted as a Section 21 company in 1995,[4] Artist Proof Studio joined a long tradition of community arts centres that have provided education and access to facilities to talented black artists. The history of South African community art centres has been extensively documented (Hobbs and Rankin (2003); Sack (1988); Hagg (2004); Van Robbroeck (2004); Minty (2004), and Gaylard (2004)), and collectively these publications chart the indispensable role that centres like Polly Street, (established in 1949) and Rorke's Drift Arts and Craft Centre (founded in 1962) played in the

[3] The matric pass rate was as low as 40% in the late 1990s, (see website: http://www.southafrica.info/about/education/education.htm).
[4] Artist Proof Studio as a not-for-profit Section 21 company, was constituted with a board of Directors. See website: http://www.artistproofstudio.org.za and documents KB Archives (APS Draw 1: File 1a).

development of contemporary black South African art practice.[5] Arguably, the latter determined the subsequent development of a number of art centres, including APS, as many of its founding members had graduated from Rorke's Drift in the 1980s. These include Charles Nkosi, Vincent Baloyi, Muzi Donga, Joe Ndlovu, and Gordon Gabashane. However, the liberal paternalistic origins of these early South African community centres later conflicted with the radical political aims of the independent black-run centres founded during the 1970s and 1980s.

As the community arts movement flourished in the 1970s with the establishment of the Johannesburg Art Foundation, FUBA (Federated Union of Black Artists) Academy, the Mofolo Arts Center in Soweto, the Katlehong Art Centre in the East Rand, the Community Arts Project (CAP), the Nyanga Arts Centre in Gugulethu in Cape Town, and the Funda Art Centre in Soweto (opened in 1983 as the African Institute of Art), a deep political divide also developed between the white-run and black-run centres. The more politicized centres, such as FUBA Academy and CAP, accused the white-run centres of co-optation of black talent. The FUBA Academy was founded as a union which explicitly "guarded against exploitation – which is synonymous with black people" (Sephamla 1988, quoted by van Robbroeck 2004: 47). Despite the conflicts, all of these centres made a significant contribution to South African art in terms of protest graphics and an art that expressed life in the townships.[6]

Given the exceptionally politicized context of the 1980s, Artist Proof Studio was born amid suspicion and division. The co-founder, Nhlanhla Xaba, had taught at the FUBA Academy, and had been a student at Funda Community Art Centre for a few years. His political allegiance was with the Pan African Congress (PAC), the radical black consciousness organization that had influenced the philosophy of FUBA Academy. Xaba recruited many young artists and FUBA graduates, such as Osiah Masekwameng, Sam Mnisi, Mike Nene and Lucky Jiyani, many of whom harboured suspicion toward a 'white-led' facility such as APS. They simply assumed a level of racism and exploitation from me, because of the reputed prevalence of inequalities in other white-run centres such as the Johannesburg Art Foundation and Katlehong Art Centre. Gossip and agitation amongst other students regarding my identity as a white artist and my role as founder and leader in the centre often caused conflict and division among the members. The legacy of apartheid remained a

[5] The work from the community art centres is also referred to as "township art", which is a term that has been rejected by artists and historians and the simplistic categorisation refers to artists' depiction of the negative and positive realities of life in the South African townships during and after apartheid (See Williamson 1989, 1996).
[6] Other books on Resistance Art of the 1980s including Seidman (2007) *Political Posters of the 1980s* (2004), Sack (1988) can be referenced on a newly-established website. (http://www.sahistory.org.za/pages/artsmediaculture/protest_art/archive/arch.htm).

difficult one, and relations among this first generation of members were especially fragile. Issues of trust and mutual respect for the communal effort were threatened further by a 'culture of entitlement'[7] that convinced the artists they were owed training, access to materials and commissions, rather than considering these a privileged opportunity.

Fortunately Nhlanhla Xaba provided a force for non-racism at APS, and was committed to supporting the collective efforts that were in accordance with the socialist aims emerging out of the liberation struggle. The principle that unified the different members was the notion of printmaking as a democratic medium accessible to all without regard to social or economic status. This principle of commitment to community proved to be the case when those APS member artists who had been drawn from FUBA Academy, Funda Art Centre, Alex Art Centre, Mofolo Centre and Katlehong Art Centre, returned to some of those centres to teach printmaking. Many are still doing so today.

From the beginning, art production at APS was defined as collaborative rather than individualistic. The studio embarked on a range of ambitious projects that promoted collaborative participation and encouraged a diversity of voices. These included the vibrant Arts Alive Street Festival project in 1993-4, where APS artists made prints with a steamroller on the street (Figure 5). In 1995, as part of the first Bienale in Africa, APS artists with international partners, developed "Volatile Alliances", a print exchange linking ten countries and bringing historically white and black art centres together to work jointly on identity-themed prints (Figure 8).[8] Public commissions included monumental prints for the Gauteng Legislature (1996), (Figure 9), the Urban Futures mural prints (2000) (Figure 10)[9] adult literacy books (1996/7) (Figure 7)[10] and many others. These projects explored collaboration across race and class, and employed diverse and participatory practices. The prints, often created from found and recycled materials, included collographs, drypoints on sheets of plastic, and woodblocks from tomato boxes; they were editioned using commercial printing inks donated from commercial offset printers and other non-traditional sources. All these collaborative processes characterized the spirit of building a co-operative, democratic and

[7] The culture of entitlement is a phenomenon referred to in a South African context. The following authors refer to it; Arumugam (1996) in his paper on "Managing the culture of entitlement" and Fjeldstad (2004) in a paper that argues that non-payment is related not only to inability to pay but also 'a culture of entitlement'.
[8] Artist Proof Studio has an archive of the portfolio, but the list of participating artists and a description of the project is documented in the Africus Johannesburg Bienale catalogue (1995: 86), and booklet for portfolio APS Draw 1: File 9.
[9] The linocut panel 'Xenophobia', produced in 2000 by five APS artists, was enlarged to building size as part of an art-in-the-city project and displayed on the side of Turbine Hall in Newtown from 2003-2006 (see Figure 10c).
[10] The adult literacy books published by Project Literacy Productions 1996/7, Kagiso Publishers (see Figure 7), published twelve readers at various levels of literacy in eleven South African languages and had APS artists and students collaborating with the writers in illustrating stories. This project occurred over two years (1996 and 1997) and the readers were distributed nationally. See KB Archives, (APS Draw 1: File 20).

public culture of art-making.[11] For example, the five mural prints for the chamber walls of the seat of the first democratically elected government in Gauteng depicted themes relevant to citizens such as arts and culture, housing, and poverty.[12] Each team of artist-collaborators was led by an established or senior mentor who worked with a team of five young student artists. Some of the artworks addressed the tensions surrounding race and gender relations, such as a panel on informal housing and poverty, while others reflected the euphoric period of the celebration of the 'Rainbow Nation' (See Figure 9).[13] Each team arrived at the theme and its representation through group discussion.

The talent and commitment of studio members, together with the quality of learning and creative activities, contributed to the project of imagining a race-blind future. Artist Proof Studio provided the space for artists to begin to give colour, form and texture to the vision of a 'new South Africa'.[14] The country required new forms of expression to define an identity that was no longer dependent on a western-defined aesthetic, but on something emerging from the exhilarating sense of freedom from apartheid's oppressive history.[15] Its programs began to promote 'reconciliation,' in that they brought together people across race and class to work jointly on a variety of projects.

As this new collective aesthetic and politics was developing at APS, printmaking was also seen as an important medium of income-generation. Not only did APS receive requests to populate the walls and offices of the 'transforming' government, for example the councils on labour (the CCMA), local government offices, union offices and training centres,[16] but also from corporations who sought artwork that would reflect the progressive image of a new South Africa. Corporate and government offices that were committed to changing their image in order to brand themselves as part of the new South Africa, replaced imported posters of French Impressionist scenes or still-life studies, with work by local black South African artists, including many at APS.[17]

The Artist Proof Studio was fortunate to be able to benefit from the printmaking renaissance resulting from these significant new markets, and for their part such institutions were able to

[11] In 1990 I compiled a printmaking manual *People's Printmaking and Papermaking Handbook* that provided instructions on making prints from found and handmade materials (Berman 1990).
[12] These prints are still on view in the Gauteng Legislative Chambers on President Street.
[13] 'Rainbow Nation' coined by Desmond Tutu (1999) (see Chapter One).
[14] The phrase was commonly used in this period.
[15] For a discussion of how this question was addressed in music, see Allen (2004: 19-38).
[16] Other examples include; the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM), EDL Training Centre, SABC, Ford Foundation offices and others.
[17] Examples of corporate patrons include Nedbank, MTN, Sasol, South African Breweries (SAB), ABSA Bank and others.

project a politically-correct image at a reasonable cost. Presently, for Artist Proof Studio, this market continues to grow, and many young black printmakers are able to make a living from sales of their work (Figures 11a-f; examples of APS artwork of the type that would be bought by this market).[18]

In its early years, APS established itself as a dynamic and creative enclave that proved that black and white artists and students could learn to work together harmoniously. Despite the legacy of distrust, many studio members were inspired by Mandela's vision of an integrated society imbued with the spirit of the rainbow nation. Artist Proof Studio established paying classes for students who were predominantly white, attending adult enrichment courses. In the early 1990s many of the suburban older women who attended classes at APS had previously interacted with black people only in their capacity as 'madams' interacting with servants. Their new relationships as students being instructed by black teachers and technical assistants required transformative shifts in relationships for both black and white participants. The joint vision and commitment to this new society frequently produced a kind of magical energy in the studio; there existed a common belief that art could play its part in imagining and creating a better life for all of South Africa's citizens. However, 'redress' seemed to apply primarily to black men, and fewer opportunities were available to black women. In South Africa's black patriarchal culture, fine art was (and still is) gendered male, and few black women applied to be members of Artist Proof Studio.[19] Even today, the membership of APS is 80% male, and the gender imbalance continues.[20]

A primary reason for the founding of APS was redress: to compensate for the lack of art education and facilities for representatives of the majority of the population. One means of redress was to train teachers as well as printmakers. Like many community art centres, APS responded to the acute shortage of art teachers in South Africa with the establishment of an art teachers training certificate course at the former Technikon Witwatersrand in 1996. The course was created in conjunction with the Curriculum Development Project (CDP), which developed strong resource materials for learner-centred teaching to children, such as the Khula Udweba project (Grow as you Draw) (Solomon 1996). The Teacher Training course accepted into the course senior students from APS and FUBA Academy together with former

[18] However, many APS artists have unrealistic expectations about the prices their works should receive. Pricing of prints at APS is an ongoing dialogue and sometimes becomes a source of tension in retaining a commitment to affordably priced and publicly accessible artworks.
[19] See interviews with APS and women artists: KB Archives (APS Draw 4: File 10c).
[20] The South African Parliament undertook to institute a one-third quota for women in government. APS tried to address affirmative action to accept women artists, but has struggled to achieve more than 25% female art students.

Technikon Witwatersrand fourth year students (with the purpose of providing art teachers into township schools to begin to address the desperate lack of art education). Between 1996 and 2006, over 80 teachers achieved their certificates, and are currently working in schools and art centres (Figure 12).

As the membership and programs of APS grew, so did the need for increased and stable sources of funding. (APS in 2007/8 provided a home studio and resource centre for over 120 artists from Johannesburg and the surrounding areas). In 1996 the Ford Foundation awarded APS core funding for a three to four year period, which allowed the studio to hire permanent staff and formalize the organizational infrastructure. A studio manager, Cara Walters, was hired in 1997, and the organization's administrative needs were more efficiently met. I was at the time teaching full-time in the former Technikon Witwatersrand and was only available on a part-time basis to direct operations. Nhlanhla Xaba enjoyed the teaching and practice-based programming of the studio and had little interest in taking on the administration requirements of APS. The finances of the organization remain precarious, however, and in this area APS is far from alone. Community art centres continue to struggle for survival:

> The problem of funding remains, to this day, the single biggest threat to the continued existence of community arts in this country. In the Neo-Liberal international economic climate, any cultural body that resists profitability is doomed to failure. The dearth of art education in South African schools and the under-funding of the arts in general, remain as big a problem today as it did in the past. So does unemployment. In addition, South Africa's re-incorporation into the international art scene means that our visual arts arena has become more cut-throat, specialist and elitist than ever. It can therefore be argued that now, more than ever, some of the fundamental ideals of community arts need to be revived to enrich, democratise and diversify our cultural praxis (van Robbroeck 2004: 50).

In its first phase, APS focused primarily on specialized printmaking and some drawing skills; but there was very little focus on writing and educational training.[21] Rather, through strong international links, an active international visiting artists program was established. Printmakers from the United States and Europe, who had participated in print exchanges such as Volatile Alliances for the Africus Johannesburg Bienale in 1995, were keen to visit South Africa and contribute to redressing inequalities though sharing skills. In this way APS hosted some extraordinary educators and artists who, through their annual volunteer efforts, offered excellent and highly specialized training. As a result, APS students were able to develop an extensive range of skills in print media that very few art schools in South Africa could offer. These included classic printmaking techniques such as etching, lithography,

[21] This turned out to be a significant lack in the range of skills that our students graduated with as future educators. This deficit in the education program will be discussed the "rebuilding" section of this chapter.

drypoint, relief and screen printing, as well as an extensive range of alternative and experimental techniques using photo-processes, paper collage/pulp processes, collographs and found and alternative materials (Figures 13-15).

Not only did the international visitors expose APS students to some of the most innovative contemporary processes, young APS artists were also given opportunities to go abroad and teach first-world art students in Belgium and the United States alternative techniques of printing with found and industrial materials. Since its inception, APS has facilitated more than twenty international visits by young township-based artists, most of whom had never flown on an aeroplane prior to their trip.[22]

As the organization grew and became a formal entity, we recognized the need for a governing body. The APS Board of advisors was drawn from founding artist members as well as dedicated people committed to the arts sector. Board members were drawn from representative organzations such as arts training organisations, community art centres, the corporate sector, arts lobby groups, galleries and the higher education sector. The Board of advisors has since been restructured in accordance with Section 21 company policy for good governance as laid out in the King ll Report (2006).[23] New advisors have been included from the commercial and business sectors as well as the legal and training fields.[24] From the outset, the APS Board of Directors and Advisors has considered its management role to be collaborative rather than top-down.

Redress, a journey towards Reconciliation

Throughout its seventeen year history, Artist Proof Studio has striven to uphold the democratic principles of equal opportunity and access to learner-centered education. Its consistent aim has been to participate in the building of a new democratic South Africa that promotes reconciliation, cultural diversity, equality, and above all, a culture that celebrates human rights. During its first phase, APS focused on training previously disadvantaged students both as artists and as teachers as a means of redress. Its learning curve has resembled that of the country as a whole: the organisation has attempted to continually re-invent itself as it grows.

[22] The artists include Jacob Molefe and Jones Mathebula (Belgium), Bongi Mkizhe (Belgium), Pontsho Sikhosana(USA), Thabang Lehoybe, Motsomai Thabane and Molefe Twala and Hloni Matshaba (USA) and others. See stories and interviews KB Archives (APS Draw 1: Files 17 and 10a).
[23] King ll Report (2006) (http://www.iodsa.co.za/king.asp).
[24] See annual report composition of the Board members, KB Archives (APS Draw 1: Files 2 and 3).

During this first phase of APS's history, capacity-building was the most important goal. Many of the artists coming through the organization were a product of Bantu Education.[25] The psychological damage inflicted by apartheid created a victim and entitlement attitude among the young black men and women at the studio. The building of skills and capacities such as business practice and training in teaching and management facilitation, began to be added to the learning program from 2000. (This will be expanded upon in the following section.)

In general, I would argue that these initial programs achieved the aim of redress. For example, my young colleague Stompie Selibe was a product of Bantu Education, yet he completed his high school certificate when he joined the studio and subsequently became one of its leading teachers. He later partnered with me on the Brandeis fellowship described below. In addition, he mentored other young artists as they began to assume management roles in the organization. However, despite successes such as this, there was an absence of theoretical, historical and analytical tools and programs because we were focused on building vocational capacity.

PART TWO: Reconciliation: Artist Proof Studio 2003-2005[26]

> *It is not what you have experienced that makes you greater, but what you have faced, what you have transcended, what you have unlearned* (Ben Okri 1997: 61).

On 9 March 2003, Artist Proof Studio burned to the ground, taking with it the life of co-founder Nhlanhla Xaba. Caused by an electrical fault from an appliance in the studio, the fire spread to the chemical storage area, causing an explosion and conflagration that destroyed the studio within hours. Xaba, asleep on a couch, never woke up from the asphyxiating fumes.

The tragedy was enormous. Over 100 artists lost not only all their work, but a teacher, mentor and friend. The period of mourning made it clear that the vision Nhlanhla lived and died for had to continue. The news of his death catalysed the South African art world to pledge support for rebuilding what had been destroyed (Figures 16-18).[27]

[25] The objective of Bantu Education was subservience and inferior knowledge transfer. See the Bantu Education Act No 47 of 1953 (http://www.sahistory.org.za/pages/governence-projects/june16/bantu-eduaction-act-1953.htm).
[26] A previous version of the content in this section was presented in Berman (2006).
[27] See extensive press coverage, and articles: KB Archives, APS Draw 1: File 13. Articles in South Africa and abroad include: Maphumulo S., "Tears as artist who died in the Fire is fondly recalled", *The Star*, 11 March 2003; Sassen, R.: "Fire Metaphor for cleansing, but also destruction", 21-28 March 2003, *South African Jewish Report*; Temin, C. "Rebuilding art from the ashes: Printmaker loses partner and studio to fire in South Africa; Boston fund-raisers are planned", Boston Globe, 19 March 2003; "Aid for the Artist Proof Studio", *Art on Paper*, May to June Vol. 7, see also Figure 17.

The morning after the fire, people flocked to witness the devastation. There was a sense of shock and disbelief. Those from APS gathered in a circle on the grass across the street from the fire and shared stories about Xaba. Emotions ranged from sadness and loss to anger and fear as people began to absorb the loss of the space that had become their home. Spontaneously, senior student Stompie Selibe brought out his mbira and played a mournful and soothing 'Healing Song.'[28]

Galvanized by the music, the students and teachers began scratching around in the burnt rubble, prying off and peeling away the prints buried under the waste; dust was released as each sheet was pulled out and shaken off. There were moments when the dust and ash clogged the surrounding air, making it hard to breathe. Our coughing and choked stammering contrasted with the clarity and delight of uncovering each new layer and discovering treasure. We laughed and sang and then abruptly become silent in the shock of discovering an article of Xaba's. The artists gathered the fragments and laid them at the spot where the body had been found, adding a message traced in ash: "I'll miss you bra". I uncovered one of my prints from the State of Emergency 1986, a body lying in the rubble, assassinated by the apartheid regime (Figure 17). The ironic juxtaposition was eerie; the pathos palpable.[29]

We laid out all the fragments we had chosen and reflected on finding meaning in the overwhelming chaos. The work began with Selibe rolling out a very large sheet of white paper. He lay down on that paper, curling his body but reaching out with one arm. Someone took a marker and did a body tracing. The discussion of healing though peeling off layers, of unraveling the bandages when the wounds start to mend, became the theme for one of the resulting images. The group decided to look for fragments and words in the burnt books and papers that have to do with celebration and joy, growth and change, which could be glued over the wounds of the healing body (Figure 19b).

One week after the fire, APS members embarked on a series of art exercises, including art therapy support groups, designed to help people acknowledge and cope with the losses and traumas caused by the fire.[30] Together with art therapists who came to assist the artists of

[28] A version of the healing song was recorded on Selibe's album "Ambient African Instruments: Drums and Rhythms of South Africa" (2002: JLND 1014).
[29] The fact that I had been working on a series of prints with the motif of fire, "The Fires of the Truth Commission," added another layer of bitter irony (see Figure 18b).
[30] The Art Therapy Centre is managed by my sister, Hayley Berman. She was the first person I called to assist the APS studio members cope with the trauma of the fire. She trains community art therapists and teachers in

the studio we decided to work on collaborative collages, and part of the process of producing these works involved the voluntary participation in workshops to facilitate mourning. The art therapy sessions provided the necessary space for studio members to experience their feelings, share common stories and build support networks. There was a general acknowledgment that one cannot build a new structure on the shaky and broken ground left by the fire; a different organizational model with different foundations would have to be created.[31]

A temporary space rudimentarily equipped with borrowed etching presses was set up in an area allocated by the Johannesburg City Council in order to implement the training programs and 'out of the fire' projects. A generous donation by a prominent gallery owner, Linda Givon, purchased 120 'start-up kits' consisting of a portfolio, paper, printmaking tools and drawing materials, which were handed to each Artist Proof Studio member to begin again. Additional teachers were contracted to support the APS teachers who struggled to keep the students motivated. The idea of a printmaking marathon inspired a number of artists to make works from fragments out of the fire that were subsequently sold to raise money to rebuild the studio (Figure 19a).

Reconciliation is a process of ever deepening transformation. There is something very paradoxical about building community – it almost invites people to open up deep wounds. The support work done with the Art Therapy Centre helped to initiate discussions about loss and regeneration. In addition, several of our exercises seemed to turn the tide and initiate work that was transformational. After Selibe's workshops, I invited a visiting student intern from Harvard University, Thenji Nkosi, to film the process of 'rebuilding after the fire.' The video documentation became a vehicle for supporting studio members to articulate their feelings; the recorded narratives of their stories enabled individuals to be 'heard.' [32]

Several weeks after the fire, the artists worked in teams to build collages from the remains of the burnt prints. The resulting large-scale panels that were produced are arguably some of the strongest work ever to emerge from APS. One series of three panels was about 'Past',

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schools to use art to address trauma. Several APS students have been sponsored to attend training including Stompie Selibe. A small grant was secured to contract the Art Therapy Centre to provide support and counselling for some studio members for up to two months after the fire.

[31] The experience of the art therapy process in the site of APS after the fire is reflected on by Hayley Berman in an essay; "Transforming objects in South Africa" (2005: 178).

[32] Thenji Nkosi filmed documentary video footage of this process. The footage was also included in the documentary film *A Ripple in the Water* (2007) OK/Alright Productions http://www.rippleinthewater.com/ KB Archives (APS Draw 1: File 15).

‘Present’ and ‘Future’, the other three were titled ‘Conflict’, ‘Conversation’ and ‘Reconciliation’ (Figures 20a-c).

The collages were metaphors for the many layers of reconciliation that took place after the fire – repairing damage, and bringing together disparate elements that seem not to belong together, but that can nevertheless work in harmony. The process was one of mourning for what had been lost, repairing what had been broken, and piecing together fragments. The first series reflected the wounds and chains from the oppression of the past, the healing by unravelling the bandages in the present, and regeneration by leaping into the future. The reconciliation was about working together to create a new future out of the rubble of the past. We discovered that the act of collage-making was reconstructive. We were able to re-organize the burnt fragments, bits of the damage and the loss, into objects of beauty and meaning. Today, they hang in the stairwell of the new APS. The fact that the students must walk upstairs past these collages to get to the studio space on the first floor provides a simple but powerful daily reminder of past, present and future (Figure 21).

Another group of artists found scraps of metal that they welded together to create new sculptural pieces. These twisted metal remains, embracing elements of the burnt space, were welded into the security fence of the new studio, providing a shield for the new venue (Figure 22).

Faced with the enormity of the loss of the studio and Nhlanhla Xaba, artists, students, advisors and friends were determined to rebuild, to start again, but this time incorporating the lessons we had learnt from the previous decade. Under the inspired leadership of Nelson Mandela, South Africa had demonstrated its capacity to reinvent itself through political transformation. Within this context, the studio members and the APS board embarked on a process to learn how an arts organization can re-imagine itself in order to create a structure that embodies the spirit of post-apartheid reconciliation. We aimed to transform our organization from one that holds the traditional balance of power (with the concentration of skills and leadership held by white staff members) to one that reflects a greater democratic change and promotes black leadership and empowerment. The first step in that process was that of addressing the legacy of apartheid through art-making and workshops fostering reconciliation, the necessary first step in transformation and rebuilding. Again, in parallel with the country as a whole, which had recently undergone the painful testimonies of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (1996-2000), APS members probed deeply into the wounds left by apartheid, using creativity to cleanse and heal.

Recasting Reconciliation: The Fellowship program at Brandeis University 2003-2005

Shortly after the collages were completed, I submitted a proposal to participate in a fellowship program at Brandeis University's International Center for Ethics, Justice and Public Life on the topic of "Recasting Reconciliation through Arts and Culture." The two-part program, consisting of two month-long residencies in 2004 and 2005, queried whether arts and cultural work are critical to promoting coexistence and reconciliation in the aftermath of violent conflict. It investigated theoretical frameworks for reconciliation, and examined the nature of aesthetic engagement as an effective resource for peace-building. The program invited fellows who were using the arts to address reconciliation in areas of the world dealing with conflict such as Burundi and Rwanda, Israel and Palestine, Sri Lanka, Cambodia, Kashmir, New Zealand and South Africa. The program critically examined the ways in which the arts and cultural work are used to facilitate tasks crucial to reconciliation, including assisting former adversaries to appreciate each other's humanity, to empathize with each other's suffering, to address injustice, and to imagine a new future. It also provided a valuable framework for examining the links between the creative process and changes that need to be made at the personal, interpersonal and organizational levels. Over the course of the two subsequent visits to Brandeis, I gained insights of enormous value for the rebuilding process at APS, and so a brief summary of the workshops objectives is presented here.

Cynthia Cohen, Director of the program, identified seven processes that are involved in learning about one's own community and that of others. According to Cohen (2003b: 4):

> Processes of coexistence and reconciliation almost always involve former adversaries in culturally-inflected versions of at least some of the following tasks:
>
> - appreciating each other's humanity and respecting each other's culture
> - telling and listening to each other's stories, and developing more complex narratives and more nuanced understandings of identity
> - acknowledging harms, telling truths and mourning losses
> - empathizing with each other's suffering
> - acknowledging and redressing injustices
> - expressing remorse, repenting, apologizing; letting go of bitterness, forgiving
> - imagining and substantiating a new future, including agreements about how future conflicts will be engaged constructively.

Cohen argues that frequently, when promoting coexistence and reconciliation in contexts of long-standing oppression, those in the subordinate group must be supported to define their

own experiences and re-name themselves. The liberatory educator Paulo Freire ([1970] 2003: 88) has made a similar argument: "To exist, humanly," he writes, "is to name the world, to change it." [33]

Through our discussions and presentations, the participants of the fellowship program learned that within most institutions there is both a resistance and a willingness to change, and that frustration, loss and failure are necessary ingredients of the growth process, and in many ways are catalysts for change. Furthermore, the forum's ten international fellows learned that in order for change to be sustainable, transformation needs to happen at the deepest levels. It requires us to challenge our notions of power, within ourselves, within our relationships and in our institutions. We need to change our language, actions and policies and link them to our belief systems, cultural norms and emotions. Over the fellowship's two years we came to understand that the work of reconciliation is endless – each time a wound opens, it must be healed before we can move forward.[34]

Finally, the findings of the process affirmed that reconciliation is fuelled, inspired and sustained by creativity. I further realised that people must genuinely want reconciliation and work towards it. When documenting this process in a paper published online by the Brandeis University's Ethics Center (Berman 2006a), I began to explore the notion that imagination can be a useful key for deep transformation. This paper also introduces the idea that one important route to change is through narrative, because of its ability to embrace complexity. These themes are explored throughout this thesis.

The Aftermath of the Fire: Building toward Reconciliation

Six weeks after the fire in 2003, I left for Boston for an international print conference and fundraising event, with the hope that the rebuilding process was off to a good start. However, when I returned a month later, I found that the temporary studio that had been hastily set up for the fundraising print marathon had not been organized. None of the staff members had taken the initiative to order chairs and tables for their classes, nor tried to improve a very depressing basement workshop to make it into an environment more conducive for learning. The negative 'victim of circumstance' mentality had re-emerged. Survival was the most anyone could manage; members came daily into work, where they undermined each other to

[33] This argument convinced me to undertake this PhD study.
[34] Some of the most influential texts we engaged included fellowship participants: Cohen (1994, 1998, 2003); J. Fox (1999, 2003); S. Marlin-Curiel (2001, 2002); I. Muan and L. Daravuth (2001); A. Hizikias (1993); F. Agbaria (2001).

such an extent that conflict spilled into the classroom, and teachers gossiped to students, pitting one against the other.

I expressed my frustration at the studio members' inability to move forward and take control, but through our discussions, I became sensitive to the impact of feelings of disempowerment felt by the artists, which was compounded by the legacy of trauma and damage inflicted by South Africa's political and social history. In the following weeks and months, the management committee of APS was faced with challenging the artists to transform rotting debris into fertilizer to stimulate new growth (Figure 23).

One project that sparked the artists' visualization of change was a workshop that I conducted. A meeting of all active studio members was called in order for me to report back on fundraising efforts and rebuilding plans. At that meeting, we collectively imagined what we would want from a new studio. Each person expressed a dream; these were written down, and collectively the dreams became a visualization of the future. Mobilizing the group's imagination shifted the stagnant and self-destructive energy into creative action. The dreams that were expressed included:

- I see APS at the best printmaking centre in South Africa
- I see myself as a teacher to the newcomers
- We have an APS minibus for transporting members
- We have a newsletter
- We are well known in the world
- Famous people come and work with us
- We offer qualifications in printmaking
- We have a bigger centre than before
- We have a studio for drawing and a library for studying
- We can go overseas on exchange programs.

With the exception of the minibus, we have arguably fulfilled all of these dreams over the years since the fire.

After the Brandeis Institute, I recognized the role of narrative as a process to stimulate change. I accepted the opportunity for APS to host two visiting Brandeis University students from the Coexistence Program. They were able to capture the stories and voices of the artists affected by the fire in a series of interviews conducted over two months between July

and August 2004. I include extracts from one of these stories as it captures the essence of the depth of the journey towards reconciliation and healing.[35]

Trevor Thebe joined the youth group of the studio in 1997 when he was seventeen years old. He has worked as a drawing teacher and unit manager at APS since 2001. He received his BTech in Multimedia from the University of Johannesburg in 2006. Thebe reflected on the importance of creativity for his own recovery from the fire:

> To me APS is a home. APS opened a lot of doors and it carried me. That's why it was so hard losing it in the fire. When it burnt down I felt that my dream had been destroyed. I believed that my life had become a dead end and I believed that I wasn't going to be able to carry on. I saw myself as not having a dream because I felt like it had been taken away. At APS I had finally felt that I was with people that understood how I felt and who understood me. The thought of not being able to see them or talk to them felt like a bad dream.
>
> I never recovered until I made a print. I had to deal with the fire the best way I could and the only way I could was to come up with an art piece that would take away my rage. I had to come to peace about the whole situation and I dedicated the artwork to Nhlanhla. It was about the journey from the beginning: when I first came here, the journey I took every day, the journey from when I was born to now, the financial struggles I went through and it was about everything he taught me and how he was always pushing me to do better. It was about the thought of one's culture, where life starts. It was about growth in a way. And inside it, it had all the questions that I had**.**
>
> The whole burning down of the studio separated us. We ended up seeing ourselves as individuals rather than as a community or a family. Working on the collages as a group gave us a chance to come back together and discuss things. We had to work with something positive from something dead. Some of us used to believe that APS was just a building and when you leave that building you're on your own. But today I believe that the people inside make it what is: a home and a family.[36]

[35] The two student interns from Brandeis, Darnisa Armante and Amy Schiller, conducted over 50 interviews in July 2004. Transcripts are available in KB Archives (APS Draw 1: Files 10 a-c).

[36] Darnisa Armante administered questionnaires in August 2004 and summarized the feedback as follows. The interviews are available in KB archives (APS Draw 1: File 12).

People consider APS their family:

"APS is my family" (10 times mentioned).

"The class we had with Stompie helped us to be close, like brothers."

APS is a place of caring and ubuntu:

"APS is a place of truth … it has established the spirit of ubuntu."

"There is much respect towards each other and the space, and we love one another."

"APS is living evidence that people of different genders, from different racial groups, can work together toward a common goal and be successful."

"APS changes the lives of young people to successes."

People have big dreams for APS and for themselves:

"The processes we followed after the fire formed the foundation of my decision to always continue with art."

"I would like to see myself being an inspiration to first-years."

"I would like to see more branches of APS countrywide, especially in the townships.'

"I would like APS to be the biggest social centre in our country, accommodating lots of artists and giving a lot of inspiration to people, building the next generation of leaders."

"It was so inspiring to meet artists like me who wanted to achieve their dreams."

Ubuntu as a framework for Reconciliation

According to Hizkias Assefa (2002), reconciliation is "a process where people who have been alienated from each other come together to build community again." The word "again" implies that there once was a concept of community, so the question implies re-discovery, re-claiming, and re-affirming this common humanity. In the case of South Africa, reconciliation also meant reinforcing the fragile ties across racial divisions that had been built among those involved in the struggle against apartheid.

To achieve reconciliation at Artist Proof Studio, the management introduced the concept of ubuntu as an embodiment of the ethos and values of our common humanity. The meaning of ubuntu is best captured through the expression: "A person is only a person because of other people.*"* As Archbishop Demond Tutu asserts:

> We believe that … my humanity is caught up, bound up, inextricably, with yours. When I dehumanise you, I inexorably dehumanise myself. The solitary human being is a contradiction in terms and therefore you seek to work for the common good because your humanity comes into its own in belonging (Tutu 1999).

The word ubuntu was commonly used during Nelson Mandela's presidential term to refer to the re-establishment of citizens' common humanity as the core for building a new South Africa. Ubuntu was also introduced by Tutu as a core value to frame the context of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. The traditional African roots of the philosophy of ubuntu imply an ethic of sharing and hospitality, of honesty and humility. It is the ethic that characterizes the ideal interaction among members of the extended family. When we moved into the new APS, I presented a challenge to all our members to regard this as an ubuntu space.

Defining the project and launching the new studio

Having identified ubuntu as a non-threatening, indigenous concept that embraces the key principles of reconciliation, the teachers designed collaborative projects to help students understand and apply the concept to APS's rebuilding project. I asked them whether or not ubuntu still existed in South Africa. Many students said no, that they had experienced rampant crime, abuse, and disregard for people's health and well-being as a result of apartheid. Others said yes; it still exists when we care for each other. I then put a challenge to everyone in the room, and asked if we could create an ubuntu space inside APS. Can we discover ubuntu for ourselves and try to use it here? I asked the students to write down in their journals what ubuntu meant to them. One outcome of this discussion was that the group agreed that the second-year students would go out and collect ubuntu stories. They could

interview members of family, elders, or *tsotsis* (gangsters) on the street, and ask each for their understanding or experience of ubuntu. These stories could then be shared with each other. They would each make a selection of the stories to compile into a portfolio of prints, narratives and interviews.[37]

On 9 March 2004, one year after the fire, the new APS facility was launched in the converted Bus Factory, a renovated venue for the expanded cultural precinct in Newtown. The hope was that the celebration of our new quarters would express its revised collective vision. A *sangoma* (traditional healer) performed a ritual for the protection of our new beginnings. The mood at the launch was celebratory; large numbers of people attended the participatory and inspirational event. I felt that the day was a testimony to the power of art to transform society (Figures 25a-d). It was not just the opening of a beautiful building, a project that took hard work and extensive funding to be realized. It was the opening of a new chapter for APS, with a beautiful space to house a re-imagined, re-constructed identity of the APS. Our ubuntu project could officially begin (Figures 26).

Incorporating ubuntu as Organizational Structure and Practice

The generosity of our private and public donors and members of the community provided the resources that enabled APS not only to rebuild our studio but to redefine our organizational structure.[38] The resources provided the opportunity for us to imagine ways to integrate transformative principles deep within our structure and practice. I asked myself the following questions:

- how do we, as a collective, live up to and deliver on the challenges inherent in the support we have received?
- how can we learn from the past, and avoid repeating the same mistakes?
- how can we discard the heavy baggage of inequality and racialized power dynamics?
- how can the new APS promote reconciliation, healing, empowerment and reflect the spirit of a healthy democracy?
- how can we change the image of another white-run cultural organization? can the centre be non-racial? Not black-run or white-run?

[37] A collection of students' definitions and examples of *ubuntu*: see KB Archives (APS Draw 1: File 12). The one-of-a-kind artists' book of student images and texts is in the art collection at APS and images from the book are displayed on the Brandeis University Slifka website: (http://www.brandeis.edu/programs/Slifka/vrc/papers/kim/Berman.pdf).

[38] The list of donors is published in our annual report and on a plaque outside the studio. Donors include: Goodman Gallery, Ford Foundation, Johnson and Johnson International, South Africa Development Fund, Friends of APS in Boston, the City of Johannesburg, Alliance Francais and the Arts and Culture Trust.

- how do we reach below the surface to dissolve the bitterness and hurt that stem from decades of injustice?
- can we sustain a creative and healthy work environment that produces excellence?
- what steps have to be taken to sustain this vision for the future?

The APS board explored some of these questions in order to develop a new policy and organizational structure. Members of the Board of advisors and directors attempted to prioritize the various challenges involved in creating a model of African-centred learning and leadership.[39] We asked ourselves whether the member artists should be supported to develop administrative skills or whether we should bring in new black leadership, and decided to pursue both tracks.

The APS Board's management team proposed an organizational organogram (or chart) that replaced the classical hierarchical pyramid with a circle, (Figure 27b). The outside ring is an advisory Council, the inside core consists of the students and artist members. The middle ring is the Management Board, coordinated by the Studio Manager. The circle is divided up into slices of a pie, with each slice representing a unit of the studio activities (such as financial management, marketing, education and curriculum development, outreach and development and professional studio practice.) Each unit has a mentor from the management team or an outside expert, a staff member as a mentee, and where possible student representatives or interns as part of their senior year of professional practice. This model incorporates the spirit of ubuntu in that it functions effectively with full participation (I am because of you), and requires the transfer of leadership skills across a range of levels. For example, a member of an advisory council could be a staff person, who, in turn, would be the mentor for students. This structure requires all parties to address racial power dynamics in the process of skills transfer.

A range of team-building workshops was offered to assist people in these sensitive mentoring interactions. I found the framework of 'appreciative inquiry' to be most useful in this ongoing process of reconciliation. Since Cooperrider and Srivastva's original definition of the term in 1987, there have been many interpretations of this kind of team building particularly in relation to organizational development:

[39] List of APS Board members and minutes of strategic planning sessions for 2003/4 are in KB Archives (APS Draw 1: Files 4 and 5).

> Appreciative inquiry refers to both a search for knowledge and a theory of intentional collective action that together are designed to help evolve the normative vision and will of a group, organization, or society as a whole (Cooperrider and Srivastva 1987: 159).

The way Appreciative Inquiry has been used at APS is to get the group to articulate themes and dreams of 'what could be' and 'what will be'. The envisioned future is grounded in the reality of the actual past (Hammond 1998: 8). By asking positive questions, 'appreciative inquiry' draws out and highlights hopeful and empowering stories, metaphors, dreams and wishes that embrace a spirit of optimism. It shifts away from vocabularies of deficit to conversations of possibility, and prefigures the future we hope to create at APS. Moreover, appreciative inquiry draws on the creative imagination and the arts to seek reconciliation and empowerment.

Participation in decision-making processes empowers people and, more importantly, leads towards democracy. The involvement of members of the team of teachers and mentees in strategic planning has led to an increased sense of confidence and personal esteem, as well as a collective commitment to the direction and decisions that are being taken for the organizational development of APS. Since the introduction of the mentorship program in 2004, the goal of achieving stronger leadership by women at APS has met with success. The mentees, particularly the black women, have thrived on added responsibility. For instance, by the start of 2005 Pontsho Sikhosana was successfully managing artists' collaborations and printing in the professional studio; Lerato Moereng was promoted to financial administrator (and has since moved into the corporate sector); Margery Maleka became the APS Gallery manager; Aletta Legae was acting unit manager of Paper Prayers and all the other teachers have started designing and leading their own learning programs. However, the woman who was appointed as operational manager in 2007, was an outside applicant and was unable to adjust to the organic structure of Artist Proof Studio. Her one-year contract ended in 2008.

A major challenge I face at APS is the artists' ambivalence and reluctance to take on the management responsibilities that have historically been the domain of the white middle class women in the management team of APS. Repeatedly, the group expressed resentment that the management positions were held by the resourced middle class women, even though the black male teachers' leadership responsibilities were defined as equal to these women's administrative tasks. Yet interestingly, when an interview that took place for an educational manager resulted in two equally qualified women candidates, I handed the final decision to the eight black unit managers and teachers. My choice was the woman of colour; their

choice, unanimously, was the white woman. The reason they gave was that the white woman was far less assertive and would respect their authority.

The white woman manager lasted less than two years and was replaced through the promotion of Lucas Ngweng, the lead APS teacher since 2000. More recently the black woman operations manager, replaced Cara Walters as Studio Manager, and encountered resistance and conflict from the male education manager. She subsequently resigned and a team of six managers and I meet weekly to take operational decisions.

Issues of gender and race remain a challenge at Artist Proof Studio. Empowered and assertive black women in an environment of 75% to 80% male artists pose complex challenges in the South African context. During the fellowship at Brandeis University, the question of gender and power dynamics surfaced in one of the discussions. Stompie Selibe, who was my collaborator on the fellowship, voiced a question that he presented as representative of the black artists at APS: “How can a white woman be a director of a black collective?” The Brandeis fellowship had given me the opportunity to explore relations between class, race and power – a painful but necessary process. I had always seen myself as a member of the liberation movement for South Africa and believed to my core in the struggle for non-racism and democracy. That I was perceived as oppressive, authoritarian, powerful and critical was difficult to for me to reconcile with my own self-image (Figure 28).

Thus, a key aspect of the ‘reconciliation’ process was facing my own role as a middle class white woman leader of a black collective. Because I was the founding director of both Artist Proof Studio and Phumani Paper, the organizations were often referred to as ‘Kim’s projects’ rather than as collectives. I realized that I had failed to interrogate my own power and position within APS, because the skills and vision I had brought were necessary to the organization. As a result, I continued to deny the issues of power underlying my role, and this had fueled resentment. Part of the ‘reconciliation process’ required me to further cede control of the organization I had co-founded.

Researching ubuntu in APS students’ communities

While the re-organization process, with its fraught revelations of the fissures within APS, was underway, Selibe assigned his students the task of researching the multiple meanings of ubuntu and collecting stories that reflected some of these meanings. The students interviewed family members and friends. They shared their stories with each other and discussed and debated the meanings of ubuntu. Then they worked in groups of four to

develop images that expressed their concepts or stories. They were challenged to reinvent or re-interpret dominant symbols of South African culture and to communicate ideas that expressed an alternative vision to violence and oppression. The task was not to depict an imagined utopia, but to dream rich possibilities, while still acknowledging the dark sides of racism, sexism and oppression within our communities and themselves.

Weeks of discussion, sketches and joint effort resulted in six collaborative panels that expressed symbols and metaphors for ubuntu. These included footprints of a journey, washing the feet of another, a tree of humanity with strong roots that allowed it to flourish and bear fruit, and a nest with eggs held up with an artist's hand. Each image explored concepts of respect, negotiation, identity, tradition and imagination (Figure 30). The ubuntu prints now hang at the International Center for Ethics, Justice and Public Life at Brandeis.

In the end, this collective creative process led to a deeper understanding of self and other in relationship to the group. It required participants to respect each other as well as the art-making process itself. Individual spontaneity had to be constrained and negotiated in order to achieve a compromise with the group. The need for negotiation and compromise explored one of the key principles of reconciliation.

Selibe used a variety of approaches to facilitate these negotiations, such as drumming circles and group activities (Figure 29). Nevertheless, an individual expressed resentment and anger when a member of their team started carving over 'his' area of drawing. According to Selibe's account:

> The sharing of ubuntu stories helped put the ideas into perspective…. There was some resistance. A lot of them come from very difficult circumstances where there is no ubuntu at home; some individuals really struggle to share. One day I came into class with some apples. I cut them up into small pieces and shared them with the group. Some were very surprised and moved. We talked about how sharing brings people together. That was the lesson that made a big difference in my class. People started talking about their families. There is no negotiation, no checking in at their homes. They are told how things are. There is no space to have a sense of yourself and your needs. I had to help people with boundaries. We check in with each other before every class; that was important in giving people an idea of appropriate behaviour.

An ubuntu story that was the stimulus for one of the ubuntu prints was told by Nelson Makamo, a student from a rural community who came to Johannesburg to advance his dream to be an artist.

Nelson Makamo: [40]

> This is my story, not just a story, but a way of life. This is my interview with my Grandpa.
>
> It was the first week of March. I had to travel from Johannesburg to Limpopo to a large village called Avon. It had been a year since I visited my grandparents and I had only three days, after which I had to go back to Gauteng. I went for one reason: my assignment of ubuntu, because I knew that my grandfather was the person to talk to. I knew his point of view made a difference to me, as well as to others. He had understanding for so many things that involve social issues. He knows how to turn a boy into a man.
>
> The first thing I asked him was, 'What is ubuntu?' He answered with a smile: 'The quality of being kind to people and making sure they do not suffer more than is necessary.' He continued, 'My son, our world is crammed full of words, images, and sounds from our foremothers. What is happening today is too much for us, we cannot breathe. We are always seeking to capture and to understand the contradictions of this diverse continent. Many people are caught between the mistake of the past and the possible calamities of tomorrow. I was brought up by respect and caring, and also to transfer that to my children, who were brought up with love and respect and caring.'
>
> 'Do you really want to know what is happening today? There is no respect at all. We are putting material things first. That love for one another is gone. No one to blame but ourselves. We did let things get out of hand, step by step. We were supposed to act from the very first. But if we can plant that seed into someone's heart to let grow bigger and stronger, making sure that we take good care of it, I'm telling you, it will attract others from the whole world who will be touched.'
>
> 'We had enough of the past. That is gone. Yes, it is gone. If there can be love, respect to us, the elders, and pass that on to children, the future will be full of dynamic opportunity, and every child will be proud to be part of this universe' (Interview by Armante, August 2004). (See Figure 30c and d of the Ubuntu Tree that illustrates this story).

Transforming through creativity

Creative processes as a means for healing and reconciliation have become integral to deepening the journey of self-creation. The notion of perforating the barrier of fear, shame and anger can be used constructively in a creative process. Perforation is something that needs to happen in order to link surface and deep transformations – but it has to be done carefully.

[40] Makamo was interviewed as a second-year student in 2004. He currently works at APS as the Assistant Gallery Manager and is managing a successful career through the sales of his own artwork. See Nelson's story Chapter Seven and the full transcript of his interview in KB Archives (APS Draw 1: File 12).

The metaphor of the 'Out of the Fire' collages was apt: as we pulled the fragments out of the rubble of the burnt remains, the ashes had to be released into the air to prevent a poisoning of the space. The patches or fragments that were stuck onto the surface of the collages represented a façade of recovery. But the damage was deep, and it was toxic. The pain had to be transformed into positive healing through another art-making activity, the ubuntu linocuts, and even then we were only one step closer in the ongoing journey. The process is one of becoming and has no end.

The increasing need we found at APS to hold art therapy groups, music circles, and support group workshops such as Men as Partners has had the effect of punching holes in the reconstruction collages, the surface layer of our recovery. We had to create the spaces to break the silences, to listen, to be heard, to tell individual and collective narratives and to translate those stories into creative practice and a positive studio environment. In 2005 the team of sixteen APS staff members participated in a 'healing from racism' workshop facilitated by a consultant who used art-making as part of the process. Each of us as participants shared stories of our heritage and childhood experiences of growing up with apartheid. As a result, we were able to feel our commonality more deeply than our differences. The unifier was our ability to respond creatively by translating feelings into materials such as string, masking-tape and newspaper that allowed the expression of binding, linking, wrapping and connecting. Feelings of fear and shame could be transformed into a positive manifestation of co-creating by the shared activity. This experience influenced some of the training interventions three years later as part of the AIDS Action Intervention with Phumani Paper groups.

The exploration of ubuntu at APS addressed many of the questions that were identified at the conclusion of the Brandeis Institute course. The students, teachers, and staff witnessed how cultural work and the arts can be crafted to contribute to the rebuilding of relationships. We saw how artistic processes can contribute to understanding self and other, and how they can nourish the capacities required for reconciliation. We experienced the ways in which they can help us recover from trauma, and how they can be useful in transferring our lessons toward transformation of society at large.

Over the course of the year following the fire, the team of staff members attempted to incorporate a spirit of ubuntu into the structure and culture of APS. Our efforts at reconciliation were similarly collage-like, layering symbols and rituals, reorganizing fragments of the old to construct something vibrant, generative and empowering.

To summarize, the elements of the collage process in re-constructing a new APS included the following group processes: elements of the past framing the future (expressed through collaged fragments of burnt rubble in the art and the new building); the inclusion of traditional rituals in the process, such as the healer or sangoma restoring balance, blessing the new space and paying respect to Nhlanhla's spirit; art-making as both therapy and growth; the collective participation of artist-members in branding the studio and making their mark; the workshop processes, including the discussion of relevant themes in the curriculum and the demarcating of professional and learning boundaries in the space; the use of music and dance and the expression of feeling; the telling of stories; the incorporation of performance, public display and exhibitions; and the creation of forums for listening and sharing and respecting the space needed to explore and make mistakes. These qualities we as a team felt could give substance to respecting the values of creating an ubuntu space at APS. Other processes of re-constructing APS as a democratic organization extended to the need to transform educational and management processes such as:

- collective and creative designing of a new curriculum and applying it in the learning programs
- collaborative and team teaching across race, gender, culture and tradition
- facilitating the autonomy and independence of program leaders to find their voices
- implementation of processes to promote accountability and responsibility
- the redefinition of management structures, including the dissolving of the existing board, redesigning a new governance structure, defining roles and responsibilities for leadership, implementing the mentorship process
- the setting up sustainable mentorship relationships for students and teachers with definable goals
- establishing partnerships and interfacing with organizations that provide new opportunities for capacity building
- adhering to democratic practices in the organization and finding ways to pass on the torch to the next generation of students.

As founder, mentor, author and researcher I determined during the restructuring process from 2004 that I needed to distance myself from the daily life of the studio so that the new leadership model could take hold. As a leader of APS I have now learnt to discern more clearly when to act, and when to step back and let the process unfold without my intervention, such as making way for new management and decision-making, while stepping in to address strategies of action. My own learning process has involved developing the ability to set up networks without trying to control the process, and allowing for mistakes,

which is part of empowerment and self-creation. It has also been necessary to learn to hold people accountable and to increase levels of expectation as they grow in confidence. APS is still grappling with many unanswered questions, including the implications of white authority. However by asking these questions we are opening doors that have rarely been opened before. The issues of race, gender and authority have not been brushed aside because they are awkward or uncomfortable, they have been presented to APS members and students to participate in the process of resolving some of the difficulties we have encountered in confronting a vision for equity. It has become clear that it is important for the leadership within APS to keep communication open and honest. When this happens, the trust that is built in the team translates into confidence and shared pride, and this enables us to move closer toward our vision for APS as a centre of African-centred learning and leadership.

In a conversation with Dr Hizkias Assefa, whom I met at Brandeis University during the fellowship program, he commented:

> Reconciliation requires awareness and humility on the side of the powerful party in the equation, and confidence and courage on the side of the disempowered. The ability to re-imagine self and other in the processes of reconciliation is a key to understanding the role of leadership in the process. Understanding helps us leverage small moments to create change.[41]

In Assefa's opinion, sometimes "war itself creates a space for change, a readiness for peace" (Assefa 2004: s.p.). The burning down of APS, the destruction that brought about acute suffering, loss and trauma, was also a moment that created a space for change. It also allowed us the opportunity to open up and expose the pre-fire anger and trauma. This insight required us to develop a new vision of what could be.

During the time of reflection and re-structuring of APS, I received an invitation to participate in an international word festival program linking art and literature in Brussels, Belgium in April 2004. My artwork was linked to poetry by South African journalist and poet Sandile Dikene, who referred to himself as a survivor of the lost generation under apartheid. During our visit to Brussels I had the opportunity to interview Dikene about an understanding of reconciliation that has to do with remembering. I quote his words as his description of the pain and subsequent healing through the truth and reconciliation processes is analogous to the APS experience of searching for fragments in order to construct a collage.

Re-(member): members or parts; rediscovered and replaced:

[41] Assefa quoted from transcription of notes from Recasting Reconciliation through Culture and the Arts, 13 October 2004. Available: KB Archives (APS Draw 1: File 14).

> A political definition of reconciliation wants to put humanity back in its place. The TRC was about the seeking of limbs, digging up body parts, the painful and harrowing search for a finger, and the celebration of recovering in pieces.
>
> Healing takes you back to where the wound is; it's a kind of macabre dance; A part heals and then you go backwards with the next opening of wounds. The national agenda of reconciliation is like an overarching blanket, but the process is a painstaking picking up of the pieces. It is hectic, sore stuff, psychological and biological – it is not a political notion (Author's interview with Dikene, April 2004).

The TRC provided the country with a painful and self-reflexive phase of exploring inequities of the past, reconciliation and healing. This purging of the past to make way for new growth and change is precisely what we discovered in our collage-making processes.

Brandeis' 'Recasting Reconciliation' program posed a question about whether imagination and dreaming can heal. What occurred after the fire suggests that it can. I suggest that imagination and dreaming a better future are key to the transformation process at APS and in South Africa as a whole. There is a power in dreaming the impossible. We did this through mining the past. Ubuntu is widely believed to exist as an indigenous knowledge and cultural system in Africa. At APS we have found that rediscovering and re-claiming this concept as a strategy to create organizational change has been integral to the process of reconciliation. I have presented Artist Proof Studio as a microcosm of the South African nation, (without the complexities that a whole country would involve), in order to attempt to align the process of reconciliation in the organization with a national vision of nation building.

Ubuntu served as a metaphor for envisioning a philosophy of rebuilding APS with values of social justice, using symbolism emerging from the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. Although since then ubuntu has become something of a South African buzzword and cliché, the concept remains a founding democratic value. It is associated with the image of a healthy society, one in which there is a shared recognition of mutuality, interdependency and interlinkage (Posel 2006: 89). This mutuality, linked to our capacity for voice and agency, is what we strive for in creating an ubuntu space at APS.

PART THREE: Rebuilding: The Artist Proof Studio Artist as Change Agent

APS was founded in good measure as a response to the challenge of building democracy in a post-apartheid South Africa. The early mission was redress. Subsequently the fire forced a process of physical rebuilding that exposed a deep need for psychological rebuilding through

the process of reconciliation. The struggle for positive change is ongoing, evolving and transforming. The primary question that this process, and this chapter has posed is, how is it possible to move from redress through reconciliation to deeper, transformational change that "links deep structure with surface structure" (Krog 2003: 5). How does one bring to the surface in a responsible, positive way, deep entrenched wounds in order to start healing them? How does one deepen surface structure, to embed imagination and vision to create meaningful and transformational change? How can the artist serve as a 'curator of the community'?[42]

This section analyses the shift in institutional philosophy that occurred after the end of some of the ubuntu projects in 2005, and how these spawned a range of new initiatives that built on some of the challenges that emerged. One theme APS identified in order to investigate this challenge was identity (Figures 31 and 32).

African Identity and South African Art

In 2006 author Brenda Cooper made the following assertion about the transformation of South African society, "If new cultural forms are to supersede colonialism and apartheid, then new identities must be fostered and fed" (Cooper 2006: 89). How do issues of identity or identities contribute to social and individual transformation?

The question of identity in South African art consumes much art theoretical discourse at present, and must be addressed in order to analyse the cultural production at APS, as well as the current direction of its programs. Arguably, the concept at APS of artist-as-agent can be seen to expand or, in some cases subvert, current art historical notions of post-colonial artistic identity. It is therefore useful to explore the critical dialogue about post-colonial contemporary art and artists in order to position the artist at APS within this larger, international context.

During the Johannesburg Africus Bienale in 1995, when South Africa entered the international platform of contemporary art exhibitions, and where installations were the dominant format or indicator of a contemporary bienale's cutting edge relevance, the artwork produced at APS was assigned the derogatory label of "ethno-tourist art" by the Nigerian-born, United States-based curator Okwui Enwezor. Apparently this was because APS artists were depicting 'township' scenes in prints that had a specific market. The fact that many of

[42] The term is Jane Sapp's, an American musician and community activist who participated in an aspect of the Brandeis University Fellowship program.

the artists were able to sell sufficient work to earn their livelihoods implied, in his view, that their artistic identity was associated with the lower art-form of the crafts. This designation excluded the printmakers from participating in any of the mainstream activities. However, the APS artists were not the only people to become unhappy with Enwezor's elitist approach. The disjunction between the lens of this international curator and the immediate South African context was cited as one of the reasons (in addition to funding difficulties) that caused the exhibitions to close early.

Since this experience, the question of the definition of African art has provoked numerous debates, one which was been explored in the more recent Africa Remix exhibition curated by Simon Njami (2006-7), which claimed to represent the "contemporary art of a continent". Such a project would be problematic by definition. As the African scholar V.Y. Mudimbe asserts in his book *The Idea of Africa*, there exists not only one history, but rather several histories of African art. He invites questions of the "authenticity of African identities, geography and mythology." The number of formal, historical, geographical and social mores suggest that various artistic practices exist, each within its own socio-historical context. (Mudimbe 1994: xi). However the curators, including Simon Njami, argued forcefully for a broad African identity:

> But let there be no misconception: stating one's belonging does not amount to proclaiming one's Africanness. Africanness is self-evident. A fact. A fundamental that can be kept silent. What shows through is the sense of this Africanness. What makes a work open, legible to all, is the fact that it contains a slice, no matter how tiny, of ourselves (Njami 2007: 18).

However, I would argue that the situation is more complex, and agree with the African scholar Mammo Muchie, who states in response to Mbeki's speech "I am an African":

> When we speak of African identity, such an identity must be built on the rejection of essentialism.… The negative connotation of essentialism has to be replaced by the positive connotation of building an inclusive, tolerant, civilized and combinational African identity (Muchie 2004).[43]

Perhaps this interpretation of African identity is useful in a search for an understanding of a potential definition of artist-as-change-agent sufficient to meet the challenges of South Africa today.

Achille Mbembe calls African transnational culture 'Afropolitan culture,' a term that refers to Africans who live on the continent, but "have not stopped coming and going, developing an

[43] *The African Renaissance Journal* September/October 2004 takes up the question "Who is an African?" using Mbeki speech of May 1996, "I am an African." (Refer to the text of the speech: http://www.info.gov.za/aboutgovt/orders/new2002_mbeki.htm).

invaluable wealth of perception and sensitivity in the course of these movements." They are usually people who can express themselves in more than one language. According to Mbembe:

> The centre of Afropolitism par excellence is, nowadays, Johannesburg in South Africa. In this metropolis built on brutal history, a new form of African modernity is developing. It is a modernity that has little to do with what we have known up to now. Johannesburg feeds on multiple racial legacies, a vibrant economy, a liberal democracy, [and] a culture of consumerism that partakes directly of the flows of globalisation. It is where an ethic of tolerance is being created, likely to revive African aesthetic and cultural activity, in the same way as Harlem or New Orleans once did in the United States (Mbembe 2007: 26-29*)*.

Indeed, Johannesburg is a dynamic, complex and exciting pan-African metropolis. There is a rich exchange of creative opportunities in the inner city that makes Johannesburg a prime destination for creative practitioners from throughout the continent and well beyond. As art historian David Elliott, one of the co-curators of Africa Remix, stated: "Here there are possibilities for new constellations of thinking, reflection and enjoyment and, because art is not life itself, little is at risk*"* (Elliot 2007: 31).

While I agree that the Johannesburg art community provides the opportunity for "new constellations of thinking," I differ with the statement that "art is not life" and "little is at risk." Africa Remix engaged only one aspect of contemporary African art: that which fits the contemporary global paradigm, with its emphasis on novelty and/or shock, and stock representations of 'identity' legible to a western audience. It ignored the important interventions of community-based art, which builds on a long-standing tradition of 'township art'. Numerous books on township art have positioned this genre of art as key to the struggle of liberation in South Africa [Sack (1988), Younge (1988), Williamson (1989) (1996)]. This positioning should counter the tendency of the contemporary art world to malign this category and thus marginalize and obscure this important part of South African art history.

I agree with the novelist Wole Soyinka who suggests that "the pursuit of dignity is one of the most fundamental defining attributes of human existence" (Soyinka 2004: 1). Central to the argument in this thesis is the subject of dignity, which in my view, is fundamental to the role of art in social change. Dignity and self-worth are closely linked to the capacity for agency that can lead people out of spiritual and economic poverty. Although this topic will be discussed in the contexts of subsequent chapters, it is also relevant to the discussion of art production in contemporary South Africa. For many members of the Artist Proof Studio, the issue *is* survival, and so the antithesis of Elliot's statement is true; art becomes life itself; and so everything is at risk.

I have described APS as a microcosm or a barometer that measures the pulse of South Africa. I argue that the intertwining of art and life has become critical in the face of the challenge of HIV/AIDS in South Africa. The discourse of engagement has of necessity changed. The framework is less reconciliation and healing from the past, but the need for agency, activism, civic responsibility and participation, and this situation in turn has called for a different paradigm for education at APS. The contemporary concept of struggle requires exercising one's citizenship for economic and social agency, self-healing and the facilitation of group action. What does that term 'agency' mean for the education and training of artists in contemporary South African society? For APS, the central project has been the Paper Prayers for AIDS Awareness program, which will be discussed in detail in Chapter Three.

Artist as change agent

An extensive body of literature exists on activist art in the United States which argues convincingly that the artist plays an important role in society. First encountered when I was studying in the United States in the 1980s, American activist artists and critics have strongly influenced the direction of my subsequent work. Some of these anthologies are referred to in the theoretical framework in Chapter One. To re-iterate the point made earlier, activist art is often related to community-based art, which in turn exists in many different guises, from public art (murals, performance interventions) to community arts centres. The common approach is that art does not belong to an economic or social elite, but is a communal resource where the boundaries between creators, participants and the public are often permeable. Arlene Goldbard describes community arts or community cultural development as a range of initiatives undertaken by artists in collaboration with other community members "to express identity, concerns and aspirations through the arts and communications media" (Goldbard 2006: 242).[44]

The creative vision of an individual can inspire others, and has the potential to be felt throughout an organization or community. However, to become catalysts for social change, artists must reposition themselves as citizen activists (Lacy 1995: 177). In order to participate in civic action, artists need to develop a set of skills not commonly associated with art-making. To take a position in relation to the public agenda, the artist must act in collaboration

[44] Goldbard (2006: 242) provides a definition of community as a dynamic process or characteristic. She quotes from Raymond Williams' *Keywords* (1976): "Community can be the warmly persuasive word to describe an existing set of relationships or the warmly persuasive word to describe an alternative set of relationships. What is most important, perhaps, is that unlike all other terms of social organization (state, nation, society, etc.) it seems never to be used unfavourably and never given any positive opposing or distinguishing term" (Williams, 1976: 66).

with people with an understanding of social systems and institutions. New strategies must be learnt in order to collaborate and "undertake the consensual production of meaning with the public" (Lacy 1995: 177).

It is my contention that the artist's role can go far deeper than to give colour and expression to freedom and democracy. Artists can be 'weapons' in the new struggle for an equitable democratic society.[45] With Doris Sommer, I argue that human values and desires develop through cultural practices that constitute vehicles for change (Sommer 2006: 7).

How can initiatives and reflections on cultural agency actually promote democratic practice? According to Sommer:

> Agency through culture is almost second nature to democratic life, whether we take culture to mean collective and flexible everyday practices or the individual departures from conventions that we call art. Cultural agency is a name for the kind of political voice that speaks through aesthetic effects and that can renew love for the world while it enhances the worth of artist-agents. Instead of tracing familiar routes from inequalities back to power, where movement gets stuck and protesters can feel paralyzed, cultural agency pursues the tangents of daily practices to multiply creative engagements with power to get some wiggle room (2006: 19-20).

Engaging Community: Expanding the Concept of 'Community Centres'

In *Creative Community: The Art of Cultural Development*, (2001) and *New Creative Community* (2006), Don Adams and Arlene Goldbard provide a range of definitions, core purposes, processes and methodologies, paving the way for the theoretical analysis of the artist as cultural practitioner. They present key principles that have been adopted by practitioners of community cultural development to guide their work. These principles include active participation in cultural life; diversity; equality of all cultures; the principle of culture as an effective crucible for social transformation; cultural expression as a means of emancipation, culture as a dynamic protean whole. One of their principles states; "artists have roles as agents of transformation that are more socially valuable than mainstream art world roles – and certainly equal in legitimacy" (Adams and Goldbard 2001: 24). Arlene Goldbard in her subsequent book, argues for these principles to "advance the movement's aims of pluralism, participation and equity", and she sees this as a "distinct, value-driven practice" (Goldbard 2006: 82,83). Goldbard's contribution to the field links the values of art and democracy, and provides a useful and supportive framework for practitioners.

[45] Artists as "weapons of the struggle" was used a 1980s slogan in the cause of destroying apartheid. See Seidman's book (2007) on struggle posters of the 1980s.

Community-based art ensures that art has cultural and social relevance. For instance, critic Nicolas Bourriaud has written extensively on a revised understanding of current art practice. He asserts that "contemporary art practice must be understood as an act of structuring social exchange" (Bourriaud 2002:16). Lydia Mathews also asserts that "artists no longer [simply] create objects; they are simultaneously involved in designing frameworks for social interaction" (Mathews 2005: 124). However I would argue that in order to design frameworks for social engagement, there has to be a directed effort to re-structure how art is taught and learnt.

Miwon Kwon, in her book *One Place After Another: Site-specific Art and Locational Identity* challenges us to exchange our "overused and under-theorized" notion of "community-based art" for what she calls "collective artistic praxis*"* (Kwon 2002: 166). For Kwon, the "communities are invented during the art practice and consist of a provisional group that finds its bonds through 'performing' the artwork." This insight is true for the experience APS artists undertook in 'performing the artwork' after the fire. What is valuable about this understanding that Kwon proposes is that the practice of art-making reassesses and re-negotiates democratic and dialogic activity. This view is supported by Mathews in describing a community-based art project, Ties That Bind, who asserts further:

> If a work is to truly engage democratic sensibility … all parties involved in the complex network of collaborative labor – including the artist, the community, the curators, the institution, and other participants – must be 'uncertain' of their identities. For democracies to function, they must recognise the goal is not a community that is coherent, unified, or certain. Rather, all parties who 'animate democracy' must continuously negotiate a sense of subjectivity through encounters with others who are different from them (Mathews, 2005 132).

This interpretation of community-based art proved helpful in redefining the social function of an art space such as Artist Proof Studio. We have continually sought ways to explore a democratic, dialogical cultural practice through collaborative projects such as 'Reclaiming Lives', (described in the next chapter on Paper Prayers), 'Bell Dewar and Hall team building murals', (described in the next section), 'One-man-can' (Sonke Gender Justice), 'Men as Partners murals' and others.[46]

The future for urban youth in Johannesburg is full of economic opportunity and social threats: the infection rates of HIV/AIDS affect at least 25% of the youth in Gauteng, and the lure of

[46] These projects are described and catalogued in KB Archives (APS Draw 1: File 16).

drugs and crime is part of living in poverty and unemployment.[47] Furthermore, South Africa has one of the highest rates of rape and violence against women and children in the world.[48] The needs of the often-marginalized artist-membership at APS include ongoing crises of a traumatized citizenry, such as harassment, pregnancy, jailing, theft, discrimination, vandalism, alcohol and drug abuse, and psychological health problems. Artist Proof Studio has responded to these issues using a range of strategies that include art therapy interventions, referrals for counselling, HIV/AIDS awareness and support programs, and enabling capacities for redress in the general learning programs.

How is it possible to educate artists in the time of AIDS, crime, violence against women, and rampant materialism in an urban city and culture where the political role models are AIDS dissidents? Young men can justify their practices of unsafe sex and multiple sexual partners by citing examples set by political leadership. The most high profile examples are provided by Thabo Mbeki's position that there is no proof that HIV causes AIDS, and Jacob Zuma's public disclosure of having unprotected sex with an HIV-positive woman, which was supposedly ameliorated by a shower after the act. APS attracts talented young people who do not have the economic means to further their education. One goal of fostering the artist-as-agent must be to subvert the traditional patriarchy of 'macho-culture', to tap into the sensitivities of the artist as 'feelers' in society, and to address the gender bigotry so prevalent in South African culture. The APS constituency is primarily male youth whose values and aspirations initially include material possessions and a hip facade. Some of their immediate goals include the acquisition of cell phones, i-pods and labelled clothing as a reflection of status, yet most of the young artists do not have the financial support from their families to satisfy this acquisitiveness. In the South African context, I maintain that lessons in leadership, public engagement, social responsibility, human rights, and empowerment must be part of an artist's education and training in order to counter the dominance of material values in society more widely, and to instil a desire to address social crises.

Through innovative programs or interventions, APS initiates artistic activities that can prompt cultural and social changes. As a community-based organization with a democratic and participatory structure, the emphasis is on building a concept of the artist as a responsible citizen. In 2005 APS revised its vision and mission so that it is linked to building youth to reach self-actualization and to make a difference in society. It reads as follows:

[47] Statistics vary and most are dated. (See United Nation Statistics on HIV infection: http://www.globalhealth.org/hiv_aids/ http://www.avert.org/statistics.htm; http://www.unicef.org/southafrica/hiv_aids_729.html).
[48] According to Statistics South Africa, rape victims in the country were more likely to be young women aged between 16 and 25 (http://www.statssa.gov.za/).

> Our VISION is a professional studio founded on a sense of shared humanity where people of talent and passion can reach for excellence in art-making to achieve self-sustainability.
>
> Our MISSION is to provide an environment to develop people with a common set of values, expressed in the notion of ubuntu, that have talent and passion to achieve artistic excellence. We focus on printmaking and our allied outreach programmes to build the capacity of people to reach self-actualization and make a difference in society.

While this vision of education in the arts is idealistic, it is my belief that the arts can be effective in preparing youth to be socially responsible and creative citizens capable of confronting the life and death challenges for survival facing them on a daily basis. The revised mission implies that APS has developed from a community-based art centre into an activist organization; from a community arts centre as a place of nurturing and social protection, to a social movement fostering activism and agency. The change does not leave the fundamental principles of community-based art behind, but expands them to include the proactive role of the artist-agent. This section will explore possibilities emerging from the concept of APS as a social organization, or, in the words of Giroux as:

> "… a strategic pedagogical and political terrain" whose force (through the visual arts) "can be extended to broader public discourses and practices about the meaning of democracy, citizenship, and social justice" (Giroux 2000: 38).

Artist Proof Studio artists and students have participated in a range of projects that engage social justice and democratic practice. The following case studies describe the different artistic methodologies used to effect positive personal and social change.

Men as Partners

Men as Partners, a subsidiary of the United Nations agency of Engender Health is a Johannesburg-based organization dedicated to changing patriarchal culture and the harm it causes. Since 2005 APS has collaborated with this organization on training and outreach projects. One of the most productive has been team mural painting. The Men as Partners facilitators annually participate in a two-week project with second-year APS students. They attend workshops and engage with gender stereotyping and the roles of men in society. What emerges are deep prejudices against women and gay men and women.[49] Students debate and are asked to interrogate their own positions. The partnership agreement with Engender Health / Men as Partners allows for an exchange of skills without financial payment. In exchange for this training received from the facilitators, the Men as Partners

[49] Men as Partners Manuals and workshop reports KB Archives (APS Draw 1: Files 18 and 19).

organization acquires visual aids useful in their ongoing advocacy work. The APS participants apply their skills and talents to envision a society free of prejudice, one that fosters equality between men and women. They create drawings and images that reverse the stereotypes, such as men carrying babies on their back, men hanging and ironing washing, and men nursing the sick. These murals can be seen in public spaces in and around Johannesburg, as seen in the example on the wall outside Baragwanath Hospital in Soweto (Figures 33b and c). In addition, some of the narrative pictures are painted on mobile screens and panels for teaching aids, as well as reproduced on the brochures and website images of MAP (Figure 33a and website).[50]

As a result of these class projects, some of the students are contracted onto MAP and Sonke Gender Justice teams that conduct community workshops in schools and workplaces (such as for farm workers in Groblersdal) and around the country. The partnership has been mutually beneficial in that the artists see themselves as gender activists and role models, and they also gain an additional source of income. Special events increase their pride and agency, such as when the Manchester United football team joined them to launch a mural at the Soweto Schools. Our partners at MAP have found that working with art and artists is highly effective in achieving their educational goals (See Figures 34 and 35).[51]

It is interesting to compare the Men as Partners murals with the collaborative work done in the mid- and late 1990s at APS: the Urban Futures murals, for example. In the latter collaborations, art students used their skills to depict generalized issues such as poverty or xenophobia (See Figure 10d) as if these issues existed outside of themselves. Even though the topics were workshopped, the artists depicted their subjects as observers and visual commentators, who did not need to personally act on what they had learned. While both processes arguably support Doris Sommer's claim that "culture enables agency," I would draw a distinction between the two. It is the participatory action and reflexive engagement with organizations such as Men as Partners, when joined with artists' visual voices, that enables agency. Sommer and many other cultural arts activists recognize the role of the arts as stimulants or irritants for 'multiple' if modest agendas. At APS our experience has been that the visual arts can enhance the campaigns of activist organizations whose agendas are far from 'modest', to create meaningful change for their participants.

[50] Further examples are available (http://www.engenderhealth.org/news/newsreleases/041217.html).
[51] See Stakeholder interview from Men as Partners (KB Archives FF Draw 6: File 1a).

Citizens at the Centre

The level of engagement seems to be the critical factor in deepening change. The question of how concepts of citizenship and social justice can be translated into building a generation of artists who no longer hold onto the mythology of the "poor artist" (the bum, the outsider on the margins, the victim always needing funding, help and handouts) has become the pertinent challenge for Artist Proof Studio. Examples of programs that develop a language to speak about citizenship in culturally rich and appropriate ways include the adoption of progressive partners to introduce life skills that alter the patriarchal paradigm. If transformation is an objective, diversity and democracy should penetrate the inner core of the teaching and learning process.

For example, an important model for imagining the development of artist as citizen has come from an initiative by Marie-Louise Ström, who together with the Governance and AIDS Programme at Institute for a Democratic Alternative in South Africa (IDASA), designed a training manual entitled *Citizens at the Centre – AIDS Councils as Catalysts for Unlocking Citizen Power* to "provide participants with tools to tap into the talents of local communities that would support responses to the epidemic and that is driven by local needs, local knowledge and local experience" (Ström 2007: 3). This training manual is premised on the idea that citizens, rather than institutions, should be at the centre of solving the AIDS crisis. The manual confirms in a practical and useful way the radical notion that people and not structures are the key to solving problems – even with regard to those complex and sometimes overwhelming challenges such as the HIV/AIDS epidemic. The philosophy of 'citizens at the centre' has inspired a number of initiatives at Artist Proof Studio to introduce the notion of citizenship, empowerment, and the artists as agents of change. For instance, the belief that the arts have an important role to play in educating citizens led to the development of the various APS AIDS Action interventions. The IDASA manual was referenced in designing a training manual for the AIDS Action intervention that is discussed in Chapter Six.

Experiential Learning

Another example of arts activities at Artist Proof Studio that contribute to social change through citizenship facilitation is the engaged service learning placements of senior learners. Third year volunteers who have been in after-school centres to teach orphans and vulnerable children art activities have helped to ensure that the students' attitudes and perspectives are challenged. Other experiential workplace internships include: placements in corporate environments; mentorships with business and professional experts; placements as assistants

to community leaders; research assistants; translators and facilitators for children's programs; or placements in a partner NGO such as the Art Therapy Centre or Men as Partners. All of these placements recognize the value of skills and life experience to learning, and have proven to be effective in making a contribution to the workplace, and also creating change in individuals. When the APS students engage professionally they tend to rise to the challenge, shoulder responsibility and assume leadership roles that prepare them to be proactive and engaged citizens (Figure 36).

The inclusion of a wide range of knowledge and learning styles within the different student classes at APS (for example, learnerships, professional development and youth portfolio development) are diverse approaches that enable the creation of 'class-as-community' (Duncan 2005: 188).This concept is a valuable pedagogical approach supported by APS:

> The outcome of this kind of curriculum can be independent, critical and reflective thinkers who have a strong sense of personal power and who see themselves as proactive individuals engaged in the continuous re-creation of their work world (Duncan 2005: 188).

Another goal at APS is moral engagement, which has been defined by Freire as "learning to perceive social, political and economic contradictions and to take action against the oppressive elements of reality" (Freire 2003: 35).

Team Building through Mural Painting

The following is an example of building capacities that can only take place outside the classroom environment, and can be seen as a preparation for leadership and responsible citizenship. Before discussing this intervention into the corporate world, it is important to distinguish APS's 'spirit of empowerment' from BEE or broad-based empowerment, which is one of the central policy planks in the ANC government's bid to transform society (Khoza 2005: 196). In some ways this form of 'deal making' in the guise of empowerment has resulted in the enrichment of a few, with little attention to delivery to the many. This black 'enrichment' has obscured the human rights values enshrined in the Freedom Charter that called for the redistribution of wealth to the poor. Thus an enabling environment is still required in order to cultivate a sense of self-worth by assisting young people to build self-esteem and see themselves as valued members of the community. Artist Proof Studio has recognized the value of building leadership capacities in the senior year of professional development. According to Khoza, leadership through ubuntu requires three levels of application: morality, transformation and best practice (Khoza 2005: 261).

Team building through mural painting enacts the APS interpretation of empowerment. The law firm of Bell Dewar and Hall is a corporate sponsor of APS that supports eight students annually. As part of their team building, APS was invited to participate in an art activity with the Bell Dewar and Hall employees. During their strategic planning session, the law office staff were asked to separate into eight teams and draw out the strategic plans of each unit in the form of a diagram. One artist from the third-year learning program at APS was assigned to each unit, which comprised ten to twelve people. The artist team-leader was tasked with translating the ideas and symbols into images, which the team then painted as a mural on the firm's garage basement wall. The artists found themselves among groups of approximately 90 staff members of highly motivated and competitive lawyers, litigators, financial managers and corporate relations personnel. One young artist, deeply shy, and very troubled (almost suicidal at one stage of his studies due to devastating personal difficulties and loss at home), found himself as the team leader for the litigators. He managed to inspire the group, and his team's mural was judged by outside judges as the winner. The experience boosted his confidence to such an extent that he became one of the top achievers in his year at APS. He has since been offered a gallery exhibition and has plans to open his own gallery in his rural home. He understands that he can reach for his dreams through his belief in himself and his ability to be a catalyst for change (Figure 38).

That highly successful corporate professionals were required to learn basic skills from a young black artist who may barely have had high school qualifications, was an exercise that resulted in an enriching experience on both sides. The reversal of power, race and class dynamics built confidence, humility and humour, and helped reach common ground across a chasm of difference. The exchange of skills and exposure to such extreme opposites of social and economic realities became a successful exercise in developing leadership.[52]

At APS we have learnt that practitioners need to have a range of skills to engage community, business and corporate partners. Artists must not only be technically proficient, they also need to bring diplomatic, organizing and partnership skills to the table. They need qualities such as patience, optimism and a sense of humour, and the most important prerequisite for this work is a love for and acceptance of the messy, unpredictable and complex nature of community arts work. They also need organization and management abilities that require self-confidence to take on the leadership of a project. People who need consistency and inflexible systems are likely to become highly frustrated, and artists must be conscious of and develop ways to address this potential stumbling block to collaboration. In this instance, with

[52] See website for more information (http://www.belldewar.co.za/ArtMural.html).

Bell Dewar and Hall, both sides showed the flexibility and openness needed for a positive outcome. Trevor Thebe, an artist and facilitator from APS, described his involvement in the Sonke Gender Justice murals (Figures 33-36):

> Painting murals gives power to those who take part in making them. To those who pass by it works as a constant reminder of the message passed through in the paintings made. One thing that was good during these workshops was how people feel proud of what they see at the end of the project, expressions you see on faces of those passing by and the pride of those who took part in the painting. These are not painters but they end up with the confidence to paint and carry on with what they have started (Sonke 2007).[53]

Artists as citizen-agents

Artists can catalyse expression when words fail and silence kills. I would also like to propose that the integration of ubuntu as a philosophy of team and leadership building and the artistic methods we applied to facilitate real internalization of the philosophy, has developed a much stronger generation of APS graduates than previously. What projects like the team building murals have shown is that APS can and is facilitating a new generation of leadership. Artists-leaders can be conduits of creative energy that then enable intersectoral teams to achieve meaningful results (Figures 37 and 38):

> This place [APS] helps everybody from any background and provides new dreams and also higher dreams to achieve (Sibusiso Chiloane, graduating third-year student, November 2007).

Assessing Community-based arts centres as social movements

> Politics is the art of the possible; creativity is the art of the impossible (Okri 1997: 127).

APS in its journey as an arts organization has posed many questions and constantly evolves in its joint quest for stability and growth. There are also many challenges. For instance, funding is erratic and the different donors demand different strategies. For example, corporate funders require entrepreneurial business practice from the artists they support, arts and culture councils fund specific educational or advocacy programs, and specific foundations fund outreach to orphans and vulnerable children. APS has developed the capacity to respond directly to a variety of funding priorities as well as varying community ideas, needs, situations and opportunities. Its partnerships with the arts agencies and corporations concerned with social investment have deepened and expanded the diversity and complexity of its activities and outreach.

[53] Comments and additional images of the Sonke Gender Justice murals can be found on their website. (See also http://www.genderjustice.org.za/docman/organisational-documents/sonke-gender-justice-annual-report-2006-2007/download-2.html).

A 2005 report from the Community Arts Network in the United States evaluated ten community arts organizations, and the findings identified trends that are familiar to the experience of APS (Cleveland 2005). The survey investigates six areas: how the programs have defined success; the values that have influenced the design and delivery of the programs; the kind of leadership and organizational practice; the support strategies that have contributed to success; how the programs defined and measured successes and failures; and what constraints confronting the programs prevent the ability to fulfil their missions (Cleveland 2005: 102).[54]

The study provides a list of recommendations made by the organization Art in the Public Interest that commissioned the study by Cleveland, *Making Exact Change,* as a resource book to inform and support the community arts field. The author investigates ten case studies in which he finds the values of flexibility, accessibility, responsiveness and respect to be core qualities. The organization lists the comprehensive findings on their website that could inform and support practice in the broader fields of arts-based community development (Cleveland 2005: 122). As mentioned in the introductory chapter of this thesis, I agreed with Susan Seifert and Mark Stern in their characterization of development projects as "social movements" and that the assessment of 'sustainability' should be measured through projects' success in engaging and mobilizing their communities. As a result of their study of over fifty community-based arts and cultural providers in the United States, Seifert and Stern argue against traditional business practice as a measurement of community arts projects. They argue that because these are social movements, lacking orthodox organizational practices such as efficiency and a clear chain of command, community cultural centres could be judged as failures. "Community cultural centres are not simply small businesses, and should not be judged in terms of profit and loss" (Seifert and Stern 2000: 13). I expand on the importance of identifying alternative criteria for the evaluation of community arts organizations in Chapter Six.

The majority of Cleveland's findings in his book *Making Exact Change* are applicable to South African community organizations. Many community arts organizations are part of a complex web of relationships. One of the report's recommendations is to educate funders about the complex ecology of community arts development. This knowledge should encourage appropriate and participatory methods to evaluate social impact. The redefinition

[54] Also available on the website (http://www.makingexactchange.org).

encourages funders to value innovation, creativity and diversity of outcomes. Reporting only on deliverables listed as outcomes in a funder's log-frame can actually harm the unique creative structures of the community arts programs. Often the softer, non-measurable outcomes are the most meaningful and sustainable. APS has a few long-term and steady funders where the relationship is developmental, and the interaction resembles that of consultative partners rather than grantees. For example APS has a ten to fifteen year relationship with funders such as the Ford Foundation, Johnson and Johnson International and the South African Development Fund who assist with guiding and supporting strategic development goals of the organization. The studio's more recent corporate patron partners introduce an innovative form of collaboration in which they invest in the success and promotion of young artists' careers. This latter model of partnering has enabled a steady growth and expansion of diverse forms of income and enables the organization to tap into resource building opportunities. With regard to the recommendations made by Cleveland (2005) and Seifert and Stern (2000) in terms of reporting on funding, in the case of APS, this would include reporting on human development: and the values that celebrate the achievements of self confidence, the restoration of hope, the ability of a young person to dream a better future, take initiative, become a catalyst and make a difference in another person's life. These are the qualities that build our future leaders and teachers (Figure 38).

Conclusion

Post-apartheid South Africa aspires to a value system that is reflected in the national Constitution. The themes highlighted in the preamble to the South African Constitution affirm the commitment to democratic practice, the promotion of human rights, and the ordinary person's role in active citizenship, expressed through the verbs 'recognize', 'honour', 'respect', believe', 'heal', 'improve' and 'build' (Ramphele 2008: 126). All South Africans are relative newcomers to citizenship in an inclusive democracy in their own country.

Maphela Ramphele asks the following questions:

> How willing are South Africans to defend the right of fellow citizens who question the abuse of state power that threatens the rights of some citizens or their socio-economic welfare? Why were South African citizens silent for so long while government undermined the rights of poor citizens to access to comprehensive HIV/AIDS treatment that would have reduced fatalities? What about our inaction in the face of our national epidemic of abuse of women and children?

Ramphele asserts that civic mindedness means "we have to go beyond doing no harm to doing good" (Ramphele 2008: 128).

APS has taken up the challenge of training artists as active and engaged citizens who can use their talents and skills to give colour, texture and shape to our emerging democracy, and deepen understanding, and reframe issues in ways that present new possibilities to the world.

The APS case suggests that the way one acts as an artist should not mean artists are being excused from participation in civic engagement because talent has earned an artist the privilege of sitting and painting in an ivory tower. Visual voices do not have to illustrate issues of the day, but developing multi-modal literacies equips artists-as-citizens to engage productively, effectively and often profitably with society. Collective, participatory, collaborative practice is part of defining a community art centre agenda; it does not imply controlling the content of individual artistic expression. Artists choose their own modes and subjects. But the application of voice to ‘do good’ for society, is, I argue, part of the responsibility of our new democracy. As an educator and organizational leader, I have responded to what I believe is a critical need in South Africa, and that is facilitating an enabling environment for transformative citizenship and leadership.

The three phases, redress, reconciliation and rebuilding, discussed in this chapter, have traced the challenges faced by the country as a whole in its transition to a democracy. I have attempted to present the processes that APS has used to shape the multiple ways artists can discover their own capacities as creative voices for change, and the role that artists can assume as agents of change and active participants in the South African democracy.

The general apathy that exists among young people today is not about a lack of caring. My experience with students at APS is that when they are challenged, when they are willing to believe in their potential, they understand that dreaming and imagining possibilities is the first step in a journey to reach their goals. When they discover that achievement of excellence and self-actualization does not depend on privilege, and that they have the capacity to be an agent of change and make an important contribution in their own lives as well as in their communities, that is when so much more becomes possible.

CHAPTER THREE: CREATING AWARENESS – COUNTERING DENIAL: THE NATIONAL PAPER PRAYERS HIV/AIDS AWARENESS AND ACTION CAMPAIGN 1996-2008

> *Never doubt that a small group of thoughtful, committed people can change the world. Indeed, that is about all that ever has. Just imagine the potential if we were to all join hands* (Margaret Mead (date unknown)).[1]

Introduction

Paper Prayers is a national HIV/AIDS awareness and action campaign that spreads its message through printmaking and craft. Established in 1998 with a grant from the Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology as an arts and culture strategy to address the AIDS pandemic, it began as a national outreach campaign by Artist Proof Studio (APS) in partnership with NAPWA (The National Association of People Living with HIV and AIDS), CARE (Community AIDS Response) and AIDSLINK. In its first year the project reached over 1 200 people through printmaking workshops in which each participant produced a small 'paper prayer' artwork. Prints produced through the outreach campaign were exhibited and sold on World AIDS Day, 1 December, raising funds for the above local AIDS activist groups. Paper Prayers has continued as an outreach program of APS, and has employed three different coordinators over ten years. Self-funded through commissions and sales of craft products such as embroidered cloths, quilts and soft toys, Paper Prayers currently generates livelihoods for about 40 women infected or affected by HIV.

This chapter will discuss the three phases of this project in order to investigate the ways in which a programme like Paper Prayers can serve as a model of adaptability for organizations attempting to combat enormous social challenges. From an intensive awareness campaign, to income generation through the sales of embroidered or sewn products, to an accredited skills training and activist program, Paper Prayers was one of the first South African visual arts-based HIV/AIDS initiatives. It quickly expanded to include international and local exhibitions and fundraisers, the creation of the first AIDS remembrance wall outside APS, and training workbooks for schools.[2]

[1] This is Margaret Mead's most cited quotation in varied ways. According to her biographer, when and where she said those words is unknown (M Bowman-Kruhm 2003: 142).
[2] The material on the early Paper Prayers Campaign is housed in the KB Archives (PPR Draw 2). However the historical records are minimal due to all the material and reports having been destroyed in the fire at APS in March 2003.

After a highly successful awareness campaign that reached over a thousand people nationally, funding for the continuation of Paper Prayers was ended in 1999, due to the lack of government support for creative HIV/AIDS strategies. Some commissions for quilts and exhibitions kept five small embroidery projects economically active, but the program to teach paper prayers in schools and the printmaking campaign had no funding. However, within APS, Paper Prayers workshops continue as an annual event as part of the teaching program for World AIDS Day (Figure 1).

From a printmaking project in its first year (1998), Paper Prayers expanded to include embroidered cloths with AIDS messages. However, embroidered quilts and cloths with a 'frightening' message did not lead to sufficient income generation for the women on the rural collectives (Figures 2a and b). A small grant from the Canada Fund led to the involvement of a former Technikon Witwatersrand postgraduate student, Shannin Antonopolou, to develop new products for craft production. Paper Prayers projects currently surviving from sales include Ikageng and CARE that produce felt toys, and the Chivurika, Mapula and Kopenang embroidery collectives that produce pillow covers and wall hangings (Figures 3a-d).

Paper Prayers workshops continue at Artist Proof Studio, with its predominantly male student population; these young men consistently reveal ignorance about AIDS, despite the fact that some of them have participated in HIV/AIDS awareness workshops. In order to address the gendered nature of the disease, partnerships have been established with Engender Health and its subsidiaries, Men As Partners (MAP), Sonke Justice (One man can) and with CARE, in order to integrate HIV/AIDS education and activism into the APS curriculum. Over the past decade, the trajectory of Paper Prayers has been from awareness to advocacy, and from female-based to male- and female-based education. (The expansion of the program into an activist program for Phumani Paper will be discussed in Chapter Six.)

Paper Prayers began as a nationwide programme with the dual purpose of creating awareness of the disease and helping to overcome the negative emotions of fear and denial resulting from loss due to HIV/AIDS. Applying art as a tool for learning has a demonstrated history of effectiveness in South Africa: during the apartheid years, it promoted the healing and growth, self-confidence and imagination needed to sustain the struggle. In the post-apartheid era art continues to contribute substantially to confronting and surmounting the HIV/AIDS pandemic, but, as with Resistance Art of the 1980s, it can only be one part of a

larger political effort.[3] The central question explored here is: what is the special capacity of the visual arts that has succeeded in breaking the silence about HIV/AIDS? Through the extensive arts initiatives in many media from billboards and posters to art exhibitions and documentary photographs and films, the HIV/AIDS crisis has been made visible throughout South Africa. However, the impact of this increased visibility is difficult to gauge.[4]
When the Paper Prayers campaign was launched in 1998, HIV was largely an invisible disease. The decade of the 1990s was one of government inaction, denial, and poor delivery that saw the numbers of infections and deaths increase uncontrollably, causing enormous frustration and anger among activists, NGOs, heath professionals and civic society in general. This thesis cannot provide more than the briefest summary of the history of the HIV/AIDS pandemic in South Africa; extensive information can be found in the numerous publications and websites on the topic.[5] However, a skeletal outline of the devastating social consequences of the disease is necessary in order to contextualize my discussion of the denialism that Paper Prayers was designed to confront.

In her authoritative history of the pandemic, Virginia van der Vliet argues that:

> AIDS is doing to 'Mbeki's African Century' what the slave trade did to the continent in centuries past. It is snatching away the young and able-bodied, and it will take generations to recoup the losses. Faced with such a painful reality, denial, or grasping at the prospect of some alternative explanation, is understandable. However, both can lead to 'genocide by omission' (van der Vliet 2004: 86).

The most rapid increase in South Africa's HIV prevalence took place between 1993 and 2000, during which time the country was distracted by major political changes. While the attention of the South African people and the world's media was focused on the inspiring political and social transformation occurring in the country, HIV was insidiously establishing itself. Although the results of these political changes were favourable, the spread of the virus was not given the attention that it deserved, and most people did not realise the extent of the epidemic in South Africa until the prevalence rates had started to soar. It is likely that the severity of the epidemic could have been lessened by prompt action at this time had President Mandela given AIDS action and prevention a high priority.

[3] Some authors who address the issue of arts and AIDS in South Africa are Allara and Martin (2003), Schmahmann (2006, 2007), Wells et al. (2003), Arnold and Schmahmann (2005).
[4] Some active visual arts projects implementing AIDS awareness include Arts for Humanity, Artists for Human Rights, Siyazama, Voices of Women (See Durban XIII International AIDS Conference, 9-14 July 2000 cultural programme, (KB Archives PPR Draw 2: File 14).
[5] See for instance Kauffman, Kyle D. and David L. Lindauer, eds., (2004). (Relevant websites include: http://www.avert.org/aidssouthafrica.htm; United Nations 2008 Report on the Global epidemic: (http://www.unaids.org/en/KnowledgeCentre/HIVData/GlobalReport/2008/).

However, to his credit, Mandela did establish the Inter-ministerial Committee on AIDS in 1997, which recognized that AIDS is not just a health problem, but one affecting all sectors of society. Each ministry received funding to formulate AIDS programs that were specific to their mandates. This was the arena that Paper Prayers (along with many other grass-roots projects) entered through small funding grants designed to devise strategies to address issues of prevention and awareness. Artist Proof Studio was awarded R350 000 to implement a nationwide campaign using the visual arts. Paper Prayers has since become an active outreach program of APS and operates as a self-supporting unit of the studio.[6]

Before South Africa's second democratic election in June 1999, Nelson Mandela stepped down, after which Thabo Mbeki was elected President. He appointed Dr Manto Tshabalala-Msimang as Minister of Health. There was dismay in the community of AIDS activists in that year, when President Mbeki's 'internet research' revealed that the anti-retroviral drug, AZT was toxic. Shortly thereafter, Tshabalala-Msimang announced her findings that AZT weakened the immune system and could lead to "disabling mutations in babies" (van der Vliet 2004: 59). Early in 2000 Mbeki set up the Presidential International Panel of Scientists on HIV/AIDS in Africa in order "to establish the facts". His sceptical questioning led him into the camp of the so-called AIDS dissidents, who believe that HIV is simply a harmless 'passenger' virus, that AIDS is a 'lifestyle' disease precipitated by recreational drugs, and that "the increased morbidity and mortality in Africa are simply the result of poverty aggravating old disease patterns" (van der Vliet 2004: 59).

In his now-notorious speech at the HIV/AIDS 2000 conference in Durban, President Mbeki declared that there was no connection between HIV and AIDS, as a virus could not cause a syndrome. Instead, he adopted the dissidents' argument that the world's biggest killer was extreme poverty. In his response to Mbeki at the conference, the South African High Court Judge Edwin Cameron received an ovation when he criticized the government's "grievous ineptitude" in its handling of HIV/AIDS. Quoting Dr Mamphela Ramphele, he stated that "giving official sanction to scepticism about the cause of AIDS was irresponsibility that bordered on criminality." When Nelson Mandela closed the conference, he urged the country: "rise above our differences and combine our efforts to save our people. History will judge us harshly if we fail to do so, and right now" (quoted in van der Vliet 2004: 61).

Such public criticism only made the President more committed to his dissident position. In April 2001 Mbeki said on television that he would not be prepared to take a public HIV test

[6] See APS website (http://www.artistproofstudio.org.za/artist%20proofstudio/outreach.html).

"because it would send a message that he supported a particular scientific viewpoint: 'I go and do a test – I am confirming a particular paradigm' " (van der Vliet: 61). Ironically, he then urged the nation to depoliticize AIDS.

After years of arguing that anti-retroviral treatments such as AZT and Neviropine were unsafe, Mbeki finally announced at the opening of Parliament in April 2004 that the government would begin distributing the drugs, and that the government's delivery goal was to have 53 000 people on treatment by March 2005. This signalled the beginning of hope; "the beginning of saving the lives of nearly five million South Africans who risk death from AIDS unless they have the option of proper care and treatment" (Cameron 2005: 155). However, delaying tactics and lack of delivery continued, so that only a fraction of people who need such drugs have gained access to them. Conflicting messages continued to emanate from government throughout Mbeki's term of office, particularly through the Health Minister Tshabalala-Msimang, who up until her redeployment in September 2008 (following the forced resignation of President Mbeki from his position), continued to support the dissident scientists who insist that anti-retroviral drugs are poisonous, and advocate dietary changes instead.[7] Archbishop Desmond Tutu spoke for many when he said, "We are playing with the lives of people, with the lives of mothers who would not have died if they had had drugs. If people want garlic and potatoes let them have them, but let's not play games. Stop all this discussion about garlic." [8] In September 2008 Mbeki stepped down from his office as President of South Africa. Several Ministers resigned and others were moved into different positions. Dr Barbara Hogan was appointed as the new Minister of Health. Her appointment has been lauded by South African and international activists as offering new hope in the struggle against AIDS. For the first time, South Africa has the possibility of sound leadership on the issue of HIV and AIDS. Hogan's vocal recognition of the depth and severity of the HIV/AIDS crisis in South Africa and commitment of Government to achieving the targets of

[7] The theory of AIDS denialism gained such currency with President Mbeki that his administration was reluctant to expand access to anti-retroviral drugs. Despite generous allocations from the country's Treasury and substantial assistance from foreign donors, only a quarter of those needing anti-retrovirals receive them. This response is poor by the standards of middle-income countries, but it is especially troublesome in South Africa, which has the highest rate of infection of any other country. [Tshabalala-Msimang, then the health minister, described anti-retrovirals as poisons. She was supported in these views by Roberto Giraldo, a New York hospital technologist who asserted that AIDS is caused by deficiencies in the diet, and who served on President Mbeki's AIDS advisory panel in 2000. The Minister promoted nutritional alternatives like lemons, garlic and olive oil to treat HIV infection. Several prominent South Africans have died of AIDS after opting to change their diets instead of taking anti-retrovirals. Another American AIDS denialist, David Rasnick, absurdly claims that HIV cannot be transmitted between heterosexuals. Rasnick works in South Africa for a multinational vitamin company, the Rath Foundation, conducting clinical trials in which AIDS patients are encouraged to take multivitamins instead of anti-retrovirals. This discussion is expanded in a website http://www.aidstruth.org/ that further asserts that the denial of these "facts is not just wrong – it's deadly".

[8] *Sunday Herald* (18/6/2006), "Apartheid might be over, but the struggle goes on" (http://www.sundayherald.com).

the National Strategic Plan was expressed unequivocally in her opening address of the HIV Vaccine Research Conference in Cape Town on 13 October 2008.[9]

During Mbeki's administration NGOs like the Treatment Action Campaign (TAC), instead of focusing their energy on education, support, counselling and treatment, were focused on fighting the government for funding and for leadership to ensure an integrated partnership between government and civil society in addressing the pandemic. As a result of government inaction, the social costs mounted along with the illnesses and deaths. The NGOs bore the weight of an appropriate response in the treatment and care of South Africans. A 2005 article in *The Lancet* pointed to several of the costs of stigma and shame:

> Social stigma associated with HIV/AIDS, tacitly perpetuated by the Government's reluctance to bring the crisis into the open and face it head on, prevents many from speaking out about the causes of illness and deaths of loved ones and leads doctors to record uncontroversial diagnoses on death certificates.... The South African Government needs to stop being defensive and show backbone and courage to acknowledge and seriously tackle the HIV/AIDS crisis of its people (*The Lancet* 2005).

Denial is an understandable response to this disease, and is virtually an epidemic in itself. In his 2005 book *Witness to AIDS*, Judge Edwin Cameron provides a moving account of how the knowledge of one's HIV-positive status can produce overwhelming feelings of fear, self-blame and self-loathing.[10] His story draws attention to how fear and stigma can conspire to produce silence and perpetuate denial about this devastating pandemic:

> To deny something is to refuse to admit its truth or existence. It is a defence mechanism involving a refusal to acknowledge an intolerable truth or emotion. This sort of 'denial' is common. It underlies many personal and political responses to the AIDS epidemic. At a personal level, many people believe themselves to be immune to infection. Once infected, they convince themselves that they are exempt from passing on the virus. Or they convince themselves that they will never fall ill (Cameron 2005: 131).

Even the highly-educated Cameron postponed taking medication until he fell severely ill in 1997. Cameron contrasts this form of denial with 'denialism' as a systematic form of knowledge refutation that the AIDS dissidents espouse:

[9] Minister Hogan gave a landmark speech in her opening address to the International HIV Vaccine Research Conference (13 October 2008) in which she lauded the Cape High Court for its recent judgment against notorious quack AIDS denialist Matthias Rath. This marked an historic turning point in the South African government's response to the HIV/AIDS epidemic. (See full speech: http://www.tac.org.za/community/node/2421).

[10] Cameron, an internationally respected human rights lawyer and judge who was actively involved in AIDS policy issues in the 1990s, was diagnosed HIV positive in 1986. Yet it took him almost 12 years to publicly disclose his status. His courageous account of the agony of living in silence and shame provides a cautionary note to those who glibly claim that it is the responsibility of everyone to test for HIV and disclose their status(See Cameron 2005). Liz McGregor, in *Khabzela* (2005), also investigates the issue of self-destructive feelings associated with HIV/AIDS.

> [Denialism] is an attack against objective truth. It involves the systematic refusal, for preconceived reasons of doctrine, to accept the evidence that HIV exists as a virally borne, sexually transmitted fact. It sets out systematically to refute the existence of AIDS as an epidemic manifestation of a medically treatable condition [and] uses dubious and evasive methods to distort, conceal and evade the truth (Cameron 2005: 132).

Denialism takes enormous effort. Things must be seen to be normal when they are not. In effect, people must live a lie. In consequence AIDS orphans are often not told why or how their parents died. At funerals AIDS is almost never mentioned.[11] Cameron finds it understandable that nations would seek to blank out an anguish that is too hideous to bear, yet has proved too encompassing to ignore. In South Africa a challenge to the medical science of AIDS that may have sought to defend the humanity and dignity of Africans led instead to a tragic delay in concerted action during which many African lives have been lost "amidst hideous individual suffering" (Cameron 2005: 212-213).

The conclusion to his book serves to articulate the rationale for the Paper Prayers program:

> AIDS has pitched our continent into a vast agony of mourning … And many of us, too many, have reacted mutely. We have responded to the epidemic with silence; and our doing so has rendered it and those who suffer under it unspeakable.… Our grief is there. It is continent-wide, pandemic. But we cannot allow our grief and our bereavement to inflict further loss upon us: the loss of our full humanity, our capacity to feel and respond and support. We must incorporate our grief into our everyday living, by turning it into energy for living, by exerting ourselves as never before. Africa seeks healing. That healing lies within the power of our own actions (Cameron 2005: 215).

Recognition of the role of the imagination, the insistence on positive imagery, on living not dying, on reducing the stigma, on creating safe spaces for disclosure and support, on normalizing the disease, on living with it positively and proactively: these were the principles on which I founded Paper Prayers.

The AIDS pandemic poses a huge, unprecedented challenge to the whole nation. As Alan Whiteside and Clem Sunter argue in *AIDS: The Challenge for South Africa* (2000: ii), citizens need to acknowledge that the call to action must be answered by everyone. Without a broad sense of ownership of the problem, most solutions are doomed to fail. If people continue to see HIV and AIDS as issues 'out there' that 'other people' have to deal with, then existing support programmes will never be successful. I believe that artists and educators cannot be complicit in the collective denial of the nation. The people's struggle that overcame apartheid has taught us that it is not structures but rather the people who must take on the big issues. It is therefore possible that it is each one of us who can and must tackle the problem of

[11] These generalizations are documented by Alex De Waal (2006).

HIV/AIDS. The deepest challenge is to change attitudes such as despair, powerlessness and stigma, as well as carelessness and abuse around sexual behaviour. It is not only a problem of lack of information and delivery on the part of the state. In the end, the challenge lies also with individual citizens in society.

It became clear that it was dangerous to depend on government for the solution to addressing the pandemic. In a small way the Paper Prayers campaign, alongside the hundreds of other initiatives by citizens, exemplifies the ability of participants to contribute to change in society. These small initiatives aim to tap into the talent, ingenuity, energy and local knowledge that South African citizens have to offer. Projects like Paper Prayers, the Siyazama Project,[12] the Break the Silence advocacy billboards and other visual arts strategies for addressing the impact of HIV are effective in that they do not function as bureaucratic structures that co-ordinate and direct the work of others (Figure 4).[13] Rather, they are facilitative and assist to unlock the capacity and resources for people to experience themselves as agents of change. According to Marie Ström, deep down, people often doubt the capacity of citizens to be real agents of change, and prefer to put their faith in the government and other specialized bodies (Ström 2005: 2). To counter this belief, NGOs like the Institute for Democracy in South Africa (IDASA) are training local government officials who are setting up AIDS Councils to think of themselves as "organizers not bureaucrats," to conceive of citizens as co-creators of community solutions to the AIDS pandemic, and to see democracy primarily as participative and not state-run. The IDASA workbook, "Citizens at the Centre" written by Marie Ström, asks the crucial question: "What is the appropriate response of civil society?" Perhaps this is a key challenge to all South Africans. I contend that the arts have the potential to respond in creative and imaginative ways that can act as "catalysts for unlocking citizen power" (Ström 2005).

The Paper Prayers Campaign has functioned on the belief in the force of creativity to empower people. I argue that participation in the workshops and campaign built people's confidence and enabled them see themselves as part of the solution to the crisis. On the other hand, I also argue that like other government-funded AIDS education initiatives, the Paper Prayers campaign was not able to go far enough in confronting the epidemic. People are dying by the hundreds each day, and while many women have earned a living and have shared with their neighbours their knowledge about AIDS and the means of treating it, the

[12] Siyazama Project 'Striving to make a positive difference' is a collaborative intervention with communication and design education to transfer HIV/Aids awareness to rural women through workshops (http://www.siyazamaproject.co.za).
[13] See Art for Humanities Website http://www.afh.org.za/ and a description of the Break the Silence project: (See: http://www.afh.org.za/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=108&Itemid=69).

campaign could not reasonably expect to eliminate denial and fear in communities. The first phase of Paper Prayers was only a small step in reducing fear and denial, a small step that can succeed only by joining the momentum of many other initiatives. This phase of the campaign focused on providing emotional support and visibility, rather than offering treatment or solutions. It remains one intervention among many that are needed to address the pandemic. However, although these goals address only one aspect of the problem, I argue that visual art processes are fundamental to the success of the intervention.

The Implementation of the Paper Prayers Campaign

The inspiration for the Paper Prayers Campaign came from a hand papermaking workshop that I gave at the former Technikon Witwatersrand to a community outreach group of women from Winterveld in the Northwest Province in 1997. Significantly, a conversation I had with one of the woman in the group became the catalyst for proposing a nationwide campaign for using handmade paper and printmaking for AIDS awareness.

As Roselina Molefe and I were standing at the sink washing paper screens, I asked her how she was doing. She said something like; “This papermaking thing, where you can make something beautiful from rubbish, has given me life. My life was rubbish.” Molefe had been chased out of her village because her husband had died of AIDS. Subsequently her house was burnt down. Her two children had also died. Displaced and desperate, she had arrived in Winterveld, known as a dumping ground for people dispossessed by the apartheid government’s policies, where she was taken in by the Sisters of Mercy. She continued; “and now I make something from nothing and can earn money.” Roselina Molefe is still alive and is one of the longest standing members of what later became the Phumani Paper program (Figure 5).[14]

The idea that a creative activity can give hope and prospects for the future convinced me that art can heal in tangible and intangible ways, and I turned to the concept of Paper Prayers, which derives from the Japanese practice of making a small artwork as a gift for healing and well-being for those who are ill. I first encountered this practice at the Howard Yezerski Art Gallery in Boston in 1986, where artists contributed an anonymous artwork on a narrow strip of paper, which was then exhibited and auctioned to raise money for an AIDS Hospice. The Paper Prayers exhibition has become an annual event at the gallery, and is held each year on 1 December, World AIDS Day. During 1987, while living and studying in Boston, I also

[14] Roselina Molefe’s story constitutes one of the narratives in Chapter Seven.

went to Washington DC to see the monumental AIDS quilt, which was made from thousands of small, individual memorial panels, each serving as a testament to someone who had died of AIDS. Rarely have I felt as moved by a creative act as the one I witnessed with the unveiling of the quilt across a mile of lawn in front of the United States capital building on the Washington Mall.[15] The memory of that event, over twenty years ago, has remained a powerful inspiration for me. According to Julie Rhoad from the NAMES Project Foundation, and the custodian of the AIDS Memorial Quilt: "The power of the quilt is the ability to transform statistics to souls, [so] that people can learn from and teach with it" (Rhoad 2006) (Figure 6).[16]

The more immediate stimulus for the Paper Prayers Campaign was an exhibition in Johannesburg. For World AIDS Day in 1997 the Johannesburg Art Gallery hosted an exhibition of documentary photographs by Gideon Mendel entitled 'Positive Lives, Part I' (Figure 7). The curator at the time approached me to conduct a workshop and to curate an accompanying exhibition of Paper Prayers similar in format to the aforementioned Yezerski Gallery's annual event.[17] For the initial South African exhibition, the Artist Proof Studio conducted at least five printmaking workshops on the subject of HIV/AIDS, each teaching a different printmaking technique. Each workshop offered education by a trained health counsellor. The handmade recycled paper was purchased from the Winterveld papermaking group. When the resulting artworks were exhibited at the Johannesburg Art Gallery in December 1997, people were invited to give a donation and take a Paper Prayer. Because the Paper Prayers exhibition and concept were such a success, I was encouraged to write a funding proposal to the Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology (DACST) for a national campaign (Figures 8a and b).[18]

The project's concept was strongly influenced by the ideas underpinning art therapy. The making of a paper prayer as an act of emotional healing as well as support for those who are ill was understood as being fundamentally a therapeutic act. The premises of the Paper

.[15] In 1997 when the quilt was displayed on the National Mall in Washington, it had 40 000 panels containing 70 000 names memorializing those who had died from AIDS (Figure 6). The AIDS Memorial quilt, founded in 1987, is exhibited annually on World AIDS Day, and remains a poignant memorial and symbol around the world. This annual event inspired the model that Paper Prayers adopted (http://aidsquilt.org).

[16] Julie Rhoad; World AIDS Day article in *USA Today* (http://www.usatoday.com/news/health/2006-12-01-world-aids_x.htm).

[17] Steven Sack, the curator at the time, was familiar with the Boston project, and was aware of my involvement during the period when I was a graduate student and living in Boston for seven years, during the 1980s. He was keen to establish a similar initiative involving artists in World Aids Day in South Africa.

[18] DACST separated into two Ministries in 2001: Science and Technology (DST) and DAC (Arts and Culture). Steven Sack instigated this project in his capacity as curator at JAG, and then was appointed as a Director in the Ministry of Arts and Culture (DACST) in 1998.

Prayers program thus had strong parallels with, as well as contributions from, art therapy professionals.

Hayley Berman, my sister and founder of the Art Therapy Centre in Johannesburg, participated in the conceptualization of the role of Paper Prayers as a strategy for HIV awareness and prevention. The Art Therapy Centre's primary function is to support care givers, so that they are able to deal with the loss and trauma that results from HIV/AIDS. Often these caregivers have no opportunity to look after their own needs because of the urgent requirement to attend to the suffering of the terminally ill and the surviving orphans. As the pandemic grows in South Africa, the Paper Prayers participants, whether facilitators or the local group members, increasingly have experienced tremendous loss, and so the Art Therapy Centre's program has adapted to permit everyone involved to express their own emotions of mourning or despair.

Art Therapy can offer much insight about transformation and healing. In the workbook designed and contributed to by the range of collaborators in the founding committee of the Paper Prayers Campaign for use in schools, we defined art therapy as follows:

> Art therapy involves the use of different art materials through which a child/adult can express and work through pertinent issues and concerns. The art therapist is trained to pick up sensitive communication through the process of image making. This process involves being a witness to, reflecting on, and containing the anxiety and uncertainty of the child/adult struggling with their deepest difficulties (Berman et al.1999: 14).[19]

The art therapist must facilitate the visual expression of profound emotions. As Kalmanowitz and Lloyd, the authors of *Art Therapy and Political Violence,* suggest, the heart of the art therapy process lies in the ability of an individual to symbolize, imagine, and be in touch with a wide range of emotions and coping strategies (Kalmanowitz and Lloyd 2005: 22). They consider the physical process of art-making, the 'doing,' to be central. The making of an image allows, among other things, for catharsis, expression and exploration. According to the authors, art making "connects with a further key element of coping and resilience, namely an active problem-solving approach to difficulties and stress" (Kalmanowitz and Lloyd 2005: 23). As its very name implies, Paper Prayers was about promoting spiritual and emotional healing. However, the original grant proposal contained a requirement to address 'sustainability' in the form of skills training for jobs. Thus, using craft to earn a living needed to be linked to the use of art as a means for healing the broken self. Although this

[19] The Founding Committee of the Paper Prayers Campaign included: Peter Busse (National Association of People living with HIV/AIDS – NAPWA; Simon Nkoli (Township AIDS Project); Jenny Marcus and Bart Cox (Friends for Life and Community AIDS Response – CARE); Herman van der Watt (AIDSLINK); Carol Hofmeyr (APS Paper Prayers Coordinator); and myself as convenor. Hayley Berman (from what later became the Art Therapy Centre) was an advisor, and a contributor to the Workbook.

requirement conflicted with the tenets of art therapy, the Paper Prayers campaign recognized that the foremost challenge for poor South Africans is income generation. And so the program attempted to bridge this divide with the use of art for awareness and healing coupled with training in the skills of craft production for income generation. To implement this requirement Artist Proof Studio, with the allocated funds, set up five papermaking projects that could make paper in a wiz-mixer from recycled waste paper. These projects would in turn provide the Paper Prayers campaign with handmade paper for printing. Thousands of handmade paper sheets were made and purchased for each region for the national campaign in 1998. Making a printed artwork on paper that was handmade from recycled materials increased the value and beauty of the Paper Prayer, as well as being environmentally friendly and supporting job creation. The jobs that were created, however, would later require a significant injection of further funding and development to establish Phumani Paper.[20]

Some women's collectives were taught textile printing, batik and embroidery, while at community art centres the training team focused on new techniques of printmaking with found and recycled materials. In this way the national Paper Prayers campaign of 1998 used the art of printmaking and craft with the ambitious aim of reaching at least a thousand people with an HIV/AIDS message, and providing training in a skill that had the potential to generate an income.

The campaign was also seen as a means to tap into the talents and energies of the members of APS, as the artists would be empowered to teach basic printing skills to others using found or available materials. In general, income-generating opportunities for artists are minimal, and the opportunity for APS artists to acquire skills to be able to teach people in their communities art-making has provided many APS graduates with work experience and a modest income.

After the funding of R350 000 was allocated to APS, an organizing committee was set up that included AIDS activists and counsellors from a range of organizations.[21] The funding was awarded for a nine-month program that would reach all nine provinces. Thus APS

[20] Four of the original five groups that were set up (Winterveld, Tandanani, Bosele and Kopenang) were involved in their subsequent establishment as Phumani Paper groups and are still functional ten years later. This is discussed in Chapter Four.

[21] The campaign further appointed regional Coordinators – KwaZulu-Natal: BAT Centre, Western Cape: Hard Ground Printmakers, North West: Groot Marico Tourism, Northern Cape: Moffat Mission, Free State: Free State University, and Eastern Cape: Rhodes University. Carol Hofmeyr coordinated the provinces of Mpumalanga (Karos Weavers and Tinswalo Hospital, Bushbuck Ridge), Limpopo Province (Jane Furse and Giyani projects), and Gauteng (AIDSLINK and APS projects).

allocated R20 000 to the participating partners in each province to conduct workshops with artists and/or members of local communities. A key objective was to be as inclusive and broad-based as possible. In total APS conducted over twenty different workshops for the 1998 World AIDS Day exhibitions, for disparate groups that included clergy from different religious denominations, teachers, health workers, artists, street children, school children, art therapy trainees, NGOs, Counsellors, NAPWA groups, and artists. In addition, the Paper Prayers Coordinator, Carol Hofmeyr, Bart Cox, the HIV Counsellor, and I, together with a trainee teacher at APS, Stompie Selibe, travelled to many of the identified venues across the country and offered participants and future facilitators Paper Prayers workshops (See Figures 9a-g: The Campaign).

The organizing committee identified particular sectors that we wanted to reach, and used existing contacts to invite appropriate representatives to participate. For example, through one of our funding partners, Johnson and Johnson International, we made contact with the AIDS unit at Baragwanath Hospital in 1998, and a workshop was organized for all the health workers and nurses to provide them with support and an emotional outlet for their stress. Another partner on the organizing committee was a representative of AIDSLINK and the Esselen Street clinic in Hillbrow, Johannesburg. The craft group initiated at the time, Tandanani, has since been incorporated as an in-house production unit for Phumani Paper, and operates from the University of Johannesburg's Doornfontein campus.[22]

Thousands of paper prayers were made. Every workshop began with an interactive AIDS awareness workshop with a trained counsellor and included role-playing, drawing, quizzes and awareness sessions. Each artwork responded to the challenge of: 'What can I do as an individual?' Examples included giving a gift of caring, offering the work to exhibit in order to raise money to assist another person, creating awareness through discussion with neighbours, or holding a workshop in a school. The campaign's ideal outcome was to have each person leave feeling that they had been empowered to make a difference. Participants left the workshop with at least one image to keep for themselves, and one to give as a gift. At least two prints were retained by the campaign to display in World AIDS Day exhibitions (Figure 10).

The pleasure in overcoming the initial fear of "I cannot draw, so I cannot do this" is key to harnessing positive creative energy. The techniques the facilitators use are simple and

[22] Paper Prayers helped to initiate in 1998 the AIDSLINK crafters workshop called Tandanani. It comprises a group of HIV-positive women who are contracted by Phumani Paper. Two of the original members (Selinah Pule and Gertrude Mngadi) are still alive and working (See Chapter Four, Figure 17).

accessible. Found objects such as leaves and textured items are rolled up in coloured ink, placed on a small perspex plate and printed, either using an etching press or by hand rubbing. The impression of the leaf or object transferred onto the paper produces results that are surprising and magical. The feelings of pride and delight in being able to achieve a beautiful image are empowering for participants (Figures 11 and 12). To quote one of the facilitators:

> Printmaking is a fairly simple activity lending itself to the exploration of a wide range of materials and techniques. This means anyone can be part of the paper prayer activity – like everyone can be part of the solution to changing negative attitudes towards HIV/AIDS (K Reyes, Wits Teacher Training workshop, August 2008).[23]

Building on the success of the first round of Paper Prayers, the workshops were introduced into rural embroidery or sewing groups in remote villages in Mpumalanga (Bushbuck Ridge and Tzaneen), and Limpopo (Giyani) and the North West Province (Winterveld).[24] All of these projects had originally been formed as a means of income generation through craft, and Paper Prayers were introduced to expand the scope of the groups. In the rural embroidery projects we worked with, (for example the Karos, Chivurika, Bushbuck Ridge and Mapula projects), the introduction of HIV Awareness workshops in 1998 was, in most instances, the first opportunity the women had for an open forum that permitted discussion about the disease. In every rural community we approached, we found a reluctance to acknowledge the impact of HIV/AIDS. Nevertheless, the Paper Prayers Campaign required the women to respond to the information provided by the workshops with visual imagery and metaphor, that is, to process their knowledge emotionally (Figures 13a-e).

Art historian Brenda Schmahmann has chronicled the history of one of the collectives, the Mapula project, and has documented how the Paper Prayers Campaign influenced the change of subject matter of the decorative embroideries:

> The Mapula Embroidery Project has provided employment to women who were born into poverty-stricken households, deprived of access to a proper

[23] Additional student journal entries, interviews and comments are available in KB Archives (PPR Draw 2: File 2b).
[24] The nature of Winterveld is a direct result of apartheid. Due to the Group Areas Act, the townships surrounding Pretoria, like Mabopane, became overcrowded. Many victims of forced removals were therefore dumped in the Winterveld. In the post-apartheid era, people in the Winterveld continue to suffer the long-term effects of deprivation and disadvantage. Estimates suggest that over 80% of residents are unemployed, although many of them are engaged in a range of informal economic activities (Schmahmann 2007: 15). Poverty in Winterveld is an ongoing problem. Initiating development projects has been complex as there is no history of co-operative working and no cohesion in the community, as people are from a variety of ethnic origins. The Sisters of Mercy set up an Adult Education Centre in the late 1980s. The former Technikon Witwatersrand initiated an outreach project with the Sisters of Mercy in 1996, through an existing contact, Sister Sheila Flynn ,who was a 4th-year Fine Art student. Teacher training and art and craft workshops for adult learners were initiated. A grant was then awarded from Metropolitan Life to set up a papermaking project to create income opportunities for fifteen women in the centre. Paper Prayers used the opportunity to work with the Mapula embroidery group to participate in the Paper Prayers Campaign.

> education, restricted by apartheid laws that limited their mobility and job opportunities, and made subject to gender iniquities that denied them the freedom to control and manage their own lives. It has furthermore provided members with opportunities to speak of issues that they would not necessarily articulate in everyday discourse, and through the awards and accolades it has won, has acknowledged the creative capacities of its members (Schmahmann 2006: 117).

In her discussion of the attitudes she found there, Schmahmann quotes historian Catherine Albertyn's general observation that "underlying disavowal is fear." Women in impoverished communities such as Winterveld are often constrained by patriarchal social and cultural norms that limit their capacity to protect themselves against HIV infection. As a result, according to Albertyn, women in South Africa are continually making trade-offs between HIV risk and their social status, as derived from cultural norms and beliefs. Such norms not only prevent women from having the capacity to refuse sex with their partners or insist on condom use, but also foster an acceptance of male infidelity as an appropriate signifier of masculinity and place value on a female's procreative capacity as a sign of 'womanliness' (Schmahmann 2006: 83).

Schmahmann notes that the introduction of AIDS as subject matter in the embroideries produced after the Paper Prayers workshops could have resulted from "a need to break the silence that normally accompanies topics considered shameful." In her interview with Emily Maluluke, she notes that the embroidery provided women with a mechanism to articulate issues of concern that they would not normally feel able to express. Depicting AIDS and the abuse of women or children – a topic that also sometimes features in Mapula embroideries – could therefore serve a therapeutic function (Schmahmann 2006: 84). For example, in Maluluke's embroidery, "Prevent AIDS: Use a Condom" (1999), (See Figure 14), the message and the motifs of the manner in which HIV can be spread – including the use of needles – are most likely derived from brochures dispensed by the counsellor, but the predominant motifs of care and treatment suggest that she recognizes that hope is possible if the community works together (Schmahmann 2006: 85).

This strategy of using women's handiwork as a vehicle to tell their stories through their creative expression can be seen as a growing 'methodology' in South Africa.[25] According to Pamela Allara, "South African needlework thus provides a case study of cultural production

[25] A second example, Create Africa South (CAS) "commits itself to exploring and expressing the relationship between society and creativity." It is an NGO that was established in 2000 and collects narratives by women in KwaZulu-Natal (CAS 2007 online). Founded by Andries Botha, an artist and activist from KwaZulu-Natal, CAS initiated a project called Amazwi Abesifazane – Voices of Women – which is "a memory retrieval and archival project," that "deals with the memories of the women of South Africa." As of 2004, the archive contained nearly 2 000 cloths. While this is not specifically an AIDS intervention, it is a powerful testimony to using the creative process for women who have been silenced (http://www.cas.org.za/projects/voices.htm).

for social transformation. It is a true communal effort by representatives from the separate groups within the culture, threaded together to alleviate poverty" (Allara 2003: 11). For example, Paper Prayers itself has spawned independent programs such as Kopenang (2000), a women's embroidery collective that houses an AIDS orphanage,[26] Keiskamma Trust (2002) a remarkable initiative founded in the Eastern Cape by Carol Hofmeyr,[27] and Ikageng (2003), a collective of women in Johannesburg who received training from a Paper Prayers skills program and who successfully make and sell felt toys (Figure 15).[28]

Anecdotal evidence from the campaign suggests that Paper Prayers workshops resulted in a significant change in attitudes both for individuals and their communities. For example, during a workshop held in the TshiTsonga village, Mphambo, in the area of Giyani in Limpopo Province in 1998, the women requested that the young men present leave the room, as it was improper to discuss sex in the company of men. The women were then able to speak freely and asked questions that revealed the prevalence of the myths surrounding what was referred to as "slims disease." Some of the questions included "Can you get AIDS from bathing in the same water, from toilet seats and from hugging?" Women also asked what they can do if they are aware that the man has multiple sex partners in the city and yet refuses to use a condom.[29] How could they protect themselves? How could they organize other women to be aware of the problem and to support each other? One woman shared a story of being beaten up by her husband for asking about condom use. To counter these fears, the HIV facilitator engaged the group in role-playing, and humour, laughter, singing and fun became key strategies for participation. The trainer demonstrated the use of male and female condoms amid great amusement, and offered examples of women blowing a whistle to gather a group of supporters when threatened with violence. At the end of the workshop the women requested Paper Prayers T-shirts and started wearing the red ribbons to identify themselves as members of the group who have the knowledge to help and support others (Figure 16).

Today, some of these women are AIDS activists and home-based caregivers. For example, the Mphambo AIDS project was established in 2001 as an offshoot from Chivurika embroidery in Giyani. Some of the members of the group had been volunteering in home-

[26]This was started by Sister Sheila Flynn, contracted as a coordinator for Phumani Paper from 2000-2005. See Kopenang Women's Project website (http://www.kopanang.org/aboutus.html).
[27] Carol Hofmeyr was the coordinator of the Paper Prayers Campaign in 1998/99; see Keiskamma Trust website (http://www.keiskamma.org).
[28] Ikageng is an outreach project of Artist Proof Studio: (http://www.artistproofstudio.org.za/artist%20proofstudio/outreach.html).
[29] This is a common practice of migrant workers from the villages in South Africa that results from past apartheid policies.

based care, and wished to expand their skills. With the proceeds from a Boston-based auction of their embroidery work, they sent six other members of the group to receive training in home-based care from the Red Cross. Today, ten women from Mphambo Village receive a small grant annually to distribute food parcels, to care for the sick, to assist the orphans of the village, and to receive support and training from the local clinic.[30] They identify themselves as having the creativity, skills and sense of self to make a difference, and in turn their efforts have had a positive impact on their entire village.

Five of these embroidery collectives that received support from the Paper Prayers campaign in 1998 are still active, ten years later. The National Paper Prayers HIV/AIDS Awareness Campaign varied according to province. Each region had its own particular emphasis: for example, the Western Cape coordinator, Jonathan Comerford of Hard Ground Press, chose to invite twelve established artists to participate in a limited-edition portfolio that travelled to school libraries, and that included commentary about the artists' images as well as HIV education materials. The portfolios were for sale and raised money to support a local AIDS Hospice. The Durban Campaign was housed in the BAT Centre, a community arts organization which offered workshops and opportunities for local artists to obtain exposure at the Centre's newly-established printmaking facility. As Durban was hosting the World AIDS conference, the Paper Prayers organizing Committee in Durban used the opportunity to create significant local publicity. Initiatives such as Artists for Human Rights, Create Africa South, and Siyazama were projects that became active over the following years, making the region one of the most active and visible in using the visual arts to create awareness about the pandemic.

The project in the very remote region of the Northern Cape, with few resources and little access to support, revived an old printing press in the small Karoo town of Kuruman. The project was coordinated by Rowan Higgins. The Kuruman Mission had been established in 1816 at Maruping, where the Batswana group lived. Robert Moffat, a missionary in Kuruman, was responsible for translating and hand-printing the very first Bible in an African language, Setswana.[31] The available funding for Paper Prayers was used to hire a technician to repair the original letterpress. We drove across country with a team of artists from APS and conducted workshops with local crafts people. The result was a three-day print marathon, during which we printed a thousand paper prayers in the eleven indigenous languages to create messages of hope, care, and protection. We used the original block letters to make

[30] The South Africa Development Fund provides an annual grant, see a report of SADF grantees KB Archives (APS Draw1: File 7).
[31] The Moffat Mission has been written about by John and Jean Comaroff (1997).

prints on handmade paper that were subsequently circulated to each region for inclusion in their exhibitions. This press is still being used by the local community.

A different expression of the National Campaign emerged from the North West Province. New alliances were fostered between Afrikaners in Groot Marico, a conservative and the villagers in nearby Lehurutse. For the first time (according to locals that participated) the white and black communities came together to participate in finding common ground through music and art in a festival and concert organized by Jolene Geldenhuys, Louis Muir and Santa Van Bart.[32] In 1998 the local Mmbana Art Centre initiated papermaking to supply the campaign, which was coordinated by Louis Muir, a ceramics teacher at the Centre. This project became known as the Bosele Papermaking group, and is a thriving Phumani enterprise today. The group leader, Jacobeth Lepedi, was awarded a community builder of the year award from the local North West government in 2006, and the group as a whole has gone on to win additional awards for its contribution the community. Bosele has been self-sustaining for the past decade.

The Eastern Cape Paper Prayers campaign was a collaboration between the historically white Rhodes University printmaking department, managed by Dominic Thorburn, and the community-based Dakawa Art Centre, coordinated by Samkele Buno. This proved to be a very productive alliance of workshops and exhibitions and subsequently led to numerous joint projects at the annual National Arts Festival, Grahamstown.

With no established cultural centres, the Mpumalanga and Limpopo Province Paper prayers activities were linked to embroidery collectives or to rural health facilities such as Tinswalo Hospital and Jane Furse hospital in Mpumalanga, and Elim Hospital in Limpopo. As described above, Paper Prayers workshops influenced the future direction of the local craft and embroidery collectives by encouraging them to narrate stories and create educational messages (Figures 17 and 18).[33]

The Gauteng regional campaign was housed at APS, and aside from coordinating the national program, gave numerous workshops, etched memorial plaques of names for a memorial wall, held Paper Prayers exhibitions, and staged a festival for street children, with

[32] Santa Van Bart manages the Groot Marico Information Centre (http://www.grootmarico.co.za/) and relates the anecdote of Stompie Selibe teaching the local Afrikaans women to play African percussion instruments. She recalls that moment of Stompie holding one Afrikaans *tannie* (aunty) by the waist, to demonstrate Africa rhythm as being 'transformative'.

[33] For example the introduction of HIV content in existing embroidery collectives such as Mapula, Chivurika, Karos Weavers, Bushbuck Ridge Collective and others.

drumming and percussion workshops and AIDS awareness activities. In August 1998 the Deputy Minister Brigitte Mabandla (up until September 2008, the Minister of Justice) came to APS to launch the campaign amid media coverage.[34] In her speech the Minister acknowledged the project's contribution in "uniting people in the fight against HIV/AIDS and its allies – intolerance and fear." She saluted the National Campaign's aim to "find a more interactive and creative way of dealing with the AIDS issue." Mabandla concluded by referring to one of the messages expressed by a participant that, "The Prayers express our hope for both a medical and a social cure for the disease that is eating away the fabric of our society" (Mabandla 1998) (See Figure 19).[35]

On World AIDS Day, 1 December 1998, Paper Prayers exhibitions were launched across the country in schools, cultural centres, libraries, and churches. The Mayor of Johannesburg unveiled the AIDS Memorial Wall outside APS that same day. The building of the wall was sponsored in part by NAPWA, the AIDS Consortium, Friends for Life, DACST and APS. Etched brass plates, each bearing the name of a loved one, were affixed to the curved, concrete structure. The wall was built with the idea of arms that were stretched out to embrace the garden of remembrance. The idea of the wall came from the Vietnam and Holocaust memorial walls, and was conceived as a tribute to honour those who have died (Figure 20). An HIV-positive homeless man from Bushbuck Ridge known as Chris, who slept in an abandoned building nearby, earned R50 per week for tending the memorial garden and polishing the plaques. He died a few years later from a drug-related stabbing. About 60 brass plaques had names engraved or etched and were permanently attached to the wall. The idea was that each year more names would be written and the side walls extended to accommodate growing numbers, in a manner similar to the Washington AIDS Memorial quilt.[36]

On 9 October 1998, shortly after the Paper Prayers Campaign received funding from government, President Mbeki addressed the nation and called for all segments of society to pledge themselves to the Partnership Against AIDS. Various sectors (business and labour, youth and women, churches and faith communities, sport and entertainment) immediately stepped forward to articulate their commitment. Since then events such as World AIDS Day

[34] See the photograph printed in *The Star* 2 December 1998: Remembering at the Paper Prayer Memorial wall, and Minister Mabandla at APS (Figure 19).
[35] Mabandla Speech 1998 KB Archives (PPR Draw 2: File 14).
[36] Unfortunately a lack of continued funding for the campaign prevented this from being realized and the wall has since been pulled down (2007) in the space earmarked for new development outside the Artist Proof Studio's former location. To my knowledge there is not another monument in South Africa that serves as a public tribute for those who have died from AIDS.

(1 December),16 Days of Activism Against Violence Against Women (25 November to 10 December), National Women's Day (9 August) and Condom Week (12 to 18 February) became focal points for awareness activities. I remember at the time feeling an enormous surge of encouragement from Mbeki's speech, as I assumed that if there were indeed a joint partnership between civil society and government, it would be possible to reach people with a message of hope and action, and together the sectors could begin to turn the tide.

APS and the co-ordinating committee's experience with implementing the Paper Prayers campaign, which included networking with cultural centres around the country, was an experience that expressed optimism and hope, and the response by all of the communities we reached was overwhelming in its vibrancy and energy. The facilitators were often appalled at the lack of access to basic knowledge about HIV and AIDS, especially in the rural communities, where in some cases this was the very first exposure to an AIDS-education intervention. However, the participants felt, and wanted to believe, that finally government was supporting grass-roots initiatives engaged in addressing the pandemic through partnerships. All of the branches of the campaign were encouraged to submit funding proposals to their local governments in each province to take this campaign into schools for the following years. The pilot year of 1998 yielded such positive results that each group was energized by the prospects of implementing the program on a larger scale. However, this was not to be. The Paper Prayers teams' hopes were dashed when the Ministry of Arts and Culture announced that there was no longer funding earmarked for AIDS programming in the government ministries. An official in the Arts and Culture Ministry told me in conversation: "We have met our commitment in the partnership against AIDS."

The commissioning of AIDS Pledge Cloths for each government ministry is a further telling example of government's lack of commitment to the battle against the disease. In 2000 the Inter-ministerial Committee on AIDS awarded APS a grant of R60 000 to commission 36 Pledge cloths. The idea was that each government Ministry would write a pledge stating its commitment to the Partnership Against AIDS. The coordinator, Nico Knigge, wanted a visible expression of each department's pledge, and so APS commissioned artists to design cloths reflecting the initiatives of each ministry. Ten senior artists from APS and University of Johannesburg students were chosen to participate in this commission and were given approximately three pledges from different ministries and asked to collect images and symbols to link to themes. The students researched and contributed to the designs of the cloths, and received R500 per drawing. The drawn cloths were then sent to five of the Paper Prayers embroidery collectives around the country. About fifty women were paid for each beaded, embroidered and embellished cloth (Figure 21). The 36 cloths, each emblazoned

with the pledges by government, were completed in time to participate in a scheduled exhibition at the Museum Africa. However, the Health Minister Manto Tshabalala-Msimang, perhaps recognizing that none of the ministries had honoured their pledges, cancelled the exhibition. The cloths were delivered to the committee assigned to frame them for display in the foyer of each ministry, but very few of these magnificent cloths are exhibited today. Their very invisibility is a telling instance of denial.

With the termination of government funding in 1999 APS had to devise ways of maintaining the Paper Prayers program's momentum. The two most important initiatives were the National Paper Prayers exhibit in Durban and the publication of a teachers' workbook (Berman et al. 1999). At the Xlll World AIDS Conference in Durban, July 2000, the National Paper Prayers exhibit was held at the Bartel Arts Trust (BAT) Centre on the waterfront. It was officially opened by the Minister of DACST, Ben Ngubane, and included workshops in papermaking, printmaking, embroidery, quilting and Paper Prayers that were conducted by the various local arts organizations. As the international world was focused on the South African position on HIV and AIDS, the campaign's exhibition received significant exposure (Figures 22 and 23). This led to a number of positive outcomes, such as sales, commissions, and invitations for international exhibitions, as described below.

In conjunction with the National Exhibition, the Paper Prayers organizing committee published a workbook that was designed as a tool for teachers to introduce the campaign into schools (Berman et al. 1999). It provided instructions for Paper Prayers workshops, suggested exercises for the classroom, and included descriptions of a number of printmaking methods with found and accessible materials from a manual I had written in the late 1980s (Berman 1990). The workbook included input from all Paper Prayers' partner organizations such as CARE, AIDSLINK, NAPWA, APS, and the Art Therapy Centre (Figure 24).

Each section was clear and concise, and listed major points. For instance, the workshop was introduced with the following question: "How does your participation in this workshop help HIV and AIDS Awareness?" The manual then provides a number of opportunities and objectives of the process such as:

> You empower yourself by learning a new skill; you use your own creativity to express awareness of HIV/AIDS; you make an artwork that will be used to promote awareness to others; the sale of your Paper Prayer will generate funds to support AIDS organizations and destitute people living with HIV/AIDS; participating in the process counters prejudices and provides hope; your participation contributes to healing and transformation" (Berman et al. 1999: 17).

To implement the proposed educational plan, I requested that the corporations MTN and Bristol Meyers Squibb fund an intervention into 100 schools during 1999/2000, with the idea that this number would grow each year. Corporate partnerships were encouraged between business, government and civil society as part of the government's short-lived Partnership Against AIDS.

Further, the Gauteng Department of Education agreed to include Paper Prayers in the draft curriculum for Gauteng Grade 7 learners. The concept was that the program could be implemented by contracting artists to work in schools together with the local health counsellor and educators, thereby introducing both AIDS awareness and an art activity to learners, where there were no art teachers. The idea was that each school would exhibit Paper Prayers on or close to World AIDS Day (towards the end of the school year) and sell them to parents to raise funds for an AIDS project in their community. Ultimately, however, the corporations did not fund the '100 schools' project proposal, and this Paper Prayers initiative came to a halt, as APS did not have the financial or personnel resources to pursue this vision without funding.[37]

The networks that APS and the Paper Prayers National co-ordinating committee established with the Campaign to address the AIDS pandemic included not only regional partners but international ones too. The international partnerships were able to compensate in part for the intermittent and inadequate government and corporate funding that occurred after 1999. Examples include auctions held at the Howard Yezerski Gallery in Boston (1999), and a display at the United Nations during an international meeting on AIDS (2001). Another opportunity arose through visiting art historian from Germany Dr Irene Below, and an artist from the South African German Cultural society Liz Crossley, who together secured funding from the German government's Ministry for Women to bring an exhibition of Paper Prayers to the Women's Museum in Bonn in 2000.[38] A solo exhibition of my own work was included. The high profile exhibitions included discussions and fundraisers, and published a catalogue in German and English (Figures 25a-c).[39] This opportunity generated further significant support, which included a Paper Prayers educational program in German schools. Funds

[37] As recent curriculum revisions in the educational system have provided an opening for the Paper Prayers workshops, APS has since found ways to revise and re-print the workbook: the Ford Foundation has funded the Cultural Action program discussed in Chapter Six, and Paper Prayers has reintroduced workshops in schools. The workbook has been modified into a training manual (unpublished) with specific worksheets for schools. See KB Archives (PPR Draw 2: Files 11,12).

[38] See Catalogue (Frauen Museum ed. Below 2000), Frauen Museum, Krausfeld, Bonn funding from Ministerin fur Frauen, Jugen, Familie und Gesundheit des Landes NRW, (KB Archives PPR Draw 2: File 2).

[39] Frauen Museum, Bonn 2000. Paper Prayers/Papergebete. Kim Berman, Landscapes of the Truth Commission. Essays by Dr Irene Below, Kim Berman, Gcina Mhlophe, Joyce Sithole, Ruth Weiss and others. See catalogue in KB Archives (PPR Draw 2: File 7).

were raised from exhibitions of Paper Prayers held in at least ten schools, and in 2002 German volunteers arrived in South Africa to deliver a donation that purchased bicycles for the care workers from the Tumelong Hospice in Winterveld. The making of this initial donation has developed into a relationship that has been an ongoing resource for the AIDS volunteers in Winterveld (Figure 26).

The Paper Prayers Campaign generated many beautiful quilts and narrative cloths that were exhibited at AIDS Conferences and events internationally, as well as at venues such as museums and the United Nations (Figures 27 and 28). The United Nations exhibition, at which most of the quilts were sold, was organized by a long-time colleague from World Education, Gill Garb, in 2002. On World AIDS Day 2001, the Howard Yerzerski Gallery held an exhibition of the South African branch of Paper Prayers. Over US$15 000 was raised from the sale and auction of the embroideries. As the women had already been paid for the cost of the cloths, the idea was that the funds would benefit an AIDS program in each of the communities in which the collectives operated. For example, the Chivurika collective in Giyani used their funds to support their members to receive home-based care training from the Red Cross. The Mapula group from Winterveld had pledged to give money raised from their sale to the Tumelong Hospice servicing their community.[40] The Bushbuck Ridge collective received training and start-up kits for poultry farming, to enhance the feeding plans for orphans. And the Johannesburg inner city group through the Creative Inner City Initiative (CICI) supported a group of HIV-positive women to receive skills training at CARE, a support group for HIV-positive women in Yeoville, Johannesburg.

In 2002/3 the Canada Fund awarded a small grant to Paper Prayers to develop embroidered products that could be more saleable than the 'AIDS *lappies*' (small cloths) with their sometimes gloomy AIDS messages, and that would generate a more consistent income for the embroidery collectives. APS was able to contract a graduate student from the Technikon Witwatersrand, Shannin Antonopolou, to conduct drawing workshops with the embroidery collectives. New designs were developed and products made for sale at the UBUNTU craft fair at World Summit on Sustainable Development in 2002. The products included bags, upholstered chairs, cushion covers, and lampshades. The opportunity to exhibit at the fair provided valuable information about the range of products which had a potential market and that could enhance the income of the collectives (Figures 29 and 30).

[40] Conflict was caused by some of the members of the group wanting to keep the money for themselves. The Paper Prayers coordinator at the time, Margaret Epstein, went to Winterveld with Stompie Selibe who used a musical workshop to address the conflict and discuss the initial agreement. It turned out that there was a split in the leadership after one member died and the group had divided into two factions. The matter was resolved with one splinter group agreeing to participate fully in the handover of the grant to Tumelong Hospice.

After the World Summit on Sustainable Development, Shannin Antonopolou accepted the position of coordinator for the Paper Prayers outreach program at APS. Working with a trainer from the Craft Council of South Africa, Frieda Le Grange, Antonopolou designed a Paper Prayers skills training course for a poverty alleviation project at the CICI for unemployed women in the inner city. The women were drawn from CARE in Hillbrow and other HIV-positive support groups. Their naïve drawings of animals were transformed into three-dimensional felt toys. This new group was so successful in their sales that they continued meeting to fill orders, even after the training had ended. APS subsequently offered to house them temporarily in one of its classrooms. They called themselves the Ikageng Group, and continue to meet weekly, still operating out of the same classroom space. The project currently supports not only its nine project members, but extends its outreach to up to 30 women through its sales (Figure 31).

The CICI training was so successful that it subsequently received funding support to develop an accredited skills program and learnership funded by the MAPPP SETA and the Department of Labour to train people for job creation. APS enrolled twenty new learners each year from 2005-2007 to learn product development, textile printing, embroidery and sewing skills. Of the original group, six of the women have been trained as facilitators, and are contracted as trainers for new learners. (Funding for 2008 was suspended due to the financial collapse of the MAPPP SETA).[41]

In order to keep alive the spark of art as activism, APS conducts at least one Paper Prayers AIDS Awareness workshop per year for every class as part of its required program of study. Apart from increasing awareness, the workshops help to recruit volunteers in the APS outreach program, which supports the design and production of crafts in the Ikageng and other Paper Prayers outreach projects. In addition, the Paper Prayers workshop has developed into an experiential workplace learning placement for APS third-year learners. For example, in 2006 the Paper Prayers unit at APS organized a one-week workshop for teenagers heading AIDS-orphan households. Strong bonds were formed between the teenagers and the young artists, who assumed a ‘big brother/sister’ mentoring role. The aim was both to provide support for the teenagers through providing positive role models, and for

[41] The MAPPP-SETA (Media and Publishing Print and Paper-Sector Training Authority) houses a chamber for skills and learnerships in the crafts. Paper Prayers, APS and Phumani Paper have all developed learning programs for accredited training. SETA subsidies received from the Department of Labour became the primary source of income for many craft training providers. When SETA funding closed at the end of 2007 due to corruption in its management, many craft NGO’s collapsed as almost no funding was available from the SETA for training in 2008.

the youth at APS to receive a very difficult message about the consequences of AIDS. The message conveyed in these ongoing workshops is for young people to find creative ways to be accountable to themselves and each other – and, specifically, to keep safe and to get tested. The pilot project with teens proved to be a highly successful model that achieves a social service outcome as well as a deep personal learning experience that can be life-changing for the participants (Figures 32a and b).

Initiated with funding from the Ackerman Foundation in 2006, this pilot project is poised to expand. Funding proposals have been submitted to a range of corporate social investment programmes. The plan is to eventually place every senior learner at APS in a community engagement /or service learning programme with a range of partner organisations. The proposal requested support so that the senior APS students will each teach art classes for two hours per week at an after-school program for orphans and vulnerable children; the partners identified are Ma Afrika Tikkun and Noah's Arks (Nurturing Orphans of AIDS for Humanity).[42] In 2008, available funding facilitated the establishment of art programs in five Noahs Ark-after-school centres that involved five APS teachers and five third-year interns (Figure 33). The program concluded at the end of 2008 with an exhibition and presentation of art materials to each of the 110 participating children (Figure 34). The program will expand into five additional centres in 2009 with funds received from the Ford Foundation as part of a more extensive project, Cultural Action for Change, discussed in Chapter Six.

Paper Prayers: from Awareness to Action, some conclusions

The Paper Prayers Campaign began as a campaign to create awareness about AIDS in the form of offering basic factual knowledge, and providing emotional support for traumatized individuals and communities. The campaign team sought to make the pandemic visible through visual and creative expression. For many of the participants, information on transmission and infection had not been previously available. Through Paper Prayers, art and skills training became an accessible methodology to convey and retain information, and to internalise the information conveyed by the AIDS counsellors and trainers.

Looking back on the outcomes a decade later, Paper Prayers arguably played a significant role in breaking the silence and addressing denial for the many participants. As an awareness intervention, the National Paper Prayers Campaign and its subsequent programs

[42] See the websites for Noah (http://www.noahorphans.org.za). Noah has the focus of building the capacity of communities to care for their orphaned and vulnerable children (OVC). Placing APS artists who live in those communities assists to build local resources and support. Also see: Ma Afrika Tikkun (http://www.maafrikatikkun.org.za).

met their limited objectives. The participants' statements and actions, as documented above and in the figures, demonstrate a significant increase in participants' awareness, ability to absorb new knowledge, and confidence in their ability to seek treatment or to support others to do so. In addition to these anecdotal, un-measurable emotional benefits, more quantifiable outcomes such as skills training and income generation have led to improved livelihoods that have made it possible to put knowledge into action. The process of making as well as the method of learning contributed to the ownership and application of new knowledge. Testimonies such as "now I can buy medicine for my sick child" document the positive impact of the craft development program.[43] They show that the therapeutic approach had great value for individuals and communities enduring great suffering and in denial about the cause of the disease.[44] By breaking the silence, stigma could begin to be addressed and divided communities could begin to heal. Paper Prayers began a process of emotional and intellectual change that had the potential to transform lives. It supports Harry Boyte's assertion that:

> Research over the last generation has shown that organizing cultures which bring forth a strong sense of people's co-creative agency can generate profound changes in the sense of oneself, skills, behaviours, values, what the organizer and public intellectual Ernesto Cortes calls 'metanoia,' a theological concept meaning transformation in being (Boyte 2007: 20).

Rather like its parent initiative Artist Proof Studio, a significant contributor to the Paper Prayers Campaigns success was its ability to transform itself. The importance of resilience and ability to transform in relation to changing environments is a recurring theme in this thesis. The Paper Prayers program required ingenuity and imagination to keep it going after funding ended in 1999. The networks created through the expansion of the program not only permitted it to survive, but to evolve. The government funded a one-off program for one year; but a decade later Paper Prayers is still confronting the AIDS epidemic.

Activism and Action: Paper Prayers, 2006-8: The Reclaiming Lives case study

Having provided that initial base of support for change, however, it became clear that something more was needed. The concept of agency – the ability to make purposeful choices, to find the conviction to act with conviction on newfound knowledge – this was the challenge to any further expansion of the program. A major stumbling block to instilling agency was the structure of the first phase, which primarily targeted women. Except for the APS workshops with students and street children, men were rarely full participants during the first two phases. As van der Vliet notes:

[43] Transcripts of interviews: *Ripple in the Water*, Eileen Foti and Patti Piroh: KB Archives (PPR Draw 2: File 2b).
[44] Testimonies from CARE: KB Archives (PPR Draw 2: Files 2a and b).

> It is one of the ironies of South Africa that a country with one of the most gender-sensitive constitutions … should also experience very high levels of violence against women … The inability to negotiate safer sex because of gender inequality is a major driving force in the HIV/AIDS epidemic (van der Vliet 2004: 68).

The service-learning project discussed earlier that partners a young artist with AIDS orphans and vulnerable children in a mutually giving relationship aims to achieve a level of growth that has been described by the coordinator of the program, Shannin Antonopolou, as a 'transformation in being.' In the pilot project with teenagers, the evaluations of some of the participants do express profound changes in aspects of self and personal values (Figure 35). For example in interviews with some of the APS senior learners who participated as interns or 'big brothers' there was recognition of personal transformation:

> It wasn't my choice, but by the time I got there I thought this is where I belong. This is where I learned that art does not belong to me but I have to transfer the skills to other people (Senzo Shabangu, third-year APS intern. Interviewed by Shannin Antonopolou 24 November 2008).[45]

In the South African context, faced with the magnitude of the AIDS pandemic, Artist Proof Studio, through the Paper Prayers program, challenges the role of art to reach beyond awareness, and beyond a connection to communities that focused primarily on women. APS has partnered with the organizations such as Men as Partners, that are specifically directed to educational development with men. The compelling issue here, it seems to me, is about life and death, not merely education, and emotional and skills support. My question always remains: can art do more? Can it confront the patriarchy and begin to change behaviour? Initiated in 2004 Artist Proof Studio's partnerships with Engender Health's outreach programs, namely Men as Partners and Sonke Justice and their 'One Man Can' campaign, are convinced of the value of visually-based arts methodologies to achieve change. Their websites, reports and training materials are filled with images that are generated by the collaborative workshops with APS:

> At Sonke, we are convinced that arts-based approaches can break through the monotony of many conventional educational and communications strategies. We have developed partnerships with Artist Proof Studio, Siyanqoba Theatre Group and Hope Worldwide's Ubuntu Bamadoda isicathemiya initiative to use murals, forum and ambush theatre and traditional men's choirs to inspire people to take action (Sonke Justice Annual Report 2006/7: 28) (Figure 35).[46]

[45] See APS Report to the Ackerman Foundation, Dec 2008. The full interviews of five third-year interns are available in KB Archives (PPR Draw 2: File 2c).
[46] Sonke Annual Report: (http://www.genderjustice.org.za/docman/organisational-documents/sonke-gender-justice-annual-report-2006-2007/download-2.html).

Describing the role of arts in the AIDS action program, Nhlanhla Mabizela from Men as Partners:

> It gives life to the words that are not said in other forms. It builds team cohesion. It's more fun and gives the participants the latitude of sharing what they already know and have experienced in a non-threatening way that is not condescending (Nhlanhla Mabizela, Men as Partners November 2007: partner stakeholder questionnaire).[47]

Despite the success of these new initiatives, the AIDS Action programmes at APS inevitably experienced setbacks. In November 2005, I became all too aware of the limitations of the Paper Prayers Campaign in addressing the pandemic: faced with the death from AIDS of a young, vibrant APS artist and educator, Jones Mathebula, I experienced anger and frustration and a sense of failure. One of our most talented graduates and teachers had failed to absorb the lessons he himself had taught. The question that I kept asking was, "Why did Jones not seek counselling or treatment?" The strategy we had used in the Paper Prayers campaign was not effective enough to counter the overwhelming effects of denial and stigma he must have felt. In memory of Jones I set about designing another intervention with APS artists that would go beyond the therapy-based approach (Figure 36).

The new intervention asked the question: if art is to contribute to saving lives, are different approaches needed when the audience is primarily young men rather than rural women? APS has a population of 75% young men as students. Many gender-based issues that have surfaced over the years can be traced to the urban and township culture from which the majority come. The machismo of township youth has many negative manifestations: among them gangsterism and violence against women. Therefore, APS began to focus gender training on men, and shifted the emphasis from AIDS awareness to the gender-based issues surrounding this disease.

In April 2006 I was one of five finalists awarded R20 000 each by the Sasol Wax Corporation to produce a body of artwork for an annual South African art exhibition and prize. As one of the Sasol Corporation's products is wax, the finalists were required to use wax as a theme or medium. I chose to use the significant publicity that this competition generated to highlight artists' roles in the fight against AIDS. Although the award was for individual artists, I decided to use the funds to initiate a new AIDS awareness project (Figure 37).[48]

[47] KB Archives (FF Draw 5: File 1a).
[48] Sasol Wax Award website 2006 finalists. See website for more information: (http://www.sasol.com/sasol_internet/downloads/Sasol_Wax_Art_Award_KPM_1156424176565.pdf). See Sasol Wax documentation, cuttings and reviews: KB Archives (PPR Draw 2: File 1b).

The project that I called 'Reclaiming Lives,' for the Sasol Wax finalists exhibition, was a collaboration with the 100 artists active at APS at the time. What we, as a collective, discovered in this corporate-supported project was that the process of designing and making the work for the installation, included the multi-dimensions of research, discussion, attending awareness workshops, reflecting on the process, and of course art-making. I wanted to question why young people who are directly exposed to knowledge about HIV and AIDS are not changing their behaviour. Many of the young men in the early HIV/AIDS workshops openly admitted to having unprotected sex, and believing that AIDS would not affect them. Some quoted the myths that abound to justify their choices such as: "it has not been proven that HIV causes AIDS"; "condoms are a carry-over of colonial oppression for curbing the black population"; "sleeping with a virgin cures AIDS"; "Africans from outside the borders of South Africa are responsible for the spread of AIDS (not us)" and others. These beliefs are prevalent both in the older artists and the new students that join APS every year, evidence of the tenacity of the mythology surrounding AIDS. The political leaders and role models in South Africa, whether they be Thabo Mbeki or Jacob Zuma, do not help reverse these myths – quite the opposite. Zuma's example suggests to young people that it is acceptable to have unprotected sex with an HIV-positive person, and that having multiple sexual partners is a 'cultural' privilege for men (such as polygamy).[49]

Art alone cannot change this sort of mindset, but the Reclaiming Lives project set out to show that the attributes of visual art can contribute meaningfully as a component of a campaign. During the first phase of the project, each artist was asked to create a symbolic portrait, an etching that would pay homage to someone who had died of AIDS. Each participant's choice of honouring someone in relationship to oneself – whether a relative, friend, or neighbour – normalizes and personalizes the pandemic. The process of reflecting on the life that has been lost honours the qualities of that person's contribution to one's life; and the making of an art-image consolidates the acknowledgement of connectedness into an experiential action. The artistic products emerging from APS participants were small portrait etchings; these were also compiled into an artists' book, where each participant was able to honour someone who had died, as well as to honour themselves by making an informed choice about being tested.[50] The process of researching and imaging a life lost is an action

[49] Although the expansion of VCT schemes in recent years has been encouraging, a regional study carried out in 2005 suggested that men are much less likely to access VCT services than women in South Africa. Researchers believe that this is due to fears among men that their HIV positive status will be disclosed through testing, and that stigmatization will follow. The survey also suggested that some men see no value in knowing their HIV status, viewing such knowledge as a burden. *IRIN Plus News* (2005), 'South Africa: men falling through the cracks', 25 July. See website (http://www.aegis.com/news/irin/2005/IR050766.html).

[50] A Portfolio of 100 etchings by 97 artists in an edition of two. Printed by Molefe Thwala, Legohlonolo Mashaba and Motsamai Thabane, The interviews and photographs of the artists were compiled by University of

that actively makes visible the invisible and acts to achieve change. The change can be a renewed engagement with the impact of HIV/AIDS; the medium of that deeper awareness is art-making. The goal was to catalyse each participant's choice, reflecting on their own lives in relationship to the pandemic (Figures 38a and b).

As with the Paper Prayers Campaign, the process required that each participant attended pre-counselling workshops and focus groups to discuss the process of choosing to undergo an HIV test. The extensive discussions were facilitated by professional counsellors as well as by art therapists. This became a process to convert fear and silence into the aspiration and dreaming for a better future. The project preparing for the Sasol Wax exhibition evolved over four months (May to August 2006). After spending time over a two month period of researching, drawing and etching the portraits, the next step was to attend pre-counselling workshops, and participate in focus groups discussing the prospect of each participant undergoing an HIV test. The extensive discussions were broken down into groups; each breakaway group was asked to interrogate facts, discuss fears and myths, argue for the value of future, and to imagine a changed social culture. Their conclusions were shared with the group as a whole, and their questions answered and clarified by professional counsellors. An introduction to art therapy was provided, some interactive groups using music and a process devised by teacher and facilitator Stompie Selibe, which he refers to as the "talking drum".[51] People were given the option of participating in the testing on site the following week or going more anonymously to the centre offsite (a few blocks' walk from APS). New Start, a mobile testing unit came to APS for three consecutive days in order to include all the studio programs. The Artist Proof Studio's administration offices closed for the few days of the testing period. Each office was used for a counselling room and the computer laboratory was set up to do the thumb prick test.

After eight weeks of personal research, discussion, image making, workshops and counselling, 50 out of 100 participants got tested. This is significantly higher than every other testing program recorded by the mobile testing organization New Start, which indicated (anecdotally), in response to working with APS, that on average the response to VCT (voluntary counselling and testing) at most venues is not often more than 10% of the target

Johannesburg students Johannes Nyokong and transcribed by Kgomotso Maloka. Binding, design and layout by Bronwyn Marshall, Printed at Artist Proof Studio on handmade sisal and cotton paper, made by the Phumani Archive Mill, Newtown, 2006.

[51] A popular practice of creating a drumming circle for team building that is adapted from a West African tradition when talking drum players sent messages by drumming the recipient's name, followed by the sender's name and the message.

group.[52] Some participants indicated that they were not ready to be tested, but asked for another opportunity later. Over the course of three months at APS we countered denial and broke the silence. Studio members were talking to each other, and many felt safe enough to have a test, while the mature artists who had disclosed their HIV-positive status offered support groups and peer counselling. Each person had to grapple with their decision about testing by making a second personal artwork that explored their feelings or personal choices to test or not. These anonymous monoprints were then dipped in wax (to protect/preserve), and then laid over, and hinged to the etched portrait tribute plates. The portraits were partly concealed by the overlays, which can be partially lifted up off the plates. These plates were in turn mounted as a 5m long Tribute Wall (Figures 39a and b).

My own etchings for the Sasol Wax exhibition were images of 'mourning sunflowers', hung in a series of five panels**.** Mounted on the back of my prints were the tribute portraits that faced the wall of disclosure, or Tribute Wall. Thematically, the three-part installation moved from 'Mourning our Future' (my sunflower prints) to 'Honouring Lives' (the tribute portraits) to 'Reclaiming Lives' (the etching plates with the waxed print overlay): a process that visualized the progress from the expression of loss to action and change (Figures 40 and 41). The fourth part of the installation was the embroidered and beaded panels that expanded the project's reach into the Paper Prayers women's collectives (Figures 42a and b).

The techniques used in the project were symbolic. Etching is a contemplative, slow process that eats away at a drawing to reveal the image. It is visible only after a corrosive destructive chemical reaction to the steel surface of the etching plate. Steel is a permanent virtually non-destructible material. The etching and printing process 'brings the image to life', and gives the image expression. It is labour-intensive and requires the pushing in of the ink into the etched lines and careful wiping away at the surface before printing through a hand press: the more care and sensitivity given to the application and wiping, the more effective/expressive the impression. All of these processes can be seen as relevant metaphors for living one's life. In contrast to the quick, simple method of making a monotype impression of a Paper Prayer artwork, etching requires extended rumination, in parallel with taking the time to gather the courage to be tested.

In August 2006, shortly before the exhibition opened in the garage gallery at Sasol Wax headquarters, Leah Nchabeleng interviewed three of the 100 artists involved in the Reclaiming Lives project. All felt strongly about the importance of having an HIV test, not

[52] See website for more information (http://www.newstart.co.za).

simply for the sake of knowing one's status, but as a journey to understanding and accepting themselves. Quotes from each interview follow:

> This has been a long and emotional process. Before testing, I had to go home and fix some things that go way back – I had to unravel some issues and challenge some ignorance. Testing is what we do for people who are still living so that they can make life changes and think through what's next for them. We need to find ways of creating mutual support – of making people feel like people, not HIV-positive or HIV-negative people.
>
> Until when are we going to run away from this thing? We always have excuses [for not getting tested] …. [With this project] we didn't have any excuses – you just had to deal with yourself and with what you want from life. I proved that I love myself by going through with the testing. You learn about yourself, your friends, your family, your support system – not just what your status is. You also learn who you really care about and who you really know – and you discover your own strength. It was a healing experience.
>
> I have a healthier relationship with myself [after the testing process]. I value myself; I still want to live and share myself with people. I made one choice that enables other choices.

In the statement that accompanied the exhibition, Nchabeleng concluded:

> Through the journey presented by participating in the Sasol Wax Award, artists were able to consider their own lives and act in ways to prolong them. They were able to find meaning and peace with the untimely and often unacknowledged deaths of loved ones, and to create a catalyst for families and friends to begin to re-examine their own lives, fears, biases and actions. Artists participating in this project have been presented with – and have grasped – the opportunity to save their own, and other lives. They have been afforded the opportunity to act in ways that make a difference (Nchabaleng 2006).[53]

The point has been made earlier that art alone cannot change an individual's mindset; change happens in concert with other kinds of interventions. The Reclaiming Lives project demonstrates the value of participation, deep engagement with the various processes of creating the images and the skills required in learning new ways of making, all of which can contribute meaningfully as catalysts for change. The opportunity to make a work to pay homage to someone who has died was key to the success of the project. The premise of the Reclaiming Lives project, was that the testimonies and AIDS activism, translated into creative participation, generates renewal and healing, and even in some cases, may save lives. The project demonstrated that art has the capacity to create conditions to foster new, positive habits that can extend and enhance lives. The recurring theme in this thesis is that the "capacity to aspire" framed by Appadurai (2004) is a key to freedom. In the context of this project, aspiration, hope and imagination as explored in the various stages of researching

[53] Reclaiming Lives project: KB Archives (PPR Draw 2: File 1a).

and making the artwork to honour another and one's own life provide the evidence for the claim that the visual arts can play a role in educating and facilitating the experience of voice and empowerment (Figures 43 and 44).

Conclusions: Can art save lives?

HIV/AIDS is a human tragedy on a terrifying scale and there is no end in sight. The social and political response has been denial. As Susan Sontag writes: "That even an apocalypse can be made to seem part of the ordinary horizon of expectation constitutes an unparalleled violence that is being done to our sense of reality, to our humanity" (Sontag 1998: 134). As an educator one faces a generation of students, at least a quarter of whom are statistically HIV-positive. Denial can no longer be the modus operandi. I look back to the impact of the Paper Prayers campaign and intuitively know it has made a difference to the lives of some of the participants. There is no statistical data as a measurement tool to prove this, but there are anecdotal accounts of the empowerment of individual men and women. The artwork produced can also be seen as evidence of empowerment. The team of Paper Prayers facilitators has found that most of the groups in which they have worked have lost members, and many of them have died in silence. Though workshop discussions, the team has found that the reason often given for the refusal to name the disease is seen as a sign of 'respect': "It's G-d's will," and life goes on for the living.[54] This silence perpetuates denial. Perhaps when options for treatment are widely available and AIDS is no longer a death sentence, the tide will turn. But the Paper Prayers slogan we adopted from Margaret Mead, "Just imagine the potential if we all hold hands," suggests that when citizens communicate, much more becomes possible.

Artistic forms of expression such as the Paper Prayers program and other visual arts and crafts intervention projects offer a rich and intense form of inquiry, and are effective in facilitating the expression of voices that have not been heard. The challenge, however, becomes even greater than this. It is for such projects to offer a strategy for implementing Amartya Sen's notion that leadership is a crucial aspect of "development as freedom." The first two phases of Paper Prayers focused primarily on fostering awareness in rural women's collectives; the third phase (in the Reclaiming Lives project at APS), concentrated on changing attitudes in urban men. The bifurcated nature of the phased interventions reveals a recognition of the degree to which gender inequality fosters the spread of the disease. I came to realise that the intervention that is needed should be not only focusing on the

[54] Workshop reports and evaluations: KB Archives (FF Draw 6: File 2 and PPR Draw 2: File 2).

"changing agency of women in improving their economic and social conditions" (Sen 1999b: 202-203), but also providing the information and confidence to assist HIV-positive women and men to take up the option of choosing treatment and counselling. Although we were able to move from awareness into action over the course of the decade, future interventions will more specifically address dialogue across the gender divide (see Chapter Six). In the end, the interventions shared the same premises of therapeutic art-making combined with counselling; we did not have to completely reconceive Paper Prayers in order to work with men, only to shift the focus to more direct action.

The fact that over the decade both women and men, in their different communities, were empowered to "make purposive choices" points to one of the important lessons learned. Substantive change can only come from within individuals first, and then communities, and cannot be imposed from above. Further, the process of change takes time, as it requires the development of community leaders and networks of support. Although thousands of people have received messages of healing and hope through Paper Prayers, it is not the numbers of participants that matter, but the slow, incremental development of leadership that empowers people to change their own lives. For the period of activity during the Reclaiming Lives project, the individuals (85% of whom were young men) experienced change, both in themselves and as a collective at APS. The comments recorded in the artists' handmade book of portraits and statements testify to change (See Figure 44). For example, this is what some of the artists and students wrote in their responses to the project:

- Motsamai Thabane: I feel relieved and healed because this project helped me deal with my feelings about the loss of my brother and to use this knowledge to empower other people with the understanding of the pandemic.
- Jabu Tshuma: It will make more people aware of the pandemic and create more activists.
- Flora More: It will help people to speak about HIV/AIDS.
- Nomfozeka Ella: It was great for me to deal with issues within my family and to talk about my uncle openly.
- Lehlogonolo Mashaba: Reminded me that I still have a chance to live, faced with this challenge of HIV/AIDS.
- Elton Mponoshe: It will inform the community to come together and to get tested; to make a choice in order to take care of themselves and the children.

- Tsepho Makanatlela: It helped me to remember him. I feel great about making an artwork about someone I loved.[55]

On World AIDS Day, 1 December 2008, I introduced a sequel to the project called Reclaiming Lives II. While this two-day workshop did not have the advantage of evolving the project over a period of time, it revealed a maturity within the students who had participated as first-year students in 2006. This project was an overwhelming success in that the majority of the students indicated a willingness to participate in the on-site VCT program. Their full participation indicated that by the time they graduate as third-year students from APS in 2008, they will have found a way to transform a visual art process into activism that initiates personal and social change (See text boxes and Figures 45a-d).

It is useful to draw a comparison between HIV/AIDS Awareness and HIV/AIDS Activism. The example referred to earlier in the women of the Mapula embroidery group is different to the Chivurika Group, who formed themselves as an action group administering home-based care to their village as an outcome of their Paper Prayers engagement. Part of the difference in the initial degree of empowerment is suggested by the contrast in the visual output. For example, Emily Makulele's 'Prevent AIDS' cloth (Figure 14) is highly dependent on received information, whereas each artist's 'Reclaiming Lives' portrait of the relation who is being honoured testifies to a process of growth and change that reflects a record of discussion and reflection with family and peers, and that leads to the direct action of honouring their own lives through the choices of behaviour change or VCT. The figures of images and the artists' own narrative responses provide further evidence of degrees of empowerment within the artwork, indicating that visual methods can be a valuable source of research, action and change. This idea is expanded on in Chapter Six. (Figures 44 and 45).

The question of a citizen's agency is addressed by current scholarship about activist approaches to public engagement and scholarship. For instance Harry Boyte suggests that:

> Concepts of persons as a 'co-creator' of their environments, as a 'public agent' of environmental change and self-change, and one might say simply as an active citizen, are more adequate to the democratic task – they suggest a shift from person 'in herself' to a democratic citizen 'for herself.' Such conceptual language is intimated by recent experimental psychology that emphasizes humans as unique, relational agents of their own development who create ideas, drawing from diverse sources as they learn to negotiate and shape their environments. This science points toward a political, open, and

[55] See Figures and KB Archives: 97 artists' statements: Interviews conducted by Johannes Nyokong and transcribed Kgomotso Maloka: KB Archives (PPR Draw 2: File 1a).

> dynamic concept of contexts and the humans who make them (Boyte 2007: 20).[56]

As described above, many of the women in the rural and embroidery groups have become activists in their communities as caregivers. The Reclaiming Lives project was a first step in demanding that the APS students who had information about HIV/AIDS as Paper Prayers trainers, address the seriousness of life and death in their own lives. The learning process for the student-artist became a journey of discovery to find a balance between reflection and introspection on the one hand, and an understanding that they have the power to act to save their own or another's life through the choices they make, on the other.

As far as the Paper Prayers program is concerned, the transformation from awareness into action was one that responded to given circumstances and the growing awareness of those facilitating the program of the needs that had not yet been addressed. Like any such project, Paper Prayers needed to be able to reflect and respond to these different needs in order to be sustainable and continue to revisit its initial objectives. No community-based art project can afford to lack such adaptability if it hopes to have the time needed for the communities it serves to gain agency. The once-off intervention of a three-hour Paper Prayers workshop can only introduce a new language for and way of integrating painful and complex issues. But for meaningful change to be sustainable, the value of time and an ongoing engaged and participatory process using a phased approach is necessary for inculcating agency. The Paper Prayers program has evolved from an expression of awareness to countering denial though action.

Julie Ellison expresses the complexity of creative responses to trauma in her seminal article on the Humanities and the Public Soul:

> The arts and humanities have been spoken of as offering 'solace' in a time of personal and collective trauma. But solace is complicated, not simple. The public soul needs the expression of grief, witness, and testimony, yes. But it also needs action, including educational action (Ellison 2002a).

[56] Boyte quotes Esther Thelen who pioneered this science, which was based on a relational, interactive, emergent understanding of complex systems and how to theorize them. Thelen's science suggests a conception of a person not simply as a problem solver, but more broadly as a co-creator of the contexts in which problem solving takes place (Boyte 2007: 23).

CHAPTER FOUR: PHUMANI PAPER: FROM A GOVERNMENT POVERTY ALLEVIATION PROGRAM TO SUSTAINABLE ENTERPRISES

Introduction

The founding of Phumani Paper paralleled the creative process of making an artwork in its conception and evolution. My idealistic vision was to create a new industry that could draw on local resources available to the marginalized poor in poverty nodes, both in rural communities and in urban informal settlements where there are no jobs or industries. The idea of creating craft from waste materials, a process that is both labour intensive and requires skills training from artists, emerged out of a personal desire to help art practitioners to become social change agents. While this was a somewhat utopian idea, the process of designing a program that was collaborative and drew on skills, resources, institutions and communities from a range of partners resulted in a very dynamic and complex method of addressing poverty alleviation.

In this chapter I assess a program that has gone through many iterations and cycles of change, that at some moments has been robust and explosive, and at others fragile and tenuous. The program is complex, and none of the Phumani Paper sites are alike. In spite of attempts to seek a formula for sustainability in the development of craft groups, one was never found. However, one basic fact is clear: the Phumani Paper program has a high survival rate in comparison to South African cultural projects in general.[1] From its inception in late1999, fifteen out of twenty-one small enterprises are still operating at the end of 2008. The following analysis will reveal some of the primary reasons for the poor levels of sustainability in cultural industries set up by government, and will explore various strategies that could provide an insight into a concept of development that supports the qualities of democracy, aspiration, creativity and agency.

Amartya Sen's concept of 'development as freedom,' that is, development as the fostering of individual and community agency in any program of economic aid, will frame this chapter. His

[1] There is inconclusive information on the statistics of the survival rate of craft enterprises. See Steven Sack interview (du Toit May 2008d), Research paper by Joslyn Walker (formerly Walters) (2002) (KB Archives FF Draw 6: File 1a). The Arts and Culture Sub-sector Skills Update 2005/2006 provides an overview of the arts and culture sector which is described as having "chronic skills shortages", "low annual turnover", and is characterized by "a growth trap and struggle for survival." The document states further that there are no published sources of data on the total South African Visual arts industry (2005: 6,7) and reports on the scarce skills in the industry; also refer to Gerard Hagg's research report (2004) and David Bunn (2008: 7) who describes the "sorry state of funding affairs" in a paper entitled "Ends of the Rainbow".

insights on gender also offer important implications for this analysis. The great majority (85%) of participants in the Phumani Paper projects are women. Sen argues that female education, reproductive agency and economic empowerment enhance not only women's position, but society as a whole. He argues that "(t)he changing agency of women is one of the major mediators of economic and social change, and its determination as well as consequences closely relate to many of the central features of the development process" (Sen 1999b: 203-204). In sum, women's leadership is a crucial aspect of 'development as freedom.'

In addition, I will use systems theory and complexity theory, introduced in Chapter One, to analyse both the complex structure of the program, and the many blockages and subsequent rerouting of the flows that have become characteristic of the Phumani Paper program. Government's role has facilitated the development of Phumani Paper through funding and initial vision, as well as obstructed its growth and caused significant damage through broken promises and inadequate short-term funding. Here I offer various case studies as a way to understand and develop alternative and regenerative responses to the recurring disappointments resulting from poorly conceived government policies implemented by high-handed officials. These policies and their implementation have tended to prevent rather than encourage an enabling environment for sustainable development.

This chapter assesses some development projects that have failed as a result of a top-down approach required by government. However, in addition to analysing the impediments to successful change, this chapter will also document the remarkable resilience that has resisted the 'burn-out' characteristic of so many government-funded cultural organizations in South Africa. My argument addresses a theme common throughout the thesis: the question of whether, in the erratic environment of government funding, creativity and imagination can catalyse hope and aspiration, and can sustain the participants' continued dedication to their groups and alleviate poverty. I further investigate the role of the artist in facilitating this process.

Hand-papermaking for economic development began as a research and outreach activity at the former Technikon Witwatersrand (TWR), now the University of Johannesburg, in 1996. Research activity at the time was supported by the former Centre for Science Development (CSD).[2] Three years later, after establishing a pilot community outreach project in

[2] The former Centre for Science Development (CSD) and Foundation for Research Development (FRD) were merged in 1998 to form the National Research Foundation (NRF).

Winterveld, the papermaking poverty alleviation program, (which subsequently was named Phumani Paper) was initiated in September 1999. As part of the post-1994 government's policy of using tertiary institutions and Research Councils to develop appropriate technology for development, the Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology (DACST) awarded funding to my Papermaking Research and Development Unit (hereafter PRDU) to initiate a pilot project for developing craft packaging from sugarcane leaf fibre in KwaZulu-Natal (Figure 1).[3]

In 2000, as a result of the success of the pilot project, I was approached by an official in the division of Science and Technology to develop a proposal for a national poverty relief program that would address poverty alleviation through appropriate use of technology in each of the provinces in South Africa. Weeks later, due to an urgency to allocate unspent budgets, the Technikon's PRDU was allocated a grant of R3 million. In return for the grant my research unit was charged with establishing 21 projects in seven provinces for the purpose of creating 460 jobs. Initially called the Papermaking Poverty Relief program (PPRP), its name changed to Phumani Paper in 2002.[4] Five masters' student research projects have been essential to establishing sustainable enterprises within Phumani Paper. These research projects included the development of cotton rag and sisal plant fibre for use in making archival acid-free conservation papers (Marshall 2003), the investigation of the suitability of invasive plant species for making handmade papers (Coppes 2003), the application of paper-based craft technologies such as paper clay (Ladeira 2004) and cast paper pulp for the making of three-dimensional craft products (Tshabalala 2005), and expressive possibilities for paper as art-making (Warren 2006). An additional master's student investigated the sustainability of Phumani Papers craft development sites (Cohn 2004) (Figures 2a-d). Registered as a Section 21 Company in 2005,[5] the national office at Phumani Paper now serves as a sales and resource centre, accessing markets to support up to twenty producer units in seven provinces.[6] Phumani Paper currently contracts 27 staff members nationally.[7]

[3] DACST split in August 2002 into two separate Ministries: the Department of Science and Technology (DST) (under which Phumani Paper was situated) and the Department of Arts Culture and Heritage (DAC).
[4] See the initial concept document and proposals and funding reports to DACST 1999-2002: KB Archives (PP Draw 3B: File 1a).
[5] Company registration no. 2005/017397/08. See KB Archives (PP Draw 3B: File 3).
[6] This number was reduced to fifteen producer units by January 2008, due to the closure of five groups between 2005 and 2008. See Human Resources lists KB Archives (PP Draw 3B: File 3b).
[7] Phumani Paper contracted 35 staff members from 2000 to 2005. This outreach and staffing was reduced to seventeen full-time contract staff and ten station managers. My role in Phumani Paper is currently Director and Research Leader, the latter articulates with my position as Senior Lecturer in the Fine Art Department at the University of Johannesburg. See list of staff and positions KB Archives (PP Draw 3B: File 3b).

As a result of the poverty relief program requirements imposed by government, Phumani Paper was forced to start large, and severe damage was caused by lack of long-term planning and setting of attainable goals. For example, during its first year, the provision of standard community wages to over 450 participants was a requirement, yet no policy existed for sustained support, and the government reduced the funding for wages over each of the following two years. All staff and facilitators received one-year contracts renewable annually for the three- to four-year program; there was no certainty of continuity, as funding was applied for yearly and was often disbursed months late. As papermaking had no tradition or history behind it within South Africa, the government had little understanding of the needs of the program or the challenges of establishing a new cultural industry for the country. The government rationalized the decrease in funding for wages as an incentive for the projects to become independent businesses, even though no funding for marketing research was provided in the grant. As problems of sustainability emerged at each site, it became increasingly evident that one cannot impose a concept of entrepreneurship on rural areas if it has no integration within the local community culture.[8] The government's increasing emphasis on entrepreneurship as the central tenet of its poverty relief initiatives will be critiqued in this chapter.

I argue here that sustainability depends on building participants' agency along with business skills. It is my contention that Phumani Paper projects continued to survive despite considerable external constraints due to the power of imagination, aspiration and dreaming, which generated agency. Participants came to work even when there were few orders and little or no income, motivated by a sense of pride, the discovery of their own creativity, and the empowerment gained through new craft and management skills.

In response to consistently reduced and unreliable funding, the organizational structure of Phumani Paper national office at the University of Johannesburg was forced to mutate into a sales and distribution centre that identifies markets and sources orders for producer units. In 2004, at the end of the DST funding cycle, the University's Phumani Paper Management Committee projected that out of twenty units only five would survive without continued funding support.[9] This projection provided the rationale for the University's decision to withdraw its administrative and financial support of the Phumani Paper program in 2005. For the first five years of the different phases of the program, the DST government grant and supporting independent grants were awarded to the former Technikon Witwatersrand, and all

[8] This is corroborated by Berman and Walker (formerly Walters) (2002 and 2004). KB Archives (UJ Draw 5: File 2).
[9] See Board minutes by Chair Prof Thomas Auf der Heyde 2004. KB Archives (PP Draw 3B: File 4).

administrative and financial transactions were processed through the institution's systems. The subsequent registration of Phumani Paper Section 21 Company required that the Board of Directors become responsible for the organization's good governance.[10]

As part of the process of development towards a business model, the management team contracted marketing consultants that assisted Phumani Paper staff in designing diverse strategies in order to secure a long-term future for the new cultural industry of making handmade paper in South Africa. The strategy included the establishment of new funding sources, such as UNESCO's Artist in Development Programme (AiD), which trains key Phumani Paper regional managers to develop their own products and access new markets (Figures 3a and b). The UNESCO pilot projects in Africa examine the phenomenon of the high failure rate of craft projects and their dismal record of profit.[11] The more positive impact assessment report commissioned by UNESCO, of five of the Phumani Paper enterprises, has provided a valuable analysis that will be discussed in this chapter. Some of the report findings provide insights that can be applied to aspects of the challenge of achieving sustainability within the South African craft sector in general.[12] Other donor partners for Phumani Paper programs included the National Research Foundation (for research and development), the Ford Foundation, the National Heritage Foundation and the Kellogg Foundation, amongst others.[13]

Another strategy that the management team has employed to promote sustainability has been the establishment of international linkages to secure expert advice in the research activity area. (Figures 4a-c). For instance, the Photovoice/PAR program with University of Michigan (June-July 2005) involved the pairing of the University of Michigan and the University of Johannesburg students who were assigned field placements to assess the viability of markets in six Phumani sites. The findings were reported at a two-day conference held at the University of Johannesburg.[14] Subsequently, the Ford Foundation funded a two-year grant for a targeted HIV/AIDS support and product development intervention from 2006-2008. A further extensive impact assessment was completed in May 2008, for the Ford Foundation-funded AIDS Action program.[15] This multi-year Participatory Action Research (PAR) program will be discussed in detail in Chapter Six.

[10] According to the King II Report (http://www.iodsa.co.za/king.asp).
[11] See UNESCO publication AiD 2008 KB Archives (PP Draw 3B: File 17).
[12] Melanie Hagen (2007) Final Evaluation Report, UNESCO-NORAD Artists in Development Programme Phase, with CFDR School of Design – Northumbria University, United Kingdom, July, and Lilo du Toit 2008b FF Report KB Archives (PP Draw 3B: File13, 18).
[13] See PP List of donors and amounts awarded, PP Annual Reports 2006/7 KB Archives (PP Draw 3B: File 12).
[14] Findings and Conference recommendations of 2006/7 and 8 in KB Archive (FF Draw 5: File 12).
[15] Du Toit and Korth, Base-Line Study (2007), Impact Report (2008b) KB Archives (FF Draw 5: File 2d).

The third sustainability strategy was achieved when the MAPPP SETA (funded through the skills levy of the Department of Labour) approved a series of pilot accredited learnerships to teach a basic qualification in making handmade paper to regional site members (NQF2), and an advanced qualification in archival paper production in 2007 (NQF4) at the central office.[16]

Despite the challenge of finding consistent outlets for Phumani Paper products, certain markets do exist for South African handmade paper products, such as the conference and craft markets, and corporate gifts. The most promising market for Phumani Paper at present is in acid-free archival paper for the conservation and art industries (Berman and Marshall 2008).[17] When the units transitioned into independent enterprises, it became clear that Phumani Paper national office required a business-focused director to implement a directed marketing strategy. I managed to secure dedicated funds for 2006 to hand over the organization to an Executive Director, Frikkie Meintjes, who was tasked with securing future markets and programs. The change from a faculty-led research and development project to a commercial enterprise functioning from the University of Johannesburg met with further challenges and obstacles. Nevertheless, until his departure in 2008, Meintjes managed to maintain the operational running of the Section 21 organization and it has seen gradual growth in sales and market access ever since (Figures 5 and 6). However, the suspension of the government's pledge to fund the development of the Archival paper unit in 2007 has reduced the organization's projected growth and financial viability significantly. This will be discussed as a case study later in this chapter.[18]

Further complicating Phumani Paper's desired goals were the 2004/5 negotiations over the merger between the Technikon Witwatersrand and Rand Afrikaans University, which revealed the latter's extreme resistance to hosting Phumani Paper on campus. The University of Johannesburg management's decision to discontinue the project in its current form posed challenges that threatened Phumani Paper's very survival. As a result, since then Phumani Paper has embarked on a new direction that focuses on market-driven approaches, although its continued growth is steady, its existence is still quite tenuous, as its sales base

[16] See unpublished training manuals and accreditation documentation, KB Archives (PP Draw 3A 12,13,14 and Draw 3B: File 14a).The MAPPP SETA was placed under administration in 2008 due to mismanagement and all funding suspended.
[17] This is according to Alexio Motsi, the Director of the South African National Archives, B. Marshall (2003: 72), and Berman and Marshall (2008): KB Archives (UJ Draw 5: File 1a, 1b).
[18] The Minister Pallo Jordan announced in his Budget speech for 2006/7, 2 June 2006; that "Millions of rands are to be allocated for job creation in arts and culture sectors such as visual arts (R4 million), crafts (R10 million). However, a total of R9 million will be invested in creating jobs in archival papermaking". Cobus van Bosch (July 2006: 2), *South African Art Times,* Editorial.

remains insufficient to support all its enterprises and operations.[19] An account and analysis of the history summarized in this introduction follows.

Papermaking as Research: Setting up the Papermaking Research and Development Unit (PRDU)

Hand-papermaking started as a small research project linked to the printmaking department at the former Technikon Witwatersrand. At that point all rag papers for fine art prints in South Africa were imported, and were therefore very costly. One of the rationales for my founding the Artist Proof Studio (APS) in 1991 was to make printmaking an affordable and accessible medium for artists. When I studied for my master's at the School of the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, papermaking was offered as part of the Fine Art curriculum. Because this was not the case in South Africa, and because imported papers remained prohibitively expensive, hand-papermaking presented an opportunity for new research and development within the former Technikon's Fine Art Department. I therefore involved all my senior printmaking students in experimenting with papermaking. From 1996 on I was able to support their further studies through the research funding I had raised. Part of the research was to investigate the design and manufacture of locally made equipment and tools. In 1997 the Papermaking Research and Development Unit received funding from the Metropolitan Life inter-university competition to establish a small papermaking project in Winterveld, and my students became teachers in this outreach program and those that followed. Ten years later the Winterveld project, Tswaraganang, is still functioning well and is supporting nine women (Figures 7a and b).[20]

The following year, in 1998, I received a research fellowship from the Technikon Witwatersrand to travel on a research visit to a papermaking project in Ecuador, where I saw a small village whose livelihood was dependent on the farming of cabuya, or sisal fibre. Native to the Andes, it had been cultivated for centuries for the weaving of coffee and coco sacks. Due to industrialization and the evolution of the petrochemical industry, market demand replaced sisal bags with plastics, and the local sisal industry was negatively affected. CARE Ecuador recognized the potential of papermaking as a replacement industry for the cabuya farming communities, and they responded to this problem by establishing a partnership with Sustainable Uses for Biological Resources (SUBIR) in collaboration with Rutgers University and Dieu Donné, a papermaking studio in New York, funded by the

[19] Sales figures and growth rates are listed in the published Phumani Paper Annual Reports of 2004 to 2008: KB Archives (PP Draw 3B: File 1b, c and d).
[20] See Phumani Paper website for a profile on Tswaraganang (www.phumanipaper.org.za).

United States Agency for International Development (USAID) (Deery and Takahashi 1999: 21). The partnerships ensured that the cabuya fibre that was manually harvested and decorticated was processed into pulp and paper and exported to the United States (Figures 8a-d). Although the purpose of my journey had been to research handmade papers for artists, this experience served as the inspiration to propose Phumani Paper as an appropriate rural industry for processing agri-waste in South Africa. In 1999, through my research unit, the former Technikon Witwatersrand received its first grant for the technology transfer for appropriate rural development from the Ford Foundation, and the research project's focus then shifted from primarily investigating the production of artists' papers to craft production.[21] Archival paper research became the research project focus of one of my master's students, Bronwyn Marshall, from 2002 to 2005 (Figure 9).

I was fortunate to initiate this project when I did. During South Africa's transitional phase to democracy post-1994, South African educational policy, through the White Paper of 1997, directed tertiary institutions to engage with community outreach as part of its Reconstruction and Development programme. Partially as a legacy of this period, still today, many higher education institutions list three tenets for academic excellence: learning, research and community outreach (Perolda and Omar 1997: 88). However, the third element, which I argue is crucial, is often in practice dismissed or ignored as irrelevant to the primary objectives of teaching and research. This point is discussed further in Chapter Five.

Setting up Phumani Paper as a nationwide poverty alleviation program required collaboration and partnerships between government, higher education, local communities, and the NGO sector that in the end promoted multi-disciplinary approaches to the creation and dissemination of knowledge. However, the government was the weak link from the start. In 1999/2000 the National Treasury allocated poverty alleviation funds to most of the Ministries, but Departments such as Science and Technology had no experience or personnel to manage these funds. Their primary function had previously been to promote scientific research and innovation. I was fortunate that the financial officer, George Kgarume, who was deployed to manage poverty alleviation in the division of Science and Technology, had some NGO and development experience, and was very supportive of the vision and mission of the Reconstruction and Development Programme's philosophy. For the first two years, from 1999/2000 to 2001/2002 he facilitated the installments of payments and assisted with the

[21] A grant called the Technology Transfer and Training Unit, was awarded in 1999 by the Ford Foundation to enhance greater community access to Higher Education. See grant proposal in KB Archive (UJ Draw 5: File 11).

rigorous reporting requirements. It also helped that this program had the support of Arts Culture Science and Technology's Minister at the time, Ben Ngubane (Figure 10).[22]

After the four-month pilot in Eshowe from November 1999 to March 2000, R3 million was granted for a national program. The vision of the Chief Director in the division of Science and Technology, Marjorie Pyoos, who assisted me in conceptualizing the proposal for the Papermaking Poverty Relief Project, was that each of the papermaking projects could be linked to existing industries in each region. She proposed that we target all nine provinces in South Africa, but subsequently accepted the fact that our existing networks extended to only seven (Figures 11 organogram and 12 maps).

The Papermaking Poverty Relief Project (PPRP) built upon the networks created by the Paper Prayers program (see Chapter Three). The most productive link with government was Steven Sack, who had supported the Paper Prayers campaign in his capacity as National Director in the Department of Arts and Culture in 1998 and knew of its extensive community connections. In 1999 he lobbied the Science Division of DACST to support the PPRP, as it bridged the divides between technology and craft, science and technology, and had the potential to form a valuable link between the Science and Art divisions within government. This was seen as a strength in the first year, however, this became a liability when Arts and Culture separated acrimoniously from Science and Technology in 2002, and the support links to the program in the Department of Arts and Culture were severed.[23]

Some of the challenges that this situation presented were: how could a proposal to establish hand-papermaking as a new cultural industry be accommodated by a government division that had science and scientific methodologies as its specialization?; and how could the two different paradigms of science and technology and arts and culture come together in a project that was innovative and untested? I argued that the common link was through research at a higher institute of technology.

The Division of Science and Technology had close ties to the Higher Education sector, and the PPRP of the former Technikon Witwatersrand was grouped with the other two Science Councils: the Centre for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR) and the Agricultural Research Council (ARC) as the initiating programs in Poverty Alleviation. The expectation

[22] See J Walker interview with G Kgarume in Berman and Walker (2002: 7). Ngubane found himself in the Sarafina II scandal in which he gave a significant allocation of the HIV/AIDS budget to Mbongeni Ngema for the production of Sarafina II and was subsequently deployed as ambassador to Japan in 2001/2.
[23] DACST Annual Report 2000/1 KB Archives (PP Draw 3B: File 1a).

was for application and delivery of appropriate technologies, with less focus on the 'softer' attributes of Arts and Culture. The craft focus of Phumani was often compared to the perceived more scientific focus of the bull-breeding and beekeeping of the ARC projects and the agricultural beneficiation projects such as silk, sisal, and hemp projects of the CSIR.

When the papermaking poverty alleviation program was started, it built on the network established as a result of the Arts and Culture grant received for the Paper Prayers campaign in 1998. Paper Prayers had initiated five small papermaking facilities to service the AIDS Awareness Campaign; these included Winterveld, Mmabana Art Centre in the North West Province, Bushbuck Ridge Youth Centre in Mpumalanga, AidsLink in Hillbrow, and Artist Proof Studio. These Paper Prayers papermaking stations became the first point of contact for identifying suitable sites and partnerships around the country; others depended on existing networks in the cultural and environmental activist sectors.[24]

Each one of the subsequently established papermaking units has an interesting and individual story. The opportunity offered to groups to start a new, government-supported project in an area affected by extreme poverty was exciting. In order to outline some of the differences between the 21 projects, as well as the challenges of setting up a nationwide project of this sort, I now briefly discuss the establishment of some of the sites, as well as their subsequent trajectories. What became evident is that the challenge of finding a one-size-fits-all roll-out model was totally unrealistic. The government wanted uniformity on budget expenditure and organizational structure in each province, and could not accommodate the fact that each group was unique, and even designed their own constitutions after they received training in the options available to them. The requirements by government officials also fluctuated annually with the frequent changes in representatives assigned to the programs. For example, at a particular point one official in the Department of Science and Technology required that groups register as co-operatives; then two years later another official recommended close corporations as a more appropriate profit-generating model.[25] Such interference on the issue of type of legal registration by government officials, caused confusion in Phumani Paper, but the training that each group received empowered them to make their own choices about their enterprise structure. In this particular situation

[24] My own networks were through the cultural centres in the nine provinces of the Paper Prayers Campaign and the environmental networks through colleagues Liz Linsel and Thomas Auf der Heyde.
[25] See memos and letters written to Director in DST, Richard Holden arguing for the autonomy of the enterprises. Mr Holden refused to award Phumani Paper continuance funding because the business plan did not demonstrate a profit result. To quote from his letter: "If they lend you the money on the strength of this business plan it will be against 100% collateral of your private assets, which means that if it fails you will lose everything." I responded to his letter arguing that poverty alleviation funding was not equivalent to corporate business practice. See correspondence: KB Archive (PP Draw 3B: File 5).

Phumani Paper groups were able to reject the attempts by DST to impose their particular whims, but this was not always the case.

Phumani Paper Projects: A Brief Introduction to the Sites

What follows is a brief introduction to most of the sites that have been operating for at least six to eight years, and which have managed to sustain themselves for at least four years after government funding officially ended.[26] The purpose of providing a brief profile of each group is to try to understand the lessons they offer in terms of surviving government-funded development, as well as the creative solutions evolved by the groups in their ability to survive the inconsistencies and disappointments of funding and organizational support. The biggest challenge of development is considered to be economic sustainability. I am proposing instead, that in the case of Phumani Paper, it is the resilience to survive.

The Pilot project: Eshowe, KwaZulu-Natal

The site at Eshowe, KwaZulu-Natal was set up as the pilot project made possible by funding awarded to the Papermaking Research and Development Unit at the former Technikon Witwatersrand. In September 1999 the Division of Science and Technology contacted the Technikon Witwatersrand Research Office regarding a proposal I had submitted to set up a Technology Transfer and Training program for rural development using papermaking. I had been able to conceptualize the technology transfer program through a small grant from the Ford Foundation for improving community access and engagement in Higher Education. The then Minister of the Department of Art, Culture, Science and Technology (DACST), Ben Ngubane, required evidence of job creation prospects to present in his report on new cultural industries growth strategies at the opening of Parliament in February 2000. In October 1999, my papermaking research unit was awarded a grant of R250 000 from available poverty alleviation funds in DACST to set up a craft and paper packaging unit in KwaZulu-Natal. Eshowe was chosen due to personal networks of a colleague from Artist Proof Studio, Cara Walters, who had family ties within the Eshowe Teacher Training College. The area also met the directive of investigating the possibility of using local vegetation – the plentiful sugarcane leaves in the region – and of supporting the rural potters whose livelihoods were threatened by the re-routing of roads in the Gingindlovu and Tugela Valley region (Figures 13a and b).

[26]Others listed in the organogram of 2002 (Fig 10), such as the Flower Valley Trust and Morning Star, were taken over by local trusts and were not managed by Phumani Paper. Other product and paper groups in KwaZulu-Natal, the Western Cape and Gauteng merged into one group. When the additional five CSIR groups joined Phumani Paper, the number of groups that Phumani reported on to government remained approximately twenty. See Phumani Paper Annual Reports 2000-2008. KB Archive (PP Draw 3B: File 1a-e).

The brief required packaging for the small *ukamba* pots to be produced as Zulu cultural artifacts for the tourist industry.[27] As will be described in Chapter Five, my senior students in 1999 were all involved with the design and development of these items, and in 2002 a master's student, Jeannot Ladeira, investigated this project for his thesis research. He subsequently improved the design of the packaging through silk-screened images on the sugarcane paper and board boxes, and researched the addition of paper clay, adding paper pulp to the clay body of the pots to make them lighter and more durable (Figures 14 and 15).

In nearby Endlovini, ceramic artist Mary Anne Orr, was supporting an HIV/AIDS home-based care clinic and doing craft product development from the old mission hospital in this poor and rural village. Phumani Paper partnered with her project in order to link the papermaking with the pottery groups. Fundi Biyela, who was assisting in the Endlovini project at the time, subsequently took over the cluster of paper, pottery and craft projects, which originally supported 33 women and five men. From 2003 to the present, Biyela has been the KwaZulu-Natal regional coordinator for Phumani Paper. She still supports the six potters in Endlovini and the six women papermakers at KZN Paper and Craft, now housed at the Fort Nongqayi Museum Village in Eshowe (Figures 16 and 17).

This initial project has proved to be an extraordinary example of resilience. The group has lost over ten members to disease in the past seven years. Only two of the original founding women remain, and the turnover of new group members is high. Biyela, who has witnessed the devastating consequences of silence and denial of AIDS in her community, has refused to let the KwaZulu-Natal papermaking group collapse. Through her own remarkable creativity and determination in surviving a series of disasters such a floods and burglaries, as well as numerous losses, she keeps the dream of the group alive by tirelessly training new members and maintaining her relationships with the KwaZulu-Natal crafters association that keeps a steady flow of tourist markets (See portrait of Biyela, Women on Purpose: Figure 22 Chapter Six).

Papermaking sites for the regional provinces: Gauteng

In Gauteng the initial concept for setting up papermaking poverty alleviation projects was to approach informal settlements and to establish sites using shipping containers, which are often deployed as mobile, pre-fabricated offices. These container-sites were to function as waste paper recycling depots. People could bring their waste paper and board to the unit,

[27] The *ukamba* pot is a traditional Zulu beer container produced in the Tugela Valley region. The women potters developed non-functional miniatures suitable for the tourist industry.

which would then pulp the paper using their recycle beaters or their hands to mulch the wet paper soaking in buckets. The idea was that the units could produce products such as paper plates, egg cartons, and paper goods for local use.

However, what subsequently transpired differed from the proposal. The three units established in Gauteng each adapted to their particular situations. For example, AIDSLINK was a centre for treatment and support for HIV-positive people, many of whom had been thrown out of their homes as a result of their illness. They needed a form of income generation that was not too strenuous. Having produced paper sheets for the Paper Prayers campaign, they were trained by two members of my team of students from APS and TWR to dye their paper in a range of colours and to make stationery and cards. The occupational therapy unit in the clinic assisted the group in packaging and selling the packets of cards and envelopes. Now called Thandanani, the group are still in business as a production unit for Phumani Paper, and situated in a workshop on the University of Johannesburg campus. Of the original members who started ten years ago on the original Paper Prayers project, two women are still alive and productive (Figures 18 and 19). In an interview in July 2008 Gertrude Mngadi and Selina Pule, the two founding members of the AIDSLINK group from 1998, testified that they are still alive because of the pride of work they experience in being skilled at papermaking and craft.[28]

Another Gauteng Province site, Twanano, was set up through the environmental activist networks of Liz Linsell, who subsequently became the Phumani Paper Manager and then Deputy Director. She established a link with the Eco-Cities project, which was working in the informal settlement of Ivory Park in Midrand, to set up a recycling centre and co-operative. The case study of establishing Twanano papermaking will be discussed in greater detail later in the chapter (Figures 20a-c).

Continuing with Gauteng Province, the group Kopenang, in Tsakane, Ekurhuleni municipality, was initiated as an embroidery project for the Paper Prayers campaign and managed by Sister Sheila Flynn. As Sister Sheila had recently graduated with her BTech in Fine Art and was part of the paper research team, she was hired by the Papermaking Research and Development Unit and then Phumani Paper for an additional six years as a training coordinator for the four projects in the Gauteng region. In her role as a training facilitator for art teachers at the former Technikon Fine Art Department, (the Teacher

[28] See transcripts of interviews by Jane Hassinger and Kim Berman, July 2008, Women on Purpose KB Archive (UJ Draw 5: File 5).

Training course is expanded on in Chapter Five), she further mentored the training team of Artist Proof Studio graduates and the former Technikon Fine Arts graduates as qualified trainers.[29] She expanded the Kopenang embroidery collective into a Paper Project that was attached to an HIV/AIDS support centre for orphans and vulnerable children, called Sithand'izingane Care Project, and managed by the Dominican Sisters in Tsakane (Figures 21a and b).[30] In 2006 a group of four empowered women of Kopenang papermaking broke away from what they experienced as the restrictive Catholic mission climate. The Dominican sisters wanted to merge the women's collective into a larger Community Trust, an action that would have resulted in the paper project office bearers losing their positions as Directors of their own enterprise. The four women then regrouped and registered as an independent close corporation called Thutukani (Figure 22a). Phumani Paper subsequently received a small grant from the Department of Agriculture to set up the group on municipal ground in the township of Tsakane. A container was purchased, and today they embroider cloth covers for handmade notebooks and make eco-fuel bricks from recycled waste fibre and paper (Figure 22b).

What this case reveals is that in spite of a supportive environment in which the Dominican sisters provided stability for the group, the breakaway group of women, who had experienced their own empowerment through their range of business and craft skills, were not permitted to exercise agency. Guaranteed sustainability proved to be less important to the group than the freedom to chart the course of their own enterprise.

North West Province Sites

The North West Province also enjoyed strong connections established by the Paper Prayers Campaign. Louis Muir, the art instructor at Mmabana Community Centre in Lehurutse, offered to house the small wiz-mixer, vat and screens acquired from the Paper Prayers campaign in his classroom. Through Paper Prayers we had also developed a partnership with Joyce Sithole, who had accompanied me on my trip to the Women's Museum in Bonn for the Paper Prayers exhibition (See Chapter Three).[31]

Sithole and the Paper Prayers organizing committee in Lehurutse agreed to coordinate the papermaking project in the North West, and to provide a group that was informally meeting

[29] Some of the original APS graduates of the teacher training course are still working as trainers. For example Grace Tshikuvhe graduated from APS in 1999 and has been contracted by Phumani Paper as a lead paper-trainer from the program's inception to the present. See interview KB Archive (UJ Draw 5: File 5).
[30] See website for further information (http://www.kopenang.org).
[31] Frauen Museum, Bonn, Germany Paper Prayers Exhibition from 8 March to 8 April 2000. See catalogue and publicity materials KB Archive (PPR Draw 2: File 7).

with a venue in a prefabricated classroom attached to the Mmabana Cultural Centre. The group, called Bosele, has subsequently received numerous awards for community building, and has been allocated funds from the local municipality to move into an industrial venue. The women worked in very poor conditions for many years and have overcome enormous adversity. They make paper and packaging from the plentiful river reed plant fibre in the area. Perhaps the fact that they are from the same community and are a self-formed group of participants, (and five of the original participants are still part of the original group today), accounts for their remarkable resilience and strong local leadership. Letta Mbuli, a graduate of APS, lived in the area, and we appointed her to assist with the training of the group for the first year. She went on to receive an independent grant to set up a small project in her neighbouring community, but maintains links to Bosele in her current position with the local government division of Arts Culture and Heritage (Figures 23a-c). For many of the women who left their papermaking groups in order to take up other jobs, their choices can be regarded as expressions of mobility rather than a failure of the enterprises to hold onto members.

In addition to Bosele, there were two other North West groups. Tswaraganang in Winterveld was the original outreach project of the Papermaking Research and Development Unit, which had then expanded through the Papermaking Poverty Relief Program (PPRP) funds (Figures 24a-c).[32] The second group, Amogolang, primarily elderly women from the village of Mmakau, was also linked to the Sisters of Mercy adult basic education and training program. The members were also trained by Sister Sheila Flynn and students. Amogolang finally closed down in 2007 after many years of struggling to survive with no access to markets and no subsidized funding. Yet the resilience of one surviving member of the group, Hermina Sephati, (as described in Chapter Six), has found a way to continue the legacy of the group through volunteering as a member at the Tswaranagang group in Winterveld (Figures 25a and b).

Madikwe Sisal is the fourth Northwest Province group. It is one of the projects that in 2003/4 the government required Phumani Paper to take over from the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR). Situated on a sisal farm managed by the Department of Agriculture, the group produces sisal pulp sheets for the archival paper research mill. It still receives financial support from the CSIR and government, and is not dependent on sales to sustain its operations (Figures 26a-c).

[32] The Winterveld area has since been incorporated into Gauteng after a regional border dispute.

The Free State site

To establish projects in the Free State, Chief Director of the Department of Science and Technology proposed linking to the Mine Workers Development Agency, which was setting up income-generation projects for thousands of retrenched mineworkers. The mining corporations had committed to setting up small jewellery-making initiatives, and the Director suggested that the papermaking projects attached to these could provide jewellery boxes. Meetings with Anglo Gold and other mining houses in and around the town of Welkom resulted in impressive promises, but absolutely no follow-through on delivery. The former Technikon Jewellery Department assisted Phumani Paper in developing innovative products and packaging. The initial link was with a large mining company in 2001 which sponsored a series of workshops for designers to work with my papermaking students. From this my Master's student Mandy Coppes developed a sophisticated range of high fibre 'African-feel' products (Figures 28a and b). The promise from the promotions director of the mining company was that the paper projects in the North West and the Free State would get the orders of thousands of boxes per month to showcase this new range.[33] However, this did not materialize, because the company used Coppes's designs to manufacture the boxes commercially.

The Kutloano Paper Project, set up initially in an old mining warehouse provided by the Mineworkers Development Agency on an abandoned mine outside Welkom, sustained fifteen dedicated women who had to walk approximately one to two hours to come to work each day (Figure 28a). Despite years of promises from the viable jewellery industry, no consistent market has yet been established for this group. Five members of the original group have since relocated to a small business centre closer to the township of Thabong. Welkom is approximately three hours from Johannesburg, and so the student training team was able to make monthly visits to the group to maintain enthusiasm and commitment. For the first four years PPRP/Phumani Paper was able to provide sufficient orders for this small, dedicated group of women to sustain their monthly income. Some of the women in the group have since achieved further qualifications by completing two levels of accredited training and have plans to convert their mill to produce archival paper. However, in spite of funding commitments from government, delays and lack of follow-through have suspended that vision of expansion (Figure 28b).

[33] See correspondence with the Faculty Dean regarding the jewellery project. Mandy Copes and the PRDU developed designs for the "Richie Man" and related products which were used in the mining companies subsequent commercial branding, but Phumani was never acknowledged or paid. KB Archive (PP Draw 3B: 5 and UJ Draw 5: 4).

Sites in the Eastern Cape

For the Eastern Cape, Pyoos proposed linking to Working for Water, an invasive vegetation-clearing program in the Western and Eastern Cape provinces. The pilot project in Eshowe, KwaZulu-Natal had hired a young environmental conservationist, Jessica Wigley, who was training local villagers in KwaZulu-Natal to replant nxema grass. Her family had set up an organic farm outside Mdantsane township, East London, and offered a rent-free venue on the farm to assist job creation for the unemployed workers. The active Working for Water program in the region, as well as the plentiful agri-waste from local farms, offered an opportunity to manufacture paper packaging for organic vegetable produce. A venue had to be built onto an available farm shed that would be suitable for a mill. The farm workers linked to the local public works program and assisted with the construction of the building. The group called themselves Rising Sun, and manufactured paper from recycled waste and black-wattle fibre. Their primary market turned out to be the neighbouring camp for the international backpacking tourists. The group makes stationery with African flora and fauna motifs stamped onto their environmentally friendly black-wattle paper. Because of the distances from Mdantsane township to the farm and to the markets, the co-op has recently restructured and moved into an urban venue in East London attached to a craft gallery outlet (Figures 29 and 30).

A second project, Lilo Papermaking in Bathurst, is part of the pineapple farming industry where masses of pineapple fibre was being decorticated by the CSIR textile-processing plant. Pineapple leaf fibre has excellent potential for archival paper manufacture and was introduced to Phumani Paper by Asao Shimura, master paper and shifu artist from the Philippines. I had received a research grant from the National Research Foundation to bring Shimura, a world expert in pineapple fibre for applications in papermaking, to work with the papermaking research unit to build knowledge and capacity in archival plant fibres[34] (Figures 31a-c). The CSIR's failed attempt at setting up papermaking was passed onto Phumani Paper in 2004, and Phumani hired the Zimbabwean hand-papermaking entrepreneur Walter Ruprecht to train the group to process the pineapple leaf fibre into paper. This group collapsed in 2005 as a result of the complex dynamics of the pineapple farming industry and lack of group cohesiveness.

[34] Shifu is a textile woven from pineapple fibre paper sheets that are carefully cut into strips and spun. This ancient Japanese art was investigated as a viable industry for the Eastern Cape to convert agri-waste into paper and textiles.

The Limpopo Province sites

Limpopo Province in the far north of South Africa is an area known to support a vibrant community of Venda and TshiTsonga wood carving and ceramic artists and crafters. Paper Prayers has a long history in the Giyani, Elim and Venda regions through contacts I have established there with artists and youth activists. A youth centre was being developed as part of an adult literacy centre by an Elim-based activist and tour guide with Ribola Tourism, Aldrin Ndaleni, who was pleased to be hired as the project manager of the group that became Komenani Paper Arts and Crafts. As Elim was within a government-identified poverty node, and the initiative was focused on providing skills for unemployed youth, we formed a partnership with the Pfuxanani Youth Centre, which identified twenty young women who were eager to become part of the project. The Papermaking Poverty Relief Program was able to construct a building suitable for hand-papermaking and craft production through the active public works program building houses in the area. The resulting plumbing and electricity that was installed at the Pfuxanani Youth Centre contributed essential infrastructure that improved youth access and increased activity through the establishment of a computer training centre.[35] After three years, twelve out of the original twenty young women, very empowered with their own business elected to leave the Youth Centre and sourced an independent venue at another tourist site at Akanani. They elected their own unit manager, Felicia Vukeya, who subsequently became the regional coordinator. Komenani retains strong ties with Ribola Tourism, which enables the group, (now comprising seven members) to sustain their business. Komenani uses banana-stem fibre to produce indigenous paper, folders and other products that primarily service the conference and tourist industry (Figures 32 and 33).

The other Limpopo sites, Chloe Sisal, now called Dikopaneng (Figures 34a and b), and Lebone Papermaking (Figures 35a and b) were also trained to hand process agri-waste linked to agricultural co-operatives. Walter Ruprecht, Zimbabwe-based paper entrepreneur and trainer, and director of a successful papermaking company called Mapepa in Zimbabwe, was contracted by Phumani Paper over three years (2003-2006) to include Phumani Paper sites in his extensive international market. He trained producers to manufacture his style of "handmade paper of Africa".[36] This market however, did not materialize as the Phumani groups could not produce paper for the same low prices as the Zimbabwean producers.

[35] Dr Gillian Crawford, Director of Educate Develop Learn (EDL) Foundation, a partner of APS, was introduced to this site in 2002 and subsequently sourced funding from Johnson and Johnson International to install twenty computers and learning programs into the Centre. Pfuxanani has now expanded to a vibrant community centre for youth and still supported by Johnson and Johnson International.
[36] See website for further information (www.africanhandmadepaper.com).

Chloe Sisal is a supplier of sisal paper and pulp sheets for the university-based Archival Mill.[37] Lebone Papermaking in Makopane closed in 2007 due to poor markets, lack of cohesiveness, and inadequate business practice. The range of successes and failures of the different groups reflected the regional dynamics. For example Lebone papermaking relied on the sympathies of the conservative white Afrikaans town formerly known as Potgietersrus to sell their products. A deeply racist and repressive relationship between the black and white communities made the capacities of trust and empowerment in the group challenging, and their continued dependence on Phumani Paper prevented them from achieving their own agency to develop effective leadership (Figures 35a and b).

The Western Cape Paper sites

Siyazama Papermaking in the Western Cape consists of a group of ten participants who are part of the Kwa-no Themba Centre for the mentally and physically challenged in Khayelitsha. Part of the government's poverty alleviation strategy was aimed at reaching at least 10% disabled participants. Phumani has managed to sustain that quota through its partnership with the Kwa-no Themba Centre. This has been one of the most consistent and stable groups, due to the fact that each member receives a monthly disability grant. Eight of the original founding members are still active in the group. This phenomenon emerges in the impact assessment conducted for the Ford Foundation. They are a highly skilled group in spite of their disabilities, and make brightly coloured recycled papers (Figures 36a-d).[38]

An experienced papermaker, Cathy Stanley, who served as the first papermaking trainer of my University of Johannesburg students in 1998/9, moved to Cape Town in 2000 and became the trainer for both Siyazama and the second Western Cape project, Kuyasa. She later handed the training over to Joseph Diliza, a papermaking entrepreneur who managed the Siyazama group for over three years, and now serves on the Kwa-no Themba Board of Trustees. The group continues to makes stationery products and has a small local market, but because of their disabilities they are dependent on outside agencies to expose their products to market (Figure 36a-d). The station manager, Nomnquweniso Skundla (who has managed to develop a method of making paper with one arm) ensures her group's visibility and has represented Phumani Paper at three different sittings of Parliament (See figures with Minister Ngubane, Figure 10, and Deputy Minister Hanekom, Figure 36d).

[37] Pulp sheets, also known as linters, are pre-processed fibre that are re-processed into finer pulp with additives such as magnesium and calcium carbonate to neutralise the acidic content to be pH-neutral.
[38] In the impact assessment tables Siyazama show the most stable numbers, in that 90% of the members are still part of the original group that started in 2000.

The Case-study of Kuyasa Papermaking in the Western Cape

Having outlined some success stories of survival, I now present a case study of one of Phumani Paper's casualties, Kuyasa Papermaking in the Western Cape, in greater depth, as it demonstrates the crucial role that culture plays in sustainability. Often it is the failures and weaknesses within a program that offer the most valuable lessons for the designing of future, more successful development interventions. Initially, Kuyasa, situated in Kommetjie, Cape Town, was one of the most economically viable Phumani Paper enterprises. The plant fibre used was extracted from the plentiful invasive Port Jackson willow. The clearance program managed by the government public works program Working for Water, created many informal jobs; for instance, street vendors sold bales of wood cut from the strands of vegetation.[39] Kuyasa recycled the inner bark of this invasive tree to create craft products. The outer bark of the plant was boiled to use the tannin in the plant to produce a rich walnut-coloured dye. The papers and products were stained with the dye, and simple geometrical patterns were stamped or stencilled with household bleach to form elegant African-style patterning of the products (Figures 37a-d).

The group of twelve members (originally fifteen), had market links with the wineries in Stellenbosch, which ordered wine cylinders for gift packaging in order to demonstrate their corporate support for environmental management (clearing of invasive plants) and poverty alleviation through job creation.[40] The project supported twelve members through the income from their monthly sales to the robust tourist industry in Cape Town. The group's income averaged R15 000-R20 000 per month, an impressive sum that provided a healthy monthly allowance for each member.[41]

The common challenge for all Phumani Paper groups has been access to markets, as many of them are situated in or near identified poverty nodes. This challenge of 'economic participation' was not a problem for Kuyasa, however, which had more orders than the members could keep up with. So why did this group fail? I would propose that this situation arose as a result of a particularly South African racial and cultural issue that should have been addressed from the start.

[39] Flower Valley Trust set up a papermaking project on an indigenous flower farm in 2001. Working for Water had an invasive vegetation clearing program and contracted Phumani Paper to assist the group make paper from the invasive Port Jackson willow plant (See Figures 38a and b).
[40] The group's numbers dropped to nine members in 2006.
[41] See PP Annual reports 2000-2006 (income graphs of each project). KB Archives (PP Draw 3A: Files 1a-f).

The participants in the Kuyasa group, in line with government's commitment to cultural diversity, were drawn from two communities: Ocean View, a mixed-race or 'Cape-coloured' community as they describe themselves, and Masiphumelele township, a primarily Xhosa-speaking group. Papermaking participants were drawn from an adult basic literacy centre that operated in the townships, as well as unemployed workers from public works projects. From twenty members in the first year of the project, a group of twelve remained with the enterprise for five years. During that time, they moved to an industrial site for small businesses in between the two communities. The group participated in a mentorship program, with Serving Emerging Enterprises (SEE), led by the University of Cape Town Graduate School of Business. The opportunities for success were in place and yet the questions as to why the project did not succeed remain.

From the start there was conflict between the two groups of Afrikaans-speakers and black, Xhosa-speakers and it seemed to be insoluble. The mixed-race group members wanted to clock in and out each day and wanted to earn a basic wage. This mode of work is a common phenomenon among the historic fishing industry in the Cape from which this group came. They were unhappy that their income fluctuated according to sales, and were highly suspicious of their black colleagues. The Xhosa-speaking group members were more willing to be entrepreneurial, but were reluctant to mix with their Afrikaans-speaking colleagues. Because of the complete lack of trust between the groups, they elected two leaders to represent the interests of each clique and divided themselves into two groups separating the papermakers, the Xhosa-speaking members, from the crafters. Phumani facilitated numerous group discussions, and even hired consultants to facilitate conflict-resolution interventions. These seemed to be able to maintain equilibrium for months at a time, but the group's problems were never resolved. An outside supervisor was just able to manage production, while trying to keep tensions at a minimum. What kept the group going for so long was a shared passion for paper and product making, and a commitment and pride in their attractive products that were well received.[42] However, when the group registered as an independent co-operative in 2005, and the members became co-owners of the business, group cohesion plummeted even further. A high drop-out rate led to mistrust and anger, and the members began stealing money from each other. The elected leaders of the group fired each other, and the project imploded. The enterprise was closed down and the assets were eventually passed on to Siyazama. The lesson here is clear: development projects that do not build on the existing cultural context, and acknowledge conflicts from the outset, are likely

[42] Records of the outcomes and managers' reports are well documented. The Annual Report of 2006 quotes Kuyasa members describing their successes and conflicts. See KB Archives (PP Draw 3a: File 1f).

to fail. Cooperation amidst diversity cannot be imposed; it must be fostered as a desirable goal by the community involved. Open dialogue, contestation and accommodation needed to accompany the training from the start.

The lessons of the Phumani Paper case studies support the necessity for organizations and NGOs involved in community development to define what participants can do together to address the particular aspirations, needs or problems of a given community. Appadurai calls this approach "deep democracy," whereby specific forms of "self governance, self-mobilization and self-articulation are vital to changing the conditions under which activists among the poor are changing the terms of recognition, globally and locally for the poor" (Appadurai 2002:21). The following section aims to provide the social context for and analysis of approaches to poverty alleviation that are essential for achieving deep democracy.

Poverty Alleviation: Linking Practice with Theory

Phumani Paper: Poverty alleviation project or small business?[43]

Phumani Paper was set up according to a social welfare or poverty relief project model that reflected Government's commitment through the RDP to a social protection framework that would provide for people's livelihoods. Each member of the projects received a wage of R450 per month for approximately two years. This ensured that the numbers of participants, or reporting requirements for 'jobs created,' reached the ministry's minimum of 460 jobs created from a new cultural industry in one year. However, after a two-year period of subsidized wages, government came up with a new requirement that the project become entrepreneurial. In other words the projects should become profitable businesses and sell enough to sustain the fledgling micro-enterprises by the following year. The need for the groups to become entrepreneurial was not stated by government at the beginning, it reflects

[43] CARE Framework (McCaston and Rewald 2004) provides a range of useful definitions and distinctions:
Poverty Alleviation: is a term associated with anti-poverty campaigns that are welfare focused. The term alleviation means to make something less severe or more tolerable. The approach addresses the symptoms of poverty and not the underlying causes.
Poverty Reduction: is a term associated with the "needs-based" international development era. Reduce means to make something smaller. As with poverty alleviation, the focus is on *reducing* poverty and not on eliminating poverty.
Poverty Eradication: is an approach to international development that focuses on addressing the structural causes of poverty (not merely the symptoms). It aims to empower the poor to the extent that they help to determine and shape the poverty eradication agenda (also refer to www.careinternational.org.uk/146/urban-poverty/urban-poverty.html).

a change in approach from the framework of Reconstruction and Development (RDP) to the neoliberal policies of the Mbeki administration.[44]

This entrepreneurial model, however, assumes a market-orientation. The division of Science and Technology in government had made a significant capital investment in the form of equipment infrastructure and training, and Phumani Paper as the implementing agent had to try to retro-fit the project to a market model. A project that was initially created to support skills training and capacity building suddenly had to create markets for the products produced. Unfortunately, the handmade paper craft products Phumani Paper had designed were directed at a tourist market that was not competitive with comparable Chinese and Taiwanese imports.[45] To make matters worse, there was no budget allocation for marketing during the first three years of poverty alleviation funding. The expectation of economic sustainability after the second year of funding support was thus completely unrealistic.[46]

This example illustrates the fundamental contradiction between social and economic development. Hein Marais has identified this contradiction in his analysis of the ANC's neo-liberal poverty alleviation policies. He argues:

> ANC's doomed strategy led the party to dispense with an emphasis on state-led growth and social expenditure that was at the core of the Reconstruction and Development Program (RDP). The promise of the RDP was rejected in favour of the pro-business Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) program, betraying the ANC's core constituency, the working class poor. In this view, because the ANC had failed to build a sufficiently strong and disciplined popular movement, it was unable to wrest control of the economy from white capital. Instead, the ANC was forced to focus its efforts on control of the state and to appease capital. This balance of forces led the ANC to reject its initial strategy of 'growth through redistribution' as outlined in the early versions of the RDP. Instead, the ANC bent over backwards to accommodate the demands of national and global capital (Marais 1998: 284).

This analysis implies that eradicating poverty would depend on supporting conditions to achieve a just and equitable society. According to the holistic framework devised by CARE

[44] The observation of the excessively top-down approach by government is supported in a paper on "Institutional Impacts of a Livelihood Approach on Development Interventions" by Goldman, Marumo and Toner (2002):

> … following the democratic dispensation in 1994 there was a need from government to include citizens in the conception and implementation of policies and programmes that would help alleviate poverty. Nevertheless, a shift from a paternalistic to a participatory development approach has not been easy for government systems and implementing authorities. Many officials in all three tiers of government recognise the importance of active participation of communities in development interventions, but the main challenge has always been the means to that end. At national level many interventions and programmes are conceived exclusively by policy makers and top government officials, and filtered down to provinces for implementation. This is perhaps caused by an emerging trend of the central government assuming a think-tank and supervisory role to provinces (Goldman et al. 2002: 23-24).

[45] A market analysis was conducted by consultant Nicole Shaw in 2004. See document in KB Archives (PP Draw 3B: File 10).

[46] An unpublished paper "Papermaking as a Tool for Poverty Relief" Joslyn Walker (Berman and Walker 2005) explains this further. KB Archives (UJ Draw 5: File 1b).

International, this would entail: improving social positions; expanding the opportunities and options available to the poor to ensure that livelihoods are secure; improving human and material conditions; and promoting just and equitable social and government institutions that can promote and protect the rights of citizens and create a sound enabling environment (McCaston and Rewald 2004: 7).

The concept of developmental social welfare was first outlined in South Africa in the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) in 1994 and is embedded in the White Paper on Social Welfare, gazetted in February 1996 and adopted in 1997. This approach described a welfare system "which facilitates the development of human capacity and self-reliance within a caring and enabling socio-economic environment" (Department of Social Welfare 1996). In arguing for "the equitable allocation and distribution of resources," the White Paper concluded that "social development and economic development are therefore interdependent and mutually reinforcing." The guiding philosophy and ethos of the RDP and the White Paper invoke the cultural concept of ubuntu, which signals the importance of cultural norms and values, particularly the principle of caring and mutual interdependence, to the process of development. Elsewhere, in its "Agenda for Action," the policy emphasizes the need for government programs to ensure the realization of citizens' "dignity, safety and creativity."

This framework, formulated under the Mandela government, is in direct contrast to the ANC's neo-liberal Growth, Employment and Redistribution strategy, and, for that matter, to most people's experience of the government's delivery of services. As Hein Marais points out, the ANC government stopped subscribing to the RDP approach, which in many ways accounts for the reductive definitions of sustainable development in the government's poverty alleviation programs. The government's requirements for the evaluation of these programs is measurable solely in terms of economic indicators and not in terms of social gains. Its reporting formats are indicative of this focus that is entirely on economic delivery. For example, programs are required to report quantitatively on assets, (building, infrastructure, equipment), the number of small micro and medium enterprises (SMMEs) supported, income received by beneficiaries, numbers of training days, and demographics.[47] The emphasis is on statistics, not people.

An interesting systems analysis can be applied to this government's formulation of poverty alleviation, which reveals a notable absence of any substantive concern with sustainable

[47] See DST report format on their website: http://www.dst.gov.za/ and KB Archives (PP Draw 3B: Files 1 a-d).

development, or with the principles of the Reconstructive Development Programme approach outlined in the White Paper. In a systems theory approach, as defined by system theorists such as Fritjof Capra (1996), Immanuel Wallerstein (1991) and Ilya Prigogine (1984), the government reporting systems would be classified as 'Newtonian,' in that they are rationalistic, mechanistic, and are comprised of finite parts that are intended to fit together to form a whole. In this paradigm, the government's approach would aim towards a place of equilibrium. Yet, according to open systems theory, equilibrium is the place where things die. They are no longer in dynamic imbalance. Equilibrium maintains the status quo and looks for a formula to achieve replication of its parts (Capra 1996: 48). Phumani Paper's development program in many ways fought against this rationalistic approach. Rather, Phumani Paper resembled a 'chaotic model',[48] that was dynamic, innovative, creative, and unpredictable. This was the necessary result of meaningful response to the challenge in the various White Papers that call for social justice, human rights, transparency, and accountability.

If one accepts the description of communities as open, complex and fluid systems, then they are dynamic, continually contested and always in a process of mutual accommodation. The concept of open systems arguably is contrary to the traditional mode of development, which is top-down; instead, development is understood as a process of self-understanding, "the way the community explains itself to itself." The result of self-understanding is that "the culture of apathy is heavily disabled" (Douglas 2004: 88).

The White Paper on Social Welfare (1996) was developed in a context of general optimism about the ability of the state to lead a process of transformation, and faith in the democratic process. Indeed, the notion of 'partnership' between state and civil society runs through the entire policy. 'Partnerships' also signalled the start of a process of 'outsourcing' some aspects of the delivery of key services (Hassim 2006: 11). I would argue with Hassim (2006) that in spite of this ideology, the increasing centralization of macroeconomic decision-making undermined the assumptions of consultative, participatory decision-making assumed by the White Paper. In the case of Phumani, this manifested as micro-management directives from government that required the implementing agencies to bypass the consultative participatory decision-making with community groups. Examples include the requirement imposed by DST to register community units as legal enterprises, and the requirement to take over the failed CSIR projects and convert them into papermaking enterprises, in order to qualify for continued funding. In the following section I examine the government directive forcing a

[48] This reference to chaos theory pertains particularly to the underlying notion that small occurrences significantly affect the outcomes of seemingly unrelated events.

merger of the CSIR projects with Phumani Paper as a case study in order to illustrate my analysis.

CSIR Case study

Managing Phumani Paper at times required responding to one crisis after another, and most often, creativity and improvisation became the only processes available for problem solving. One of the more significant problems was Phumani Paper's forced partnership with the CSIR. This was fraught with, mistrust, competitiveness, and at times and harmful relationships. I analyse this case study here in order to reveal how government, in some instances, has overlooked the needs of the community stakeholders who should be regarded as the primary beneficiaries, and therefore, in my opinion has failed to achieve its stated goal of poverty alleviation.

The Science and Technology Division of DACST awarded three research institutions poverty relief funding in 2000: The CSIR (Council for Scientific and Industrial Research) R25 million, ARC (Agricultural Research Council) R7 million, and the Technikon Witwatersrand (now University of Johannesburg) R3 million. The Research Councils, both parastatal organizations, were in the process of institutional transformation required by the new political dispensation. All three were previously Afrikaans National Party-allied institutions that had undertaken research allied to the interests of upholding the apartheid government. The fundamentally conservative researchers in the scientific and engineering fields in these institutions had, it appeared, no prior experience with community development. Delivery was therefore extremely poor. For example, while the PPRP delivered 460 jobs and 21 projects in its first year in order to qualify for continued funding, the CSIR and ARC established fewer than ten projects with a larger budget.

Furthermore, inexperienced young black project managers were hired and were encouraged to collaborate with Phumani Paper. Three years into the program Phumani Paper discovered that, as the agricultural and textile beneficiation projects had been unsuccessful, the CSIR had bought a paper beater from Phumani Paper's engineer, Antonio Moreno, and had used their allocation of equipment funding to pay their in-house engineers to replicate nine more machines at four times the scale (Figure 36). They then tried to replicate Phumani Paper's papermaking equipment such as presses, vats and blankets, and subsequently delivered this equipment, which had not been requested, to the nine national sites where the Department of Agriculture was funding agri-processing projects. However, the CSIR's over-enlarged equipment did not function, and some of the sites had no electricity, making the beaters

redundant. I perceived other aspects of their reporting on financial management as similarly misguided. For example, rental for workshop space was, in some cases, paid for three years in advance. Community salaries were also paid upfront to members, but there was insufficient training for the groups to operate (Figures 39-41).

Furthermore, members from the agricultural co-operatives at Madikwe in the North West Province, Richards Bay in KwaZulu-Natal, Chloe Sisal in Limpopo and Sodwana Bay crafters in KwaZulu-Natal, were flown to the Eastern Cape and accommodated in a hotel for two weeks to attend training at the CSIR headquarters in East London. In this way, the annual budget was spent on training and travel. The groups were then flown back to the sites and required to start their own projects. However, they not only had insufficient experience, but also lacked some critical equipment such as papermaking moulds and screens. The trainers employed by the CSIR to set up papermaking at their headquarters were two assistants trained by Durant Sihlali at Amakondo Paper Studio in Johannesburg (Figure 42). They were offered lucrative full-time salaries and accommodation, and they and their families were relocated to the Eastern Cape. Because the Moreno Hollander Beater had been patented, we requested that the royalties of the CSIR copied design be acknowledged and paid for. Ultimately Phumani Paper did receive a provision for some compensation which was included in the subsequent mediation process and the agreements that followed.[49]

My letter of complaint about the misappropriation of the papermaking technology that the CSIR had used to produce evidence of job creation finally resulted in the suspension of all the CSIR paper projects. Phumani Paper was then directed to take over the nine projects and turn them into sustainable businesses. This directive was the condition for any continued funding for Phumani Paper from the DST. We agreed to undertake a feasibility study, and consultant researcher Joslyn Walker (formally Walters) was contracted to write an assessment of the nine groups.[50] Her report concluded that five groups had potential; the remaining four she described as liabilities.[51] Inexplicably, Phumani Paper's annual budget from DST was reduced the following year by 30%, despite the additional burden of five new

[49] See correspondence and letters submitted to the CSIR and DST. KB Archives (PP Draw 3B: File 5). Documents include: Non Disclosure Agreement between DACT and the CSIR and the TWR Relating to Future Collaboration between the Parties: For example Clause 1.5 states: "Without derogating from the generality of paragraph 4 above, it is the intention of the Parties that a collaboration agreement be entered into and concluded by the parties in order to establish and develop sustainable, hand paper making poverty relief programs utilising the funding provided by DACST, resources, know-how and expertise of the CSIR and proprietary information and technology of TWR".

[50] See this feasibility study report, KB Archives (PP Draw 3B: Files 11 and 2b).

[51] The compromise recommended by the due diligence report for taking over five projects out of nine was negotiated by the Dean of Research at the University of Johannesburg and agreed to by the chief directorate at DST.

projects on the already overstretched staff members. For their part, the CSIR groups expected to receive the substantial monthly salaries they had enjoyed previously. The CSIR/Phumani Paper handover due diligence agreement failed to address the concerns of the members of CSIR projects, and enormous energy was expended by Phumani Paper staff in winning the trust of these communities. Three of the five groups are still operating as supply units for the Archive Mill and Phumani Paper. I argue that it should not be the role of development projects to compensate for government's lack of delivery. Rather, government should be made accountable to the constituencies it serves. The irony in this case is that the government continues to fund the CSIR for poverty alleviation programming. During the first three years of funding for the poverty alleviation programs, government officials failed to do site visits, other than media launches. However in the third year of review, I personally accompanied the Deputy Minister Hanekom on two site visits in KwaZulu-Natal to two CSIR projects. The delegation found expensive unused equipment at one bakery and two employees who were paid a salary by the CSIR to run the project. Another site in Richards Bay had equipment but no electricity and no active members (Figure 45). The Phumani site by contrast, was fully functional and had thirteen participants (Figure 15a). Another possible reason for the continued funding is the close relationship between the DST and the CSIR: the CSIR currently houses the Ministry of Science and Technology on their campus and the reporting lines and agendas of the two agencies remain indistinct.

What conclusions or lessons can be drawn from this case study? According to Meintjies and Pieterse, *"*Transgression is the practice of creativity among restraints, and development practice is the art of creative transgression*"* (Meintjies and Pieterse 2004: 11). Both the CSIR and Phumani Paper found different and perhaps creative ways to spend and deliver on government funding. For some of the CSIR's projects, I argue that the delivery looks impressive on paper, yet there is little evidence on the ground of sustainable livelihoods.

How is it possible to resist the technocratic and managerial approach of government to sustainable development and instead focus efforts on building values and relationships? Government reporting standards are inconsistent and confusing. Firstly, the information requested does not in any way assess delivery. A primary concern of government, in my experience, is quantitative reporting on numbers of jobs, assets, training, and funds spent in that category. Second, government officials rarely check delivery during the project. They conduct very few site visits or round table discussions on shared lessons or exchanging

useful practice.[52] This is counter to the participatory and consultative practice core to the methodology of Phumani Paper. Third, government administration of this program is top-down and non-dialogical. The Ministry must report to the National Treasury on a spent budget, whether or not that budget was properly or adequately spent. The reporting standards in my view facilitate corruption. The many times that resources are wasted are unacceptable, particularly as so many requests for increased development funding for poverty alleviation are ignored by powerful bureaucratic officials.

In order to reverse the entrenching of power imbalances that measure sustainable development by quantitative profit margins, I would argue for participative and consultative processes that share best practice among stakeholders. Perhaps greater exchange of lessons learnt would initiate a process to introduce project assessment and monitoring that promote ethical values and serve the public good. According to a policy advisor to the Department of Arts and Culture, Joseph Gaylard:

> There appears to be an absence of sustained monitoring, evaluation and public reporting on projects – there appear to be no published statistics available on the outputs of the funding programme against its stated goals/objectives. Sometimes there are anecdotal references to projects in budget speeches, but it is very unclear where this data comes from and how it has been obtained – there is no basis for verification (Authors interview, 1 November 2008).[53]

The experience of Phumani Paper can share a model of participatory practice as a methodology for service providers of poverty alleviation programs. Opportunities for collaboration and partnerships could counter some of the corrupt and destructive values that ocasionally are exhibited by government officials. In a report on the Evaluation of Government's Poverty Reduction Programme (October 2007) published by the Public Service Commission, the findings of the income-generating projects (IGPs) state:

> Income generating projects have acquired a bad name in South Africa. This is evident for example in the attitudes of senior government officials, as well as the shift away from conventional project support. Awkwardly, there is no clear blueprint for what constitutes a good IGP, or formulae that government can follow when trying to create or support them. There are, however, elements of best and worst practice that could be more effectively shared. The likelihood is that IGPs still have a valuable role to play, perhaps preferably as elements of pro-poor LED [Local Economic Development] strategies rather than stand-alone initiatives (October 2007: 55).

[52] In the period of four years, there was one round table discussion that consulted all service providers held at a conference venue, and two briefings on reporting requirements. Minutes of DST workshop KB Archives (PP Draw 3B: File 15).
[53] See email interview with Joseph Gaylard, KB Archive (FF Draw 6: File 1a).

These observations by the Public Service Commission support my own experience of the Department of Science and Technology officials' willingness to write off income-generating projects as failures and not entertain shared best-practice or feedback by implementing agents.

Delivery: A question of poverty alleviation or reporting?

In 2004 I submitted a report to the DST summarizing the 'deliverables' provided by Phumani Paper.[54] The report stressed the positive achievements, using the bureaucratic language required by the government, but was also clear about the challenges facing the program:

> Phumani Paper is proud of its success rate in sustaining the development of 90% of its projects originally initiated, as well as the significant expansion of the handmade paper as an industry. All of the Phumani Paper units are finding a market for survival. The challenge is to expand the market base to enable units to have a profitable monthly turnover. The total income from sales for the year 2003/4 exceeds R1 million[55]. This is a remarkable achievement in the light of the fact that there has been a minimal budget allocated to a dedicated marketing function (Berman and Walker 2004: phase report: 1).

The report listed both the research and the poverty alleviation outcomes. Research outcomes included: six NRF fellowship awards for MTechs and another six NRF fellowship awards for BTech students; the establishment of the Papermaking Research and Development unit at the Technikon Witwatersrand; a technology patent for the Moreno Hollander Duplex beater; and the international exchanges described in Chapter Five.[56] Building onto these research outcomes, my master's student graduates – Coppes (2003), Tshabalala (2005) and Marshall (2003) – developed the first South African qualification in hand-papermaking in 2003. Phumani Paper was accepted as a pilot training provider for CREATE SA, and a Training Provider under the MAPPP Seta to offer SAQA-accredited skills training for Level NQF2.[57] This subsequently developed into an NQFLevel 4 Master papermaking qualification in archival paper in 2007. Over 120 papermakers have received accredited training to date.[58]

[54] See Berman and Walker (2004) KB Archives (UJ Draw 5: File 1c). The phase report to DST of deliverables from 2000-2004 indicated a range of outcomes. This report is available in KB Archives (Draw 3B: File 2b).
[55] This is due to the WSSD and subsidised orders from groups to replace community wages, and not profit from sales
[56] See KB PP Archives Reports, registration of patent KB Archives (UJ Draw 5: File:7).
[57] CREATE SA was the agent for the Sector A Qualifications Authority for the Cultural Industries. It was subsequently absorbed into the MAPPP SETA: Media, Advertising, Print and Paper Sector Training Authority. The qualifications are Skills Level NQF2 and NQF4. KB Archives (PP Draw 3A: File 12, 13, 14).
[58] KBPP Archives SAQA Learnership documents and accredited training manual and curriculum.

Poverty relief achievements in the field included: the creation of 460 jobs in the first two years, R450 per month was paid to each project participant in the form of what government described as 'community wages'; the sustaining of 22 units and over 280 jobs after three years, (the numbers of project participants dropped in the third year with the ending of the subsidized wages, as income was determined by production output); and technology transfer and training programs in papermaking nationally for over 1 000 people through pre-project outreach workshops. It was from this broad training outreach that 460-500 people were selected to become project members. The resources Phumani Paper developed included a business and skills training manual disseminated to projects to further their own abilities; the creation and market testing of over 30 products; the establishment of a national management team for Phumani Paper, providing support in administration, training, product development and management; the establishment of a variety of strategic government, industry, education and community partnerships to further link the projects to a more global industry; the procurement of some significant, if short-term, market clients;[59] and training in bookkeeping, record keeping, quality control, stocktaking, costing and pricing, production planning, marketing and sales over the first two years that prepared participants to understand issues of ownership and accountability.[60]

Finally the 2004 Phase Report summarized the creation of infrastructure. This included the construction of three new papermaking workshops at Elim, in far northern Limpopo, Mdantsane in the Eastern Cape, and Ivory Park in Gauteng, as well as structural adjustments to existing buildings, such as upgrading business premises and making working areas suitable for papermaking in Phumani Paper sites in KwaZulu-Natal, Gauteng, North West Province, Free State and the Western Cape.

The challenges outlined in the 2004 Phase Report included the requirement imposed by DST for the TWR to 'take over' all non-functioning CSIR papermaking projects, with little or no consultation with the respective groups. Further, the 25% reduced budget for the fourth year was to be spent on training, equipment and infrastructure for the five new projects, with reduced support to the original units, who badly needed funding for their required transition to profitable enterprises. Another significant challenge included the months-long delays in receiving funding allocations: because the projects had to manage for long periods of time without receiving community wages and operational support, Phumani Paper experienced an

[59] For example UNICEF, WSSD, Woolworths, and Body Shop (see Sales Strategy 2002-4 which also explains the nature and challenges of the short-term contracts) KB Archives (PP Draw 3B: File 10).
[60] The following documents are available in the KB Archives ref. Business Training Manual, training product development templates, sales catalogues, national project records. (PP Draw 3A: Files 1-2, 10, 11).

additional 20% dropout rate of members in the isolated rural units. Finally, the sites located in extreme poverty nodes had no means of taking their products to market.

The biggest challenge, however, was the requirement for each unit to register as a legal entity, and to transform from a poverty relief project to a business enterprise. My conclusion to the Phase Report attempted to challenge this bottom-line approach to 'sustainable development':

> DST has used the bottom line monthly income of participants as a measure of economic sustainability. While this is an important criterion it has been found that the lifestyle and social circumstances of poverty reduction has occurred equally in groups earning R400 per month in rural poverty nodes in the Free State and North West as the participants earning R1 200 per month in the urban centres (Western Cape and Gauteng). This has led to the understanding that it would not be appropriate to reduce support to the weaker units and only pump resources into the units with exposure to marketing and sales resources (Berman and Walker 2004).

Following this report, the DST allocated one additional year of funding support. A small marketing budget was finally included that permitted the printing of brochures, signage, and the development of a website. However, the government's program requirements were extremely cumbersome and not conducive to facilitating a sustainable livelihoods approach. With no full-time program manager due to reduced funding, the modus operandi was reduced to crisis management. However, the relationship of Phumani Paper to the University of Johannesburg made it possible for me to be seconded to the position of Director of Phumani Paper, as I received a salary in my capacity as a full-time lecturer. In this way the organization incurred no financial liability for my leadership. However, as little adjustment was made to my workload at the former TWR, this arrangement proved to be unsustainable. The units with access to tourist markets managed to sustain a monthly income for their members, but the poorer rural groups relied on orders from the Phumani national office, which unfortunately was unable to secure sufficient sales for project members to maintain a basic income.

The case of Twanano in Ivory Park will clarify the general observations in the Phase Report, and serve to exemplify the attributes of what I consider to be a sustainable enterprise. Twanano is situated in Ivory Park, an informal settlement situated near Midrand, about sixty kilometres north of Johannesburg. Phumani Paper identified Ivory Park as a suitable site, as the project would be able to partner with Eco-Cities, an environmental program dedicated to conservation and recycling, by linking with the Twanano Recycling Co-operative. Because the participants came from an informal settlement, the group was not culturally cohesive. However, the link with Eco-Cities provided the unemployed with options of working on

recycling, construction or papermaking. Therefore, each sub-group was self-selected according to interest, and this enabling of choice provided an important foundation for future sustainability. This deepened the agency of the group and by comparison to other projects, they were less dependent on Phumani Paper Head Office (Figures 43-45).

There were many challenges. For example, when it was initiated in 2000, the site provided by the municipality for building a papermaking workshop lacked electricity, and water was available only from a shared tap some distance away. Funding from the local public works program enabled the people who chose construction to lay the foundations and dig the drains for the water pipes for the workshop and office. A year after the building was complete, it was connected to water and electricity, and the group members met with the local municipality to obtain the lease and water agreements. In addition, the twenty-member project developed a constitution, elected office bearers, and opened a bank account with accountable signatories. The Twanano group members were trained in basic computer skills and report writing, and acquired a second-hand computer and office supplies. After the second year, in 2002, they were connected to a phone and fax. The unit installed equipment, designed a working space, and attended training courses in business skills. As they had no electricity for the first year, they were initially trained in making paper using the eastern method of hand-beating plant fibre to mix with recycled paper waste (Figure 43b). Caroline Mashiane's story, described in her own statements and narratives reflects this growth from project member to leader to Phumani Paper's national production coordinator over eight years (See Chapter Six, Figure 3, Photovoice story).

At that time, Master's student Mandy Coppes was conducting her research into papermaking with invasive vegetation in partnership with the Working for Water campaign. At Ivory Park she discovered a proliferation of milkweed around many of the informal settlements, and designed a means for processing the fibre into exquisite Japanese-style lace papers. The method of stripping the weed was highly labour-intensive, and the group was able to employ a number of youth and elderly people to assist with the task. After completing their paper and product- making training, the members produced attractive papers, boxes and journals which were showcased at the World Summit on Sustainable Development in 2002 (Figure 20c). It is important not to underestimate the pride the group took in its creative abilities, and the significance their new sense of self-worth had in maintaining cohesiveness and productivity. As Pieterse comments:

> Why do concerns about pleasure, beauty, risk and aesthetics feature so low on our list of concerns, if at all? Why do we prefer to operate at the level of abstracted generalization about poverty, unemployment, inequality, violence and not at the pain-filled emotional landscapes of denial, fear, rejection,

> degradation and so on? .... I fear that in the development universe it is still too tied to the mechanical application of wooden methodological tools. Instead, a radical confrontation with the complex richness of the 'everyday' is imperative. Artists and cultural agents can play a major role in instigating a respect and appropriate appreciation for the agency and complexity of lifeworlds of the 'poor' or marginalized (Pieterse 2004: 342-3).

As the group gained more confidence in their skills and knowledge, they selected members to receive further training in managing the pricing and orders. They visited shopping centres in urban areas, attended trade fairs and markets, and identified local clients. They wrote monthly reports, kept attendance registers and learnt to grade their products in terms of quality, and package them for delivery. They also hosted tourists, offered workshops for schoolchildren, improved the presentation of their venue, developed signage, and travelled to other Phumani projects to exchange training skills.

At Twanano the goals of capacity building and empowerment were achieved. The participants were able to meet the basic needs of the project after the withdrawal of government support. The income from sales paid for their monthly allowance, utilities (water, electricity), and also enabled secondary jobs to be created, including day care for the children, bark strippers, cooks, recycled waste-collectors and other suppliers of support services.

Group members were able to train others in the use of machinery – the Hollander beaters and hydraulic presses, as well as manufacturing papers with hand methods such as pestle and mortar or batons to grind and beat cooked plant fibre. Their skills in building and expanding the infrastructure as well as their increased income also led to their improving their home living environments as well. Finally, their acquisition of cell phones was seen as a symbol of their improved standing in their community.

For all of the above reasons, this group has survived as a craft-based enterprise. As the business expanded, the original coordinator of the project, David Tshabalala, developed new products from cast paper, 'Phumani Pets,' which have enjoyed a broad and consistent market[61] (Figure 45). Naresh Singh, principal advisor of the Poverty and Sustainable Livelihoods Bureau for Development Policy, United Nations Development Program (UNDP), argues that sustainability is a key indicator of success in development projects. In *Sustainable Livelihoods,* he sets out the conditions that must be met for sustainability; among

[61] See Phumani website: http://www.phumanipaper.org.za/ for profile and images of Twanano.

them economic efficiency, social equity, ecological integrity, and resilience (Helmore and Singh 2001: 89). After eight years, Twanano supports fourteen people, and each is able to earn a basic monthly salary and generate savings for their business.

Sustainability or Dependency: the Challenge of Phumani Paper

The descriptions of the projects provided above demonstrate that Phumani Paper has experienced both remarkable successes and discouraging failures in achieving its developmental goals. Some of the disequilibrium and incongruities of its complex cycle offer lessons for a more sustainable approach to community engagement. This section summarizes the innovative practices that were introduced, and asks a number of questions that result from a cultural and artistic approach to a development intervention.

To reiterate, the conditions for sustainability as identified by Singh are: "economic efficiency, social equity, ecological integrity, and resilience." In addition, Singh argues that: "sustainable development must be intersectoral, interlevel and participatory." And finally, that "governments should be encouraged to deal with people and communities rather than with numbers, aggregates and abstractions" (Helmore and Singh 2001: 71). This definition supports the argument presented here that sustainability depends upon a recognition of the interdependence between economic, social and environmental measures, and I argue that an effective mode of achieving this involves creativity. The ability to innovate, as well as the pride and sense of accomplishment associated with the transformation of weeds and waste paper into attractive products became the mode of achieving this recognition of establishing a sustainable enterprise.

A key question in relation to Phumani Paper's poverty alleviation goal is the question of dependency, a subject of debate within the government and the development community.[62] South Africa has a large number of social protection policies, such as pension welfare grants, disability grants, child grants, social security, and free health care for women and children. The discourse of the state is that "we will provide," but it is unable to fulfil its promises to the poor. Recently sectors of government have argued that social welfare for the poor may have the tendency to encourage lazy dependent people.[63] This is a Thatcherite, neo-liberal

[62] The issue of dependency is discussed by (Habib (2008) Swilling (2008) Ballard et al.(2006).among others.
[63] Fraser-Moleketi herself accused poor people of not doing enough: "communities had to change the thinking of those who held out their hands for help but kept their sleeves down, a sign that they were not willing to work." (quoted by Hassim (2006: 17); Andre Koopman, "Poor urged to roll up their sleeves" (*Cape Times*, 25 May 1999). Up to 60% of the poor – mainly those between the ages of fourteen and sixty – are not getting any social security at all. Lund estimates that 11.8 million of the poorest 23.8 million South Africans live in households that receive no social assistance (Francie Lund 2004).

argument. Nevertheless, even some ANC women MPs took a conservative view of welfare as reinforcing a 'culture of entitlement,' with welfare grants seen as handouts that reinforced dependency on the state. As one Member of Parliament argued, "women should look at developing themselves." [64] For example there are perceptions among some, especially in the South African National Treasury Department, that social grants creates a dependency syndrome that inhibits innovation and entrepreneurship (Habib 2008: 38). Mandla Seleoane (2008) demonstrates clearly in his case studies of resource flows in poor communities that social grants are absolutely crucial for the survival of poor and marginalized communities especially in rural areas (Seleoane 2008: 154).

In contrast, the experiences in Phumani Paper suggest that people, especially women, who do receive social grants have the necessary stability and mobility to enable other positive choices. Participants who have remained in the Phumani Paper projects for up to seven or eight years often receive grants that allow them the security to invest time in other activities. This increased mobility as a result of access to social grants emerged as an outcome of the impact assessment conducted by Lilo du Toit, which will be referred to in Chapter Six (du Toit 2008b: 12). The debate over the value of social grants is being vigorously argued.[65]

However, as Hassim suggests, although the transition to democracy has led to the elaboration of a wide-ranging set of civil, political and social rights, the gendered patterns of poverty and inequality have not been significantly reduced:

> Unless the basis of entitlements changes in ways that recognize women's entitlements as citizenship rights, poor women will continue to be excluded from the system of social entitlements. Equally importantly, unless the increased representation includes debate and activism about the meanings of gender equality in the South African context, the likelihood is that parity in representation will increase the access of women elites rather than have the outcome of increased gender equality (Hassim 2006: 25).

Poverty alleviation is central to development, but considering the negative attitudes towards social welfare emerging within government, it becomes necessary to return to a fundamental definition of poverty. Appadurai links poverty to inequality and deprivation:

> Poverty is many things, all of them bad. It is material deprivation and desperation. It is lack of security and dignity. It is exposure to risk and high costs for thin comforts. It is inequality materialized. It diminishes its victims. It is also the situation of far too many people in the world ….They [the poor] are survivors. And what they often seek strategically (even without a theory to

[64] Member of Parliament, referenced above.

[65] Cape Town Book Fair event, 14 June, Panel Discussion – "Are social grants creating a culture of dependency in South Africa?" F Lund: Changing Social Policy: The child support grant in South Africa (HSRC Press). Noble, Ntshongwana and Surender (2008) in their paper: "Attitudes to work and social security in South Africa" probe the importance of work and the relationship between social grants and employment. The findings demonstrate a strong attachment to the labour market among the unemployed, support for more financial assistance for poor people including those who are unable to find work, and no evidence that social grants in South Africa foster a 'dependency culture'.

> dress it up) is to optimize the terms of trade between recognition and redistribution in their immediate, local lives *(*Appadurai 2004: 64-65).

Redistribution is arguably the job of government. In his recent book, *Giving and Solidarity*, Adam Habib argues that:

> The state is without a doubt the primary agency through which poverty alleviation and development can be enabled …. Its exclusive control over the legislative and policy arenas and its command over significant fiscal resources, ensure that it can either make or break a human-centered development agenda (Habib and Maharaj 2008: 18).

However, Habib's research also finds that despite the rising levels of state expenditure on social and economic services, coupled to ambitious institutional projects to mobilize resources for development, poverty has increased between 1995 and 2002 (Swilling et al. 2008: 282). Arguably, the problem lies with government inefficiency and, not infrequently, incompetence:

> It follows, therefore, that spending more via dysfunctional institutions could result in qualitatively poorer outcomes than spending less via more functional institutions. The ideal is spending more via institutions that are staffed by people who understand the meaning of 'deep development' and are allowed to operate according to procedures that are functional and effective (Swilling et al. 2008: 284).

According to political analysts such as Habib (2006, 2008) Swilling (2008) and Ballard et al. (2006) a socially responsible state and political regime is a fundamental necessity in addressing poverty and underdevelopment. Failure in the struggle to transform the philosophical parameters of governance and development "would lead to a society spiralling towards human disaster" (Habib 2006: s.p.). If government is to become accountable, marginalized citizens must have voice and leverage so that political elites are conditioned to become responsive to their interests (Ballard et al. 2006).

According to the committee of inquiry into a comprehensive system of social security for South Africa (RSA 2002), between 20 and 28 million South Africans live in poverty. With the exception of Gauteng and Western Cape, over half the population in all provinces live in poverty. In Eastern Cape and Limpopo an average of three out of four people live in poverty, that is, 70% of people in rural areas compared to about 30% in urban areas. The statistics referred to as a measurement of the scale of poverty derive from an income-based definition of poverty. According to Swilling:

> The traditional approach to development interventions such as simply spending money to provide for 'basic needs' does tend to obscure the complex and largely unquantifiable relationship between poverty and the capacity of individuals and communities to actively understand, access and use resources aimed at extracting them from the poverty trap. Unless

> spending is coupled to processes that gradually build the intellectual, psychological, cultural, organizational and technical capacity of the 'beneficiaries', development in general and poverty reduction in particular will be an unlikely outcome.(Swilling et al in Habib (ed) 2008: 288).

In contrast to the 'basic needs' approach, Swilling endorses the 'empowerment' approach that NGOs have been promulgating for decades and to which this thesis subscribes. Phumani Paper adopted the empowerment approach, using creativity and aspiration as means to achieve poverty alleviation, and considering training and capacity building as a major objective. The longer-term aim was for rural groups to establish viable markets for their products. Ultimately, training and the transfer of technology and skills have proved to be more significant than income generation in sustaining the projects overall.

Amartya Sen claims that any theory of poverty should be rooted in a theory of society and culture, and he emphasizes the importance of freedom of choice: more choice is richer and less choice is poorer. Hence the enabling environment is the crucial factor in the individual's escape from poverty (Sen 1999). As described above, Phumani Paper's training and capacity development did foster an enabling environment, as the case study of Twanano demonstrates. Unfortunately, the government reporting systems do not allow for the evaluation of the 'softer' factors of empowerment, such as 'choice' or 'enabling environments.' Its single bottom line is income-generation.

When *Development as Freedom* was published in 1999, Sen's definition of poverty caused major shifts in development thinking, and set the stage for the development of the 'household livelihood security framework' by Sen. According to this framework, poverty is viewed as a matter of capability deprivation. "Poverty must be seen as the deprivation of basic capabilities [and freedoms], rather than merely as lowness of income, which is the standard criterion of identification of poverty" (Sen 1999). These deprivations involve disadvantages resulting from handicap, gender, age, race or caste/class, or any other means of marginalization. Sen identifies the five 'freedoms' that are the prerequisites for addressing these deprivations: 1) political freedoms, 2) economic opportunities, 3) social opportunities, 4) transparency guarantees, and 5) protective security. His analysis rejects the previous development focus on monetary income as the predominant measure of poverty and well-being.

Sen's unifying framework has been adopted by CARE International, a development organization working extensively in South Africa.[66] It promotes a holistic understanding of the multidimensional processes of impoverishment and disempowerment, and entails the following key features that have provided the framework for Phumani Paper's projects. CARE's framework is defined in the following ways:

- focuses on the importance of human capabilities for expanding opportunities for access, wealth and asset accumulation, and ultimately livelihood security
- views poverty as not only an economic process, but also as social and political process that involves power relations
- views poverty not just as material deprivation but also as social marginalization
- highlights inequality as a critical factor contributing to impoverishment, and the interactions between various forms of inequality: gender, caste, class, ethnicity, race.
- highlights the importance of institutions and institutional processes and their role in positive and equitable social change
- links micro to macro factors, and highlights interactions among these levels
- highlights the importance of the private sector social accountability
- highlights the importance of the international arena as a critical component of poverty production and eradication
- highlights the importance of civic action and social mobilization for social change (CARE 2004: 22).

In sum, putting people at the centre of development is what this understanding of poverty alleviation emphasizes. Further, this understanding of empowerment leading to agency formed the basis of proposing a further intervention on HIV/AIDS action to the Ford Foundation that will be discussed in Chapter Six.

Nonetheless, the bottom line remains significant. With very disappointing margins of income generation from the majority of the Phumani Paper groups, I must ask a basic question: Is making paper a viable activity in South Africa? The establishment of a new product or industry should be a response to market needs. Although handmade paper has no indigenous history in South Africa, it is closely tied to the cultural industries' goal of using waste products to produce labour-intensive aesthetic objects for a tourist market (DACST 1998: 2). Making handmade paper also met the challenge of establishing a new technology

[66] See website for further information (http://www.care-international.org/).

appropriate to rural development. However, we did not at the outset determine how broad the market for handmade paper is, and how many small businesses it could sustain.

The role that government takes as a donor agency, when there is no intermediary, is oftentimes fraught with unequal power relations and poor consultation processes, as the role of donor and current ideology becomes conflictual.[67] The record of government's cultural industries strategy is poor.[68] The most recent policy paper on the DAC website is a 1998 document that has a similar ideology and recommendations as the White Paper on the Cultural Industries Growth Strategy. There is no current policy articulated in the public domain. The Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology (DACST) launched the first study into the creative industries in South Africa in 1997. A year later, a report – "Creative South Africa: a strategy for realizing the potential of the Cultural Industries" – was produced, aimed mainly at national government in order to "make the case that a flourishing cultural industry sector in South Africa will become a powerful means of defining South Africa's distinctiveness and growth within the emerging global economy" (DACST 1998: 1).[69]

The Cultural Industries Growth Strategy (CIGS) to which the report gave rise, focused on "those sectors that [the compilers of the strategy] believe are already sufficiently organized or have the 'critical mass' to potentially grow, export and create employment" (DACST 1998: 1). A subsequent paper, "Creative Industry Analysis Framework: The Creative Industries in South Africa: Status and Potential," commissioned by DTI in 2004, expands on these findings.[70] The authors (unknown) identify key challenges facing the sector that I would argue have not been addressed by DAC, although they are incorporated in the Department of Trade and Industry's Sector Development Strategy published in 2004 (DTI 2004: 17).

[67] According to Sabina Alkire (2004) unequal power relationships between donor organizations and their clients can result in policies that reflect the donor's domination of the interaction, with policies that reflect the careless application of current ideological fads rather than negotiations under equal terms of engagement.
[68] Documents available: Creative South Africa: A strategy for realising the potential of the Cultural Industries (DACST, 1998, DAC website, Cultural Industries Growth Strategy Report (DACST, 1998), Craft 2001: A strategy to develop the South African Craft Industry, (DACST, 2001) Draft; never formally adopted (email) Sector Development Strategy and Plan, 2004-2008, Workshop Report (DTI 2004), CSP Local & Global Industry Analysis (DTI December 2004). Draft; email. Minutes of meetings of portfolio committees that represent very interesting (if not worrying) policy statements on the state of Arts and Crafts can be viewed on the Parliamentary minutes websites: http://www.pmg.org.za Examples include National Arts Council; Freedom Parks Trust: Annual Reports <http://www.pmg.org.za/viewminute.php?id=6591> as at 25 October 2005.
[69] Cultural Industries Growth Strategy Report, DACST, 1998. KB Archives (UJ Draw 5: File 9; DACST Report; File 15).
[70] Sent to me by email from Erica Elk, Cape Craft Design Institute, 2005: KB Archives (UJ Draw 5: File 9). For challenges facing the development of the creative industries which are listed in the document "Creative Industry Analysis Framework: The Creative Industries in South Africa: Status and Potential," (2004: 19) reference as above (UJ Draw 5: File 9).

The Department of Trade and Industry (DTI) strategy identifies seven substantive problems. Amongst these are: lack of coordination, information dissemination and a common vision in the sector; lack of reliable national sector profile data and up-to-date market intelligence; weak skills base on the manufacturing enterprise side impacting on product supply to markets; high and uncompetitive product price due to high input costs and production inefficiencies; and lack of a common marketing strategy and poor co-ordination along the value chain (2004: 24).

The DTI defines an "enabling environment," quite differently from Sen or Swilling. It consists of the coordination and alignment of all spheres of government – to ensure consolidation of strategic frameworks and programs, research and information gathering to inform strategic decision making, and policy, legislation, tariffs and incentives – to unlock blockages along the value chain (2004: 17).[71] This administrative approach is clearly top-down and does not recognize the value of empowerment, but at least the guidelines are clear, and they may have aided in the implementation of Phumani Paper and other creative industry programs had they been adopted. These documents were submitted to DAC in May 2005, but there is no indication that the Department has adopted the strategy the documents put forward.[72]

There are a number of possible explanations for government actions that place undue pressure on the programs it initiates. First, government employees and civil servants are in stable and guaranteed employment. They do not understand personal risk, or the internal contradictions that define 'self-creation' in community development. Consequences are not tracked, and the emphasis is on a clean and well laid-out distribution model that appears fair and equitable on an organogram projected into a boardroom full of policymakers. Yet, this cannot be a holistic or realistic view. Government intends their role to build "a seamless path for enterprise development" and "operational and support services to improve efficiencies, and to create and service the demand for South African products," according to the DTI document (DTI 2004: 17). Yet the experience of Phumani Paper is that the failure to provide the primary markets for environmentally sustainable, poverty alleviation products, meant that the promise of a new 'cultural industry' was never fulfilled.

For example, in setting up Phumani Paper, the Ministry (DACST at that time), identified key niche markets, such as wine, jewellery and craft packaging, but did not follow through to

[71] The DTI has approved this Sector Development Strategy, which was published for general information. Foreword by the Minister Trade and Industry Mandisi Mpahlwa, MP (2004).
[72] This is confirmed by Joseph Gaylard October 2008: (Interview 1 November 2008) KB Archives (FF Draw 6: File 1a).

ensure that these markets were effectively accessed. In addition, it indicated an interest in acquiring hand-crafted paper products for gifts and for use in its own conferences, in order to showcase their investment in uplifting poverty. However, the value of government's purchases from the small enterprises from 1999 to 2008 was less than 5% of total sales. In order to ascertain the complex nature of government's failure an in-depth case study follows.

Archival Paper Production: A case of failed promises by government

The case of the Archival Paper Mill at the University of Johannesburg provides a more extended analysis of the government's failure to achieve its own objectives. In 2005/6 DAC awarded the University and Phumani Paper a grant to establish a research and development facility for the production of acid-free conservation paper and board. The pilot would have established the first Southern African archival paper mill with the capacity to produce suitable African-made archival paper for the South African National Archives. This project emerged out of a Master's Research thesis by one of my students, Bronwyn Marshall (2003), and was planned in partnership with the South African National Archives. Although the DST had ended its funding support to Phumani Paper in 2004/5, it supported the expansion of handmade paper for the heritage sector (Figure 46).

After the Archive Mill was launched by the Deputy Minister of DAC in November 2005 at the University of Johannesburg, Phumani Paper was encouraged to apply to DAC's Investing in Culture and Heritage Division for the expansion of this new industry as a flagship project. Government identified the necessity of producing "proudly South African paper" to supply national archives and heritage institutions throughout the African continent, for purposes such as the restoration of ancient manuscripts in Timbuktu, Mali. Millions of rands are spent each year importing specialist material from the United States, Japan and Europe – money that could rather be used to create jobs and expand the handmade paper industry (Marshall 2003). In his budget speech of February 2006, the Finance Minister announced an allocation of R9 million for the development of archival paper.[73] The plan was to convert some of Phumani Paper's existing enterprises into specialist archival paper and board producers. A three-year business plan was developed in partnership with the Director of the National Archives, who had championed this project. A grant agreement was provisionally awarded in April 2006 with a range of requirements, among them that the roll-out be implemented in each of the nine provinces. I had submitted a proposal that called for a phased approach, building on the capacities of the existing mills and their various levels of sustainability.

[73] DAC website: http://www.dac.gov.za/speeches/minister/Speech2June06.htm and KB Archives (PP Draw 3B: File 6).

However, the new government official assigned to head this project made very specific demands in order to match the national strategic objectives to support heritage development in places like the Northern and Eastern Cape. Her mandate then, was to construct nine new archival paper mills, one in each province.

No feasibility study was done to determine whether there was a need for nine plants in the locations identified. I wrote several letters to the Directors of the National Archives and Investing in Culture, in which I pointed out that the United States has fewer than five archival paper mills to service the needs of their massive art market (Marshall and Berman 2008: 7). As Phumani had been struggling to build a market to sustain the existing papermaking units, we recommended that we expand slowly in accordance with market demand. The directorate was adamant in its position, which was to apply the same approach used by DST in 2000: to roll out as many projects nationally as fast as possible in order to create jobs. As the DST experience shows, while such funding may create the required number of jobs in the first year, this was only possible because those jobs were funded, and subsequently many would be lost. Further, the placement of the mills would not necessarily draw on the expertise and skill that had been developed in Phumani Paper over the previous seven years. However, DAC's primary objective was to respond to the perceived need to service developing regional archives and heritage museums. The rationale was to build a supplier paper mill in the same geographic proximity as each regional archive. The proposal was to initiate the first mill in Pilgrims Rest, Mpumalanga on the property of the regional museum and archive currently being established.[74]

As I was convinced that this strategy would result in failure, I was not willing to comply with DAC's requirement, and the Phumani Paper Board of Directors supported this decision, in spite of the multi-million rand funding the Department was prepared to invest in this project. The perception of the Phumani Board was that this would be a short-term investment that would not be sustainable and would create 'white elephants,' the term often used for government-funded centres that remain unoccupied because of the lack of consultation and 'buy-in' from local residents. In his letter to the appropriate representative at the Department of Science and Technology, the Director of the Board, Professor Auf der Heyde pointed out: "There is a short-sightedness by the department not to build on the already existing units

[74] To quote from the website: "The projects will be located in all nine provinces with an even geographical spread across the municipal districts in each province" (http://www.dac.gov.za/projects/investing_culture.htm).

who have a seven-year history, and who have built their capacity, skill and resilience to sustain their businesses." [75]

Furthermore, in spite of der Heyde's letter, the position stated by the DST representative in a letter and by phone was that the National Department requires an even distribution of national funding support, so they would not consider supporting more than one unit in the North West Province. DAC has since been unwilling to consider a counter proposal to support the enterprises that had ready access to raw materials (such as the sisal farming projects). Six units were assessed as viable by Phumani Paper due to their history of successful group practice, and would be the most likely of the sixteen groups to manage the large grants needed to expand their small businesses. They were identified as three units in the North West Province (where there is ready access to the raw material), one in Gauteng, (the pilot Research and Development unit) and one each in Limpopo and the Free State. The argument presented in der Heyde's letter referred to above, stated that the six groups nominated by Phumani Paper and the University of Johannesburg Research Unit for the roll-out of the industrialization of archival paper production had the track record, training, qualifications, access to expertise, experience and necessary support, as well as access to the raw material to convert their existing enterprises into viable plants or supply units for the archival paper industry (Figure 45). However, the Department remains unconvinced.[76]

This case study is illustrative of a closed-system approach, which has rationally and mechanistically calculated an equal distribution of funding to be dispersed geographically. It also, in my opinion, symptomatic of the intransigence of powerful government officials who want to be seen as creating their own program and are unable to value the history and knowledge of local NGOs. Geographically, logistically there is no relationship in terms of access, product developments or guaranteed orders, as well as the fact that access to archival raw material does not match availability in each region. Yet equal allocation of funding to each province seems to be an immutable aspect of the negotiation for implementation. However, it is possible that this position is an excuse to terminate negotiations on the continuance of the project, in spite of Parliament's approval of the budget allocation. The proposal has been pending from March 2006 to the end of 2008, and no progress has been made in moving beyond this impasse.

[75] Prof Thomas Auf der Heyde's letter 2006, KB Archives (UJ Draw 5: File 4).
[76] Correspondence documenting this exchange as well as the business plans and (unsigned) agreements allocating funding to Phumani Paper is accessible in the KB Archives (PP Draw 3A: Files 5,6).

The contradictions abound: Government purports to want independent sustainable businesses, but sets them up to be dependent on government. For instance, the National Treasury's funds for poverty alleviation require allocation as community wages, but these wages are not guaranteed beyond a one-year cycle. The further requirement that was introduced for the setting up of the archival paper mills was that funds cannot be awarded to an NGO implementing agent such as Phumani Paper. The funds had to be allocated directly to the community facility or small business. This poses a problem, as there are no such existing facilities in provinces such as the Northern Cape or Mpumalanga. And in the Western Cape the Phumani Paper group is a craft unit made up of disabled people with no training in archival paper production, and who have no skills to manage a grant of R1 million. The government official's response to this situation is that sufficient funds exist for the necessary expertise to be bought to comply with these conditions, which indicates that government would have to directly micro-manage implementation. However, as this is a new industry in South Africa the expertise would have to be bought internationally, as local expertise resides exclusively in Phumani Paper and its networks. This approach facilitates conditions for corruption, nepotism and the lining of pockets of middlemen who do not have any incentive to consult the communities involved.

In September 2007 I approached the Deputy Minister with a plea to hear my case. I attached extensive documentation of my unanswered correspondence to the Directorate involved. I was granted a hearing, and all the officials involved were present. The Deputy Minister set certain conditions, including an agreement to call an imbizo (or special meeting) for all papermakers to address concerns directly with the ministry. The imbizo has never happened despite three invitations from Phumani Paper for government to address representatives of the paper enterprises. The ministry has set various conditions for the meeting, including registration of the Archive Mill as a separate enterprise from Phumani Paper, and the requirement that the papermakers receive their NQF4 Archival Paper enterprise development qualifications. All this has been addressed and submitted with reports. No replies have been forthcoming.

It appears that the model envisaged by government to service the African archival conservation market would require a corporatized factory-type system, which would employ workers to produce a specialized manufactured product. The market and expense of the high levels of skill and expensive equipment would, however, not allow for more than one producer unit in South Africa. This closed-system culture values the directive approach; it does not permit people to take initiative or demonstrate their expertise. In contrast, Phumani Paper proposed a partnership approach that assured a shared vision. This approach also

entails the risk, chaos and innovation, flexibility and unpredictability that characterizes an open system. However, Phumani Paper maintains that successful entrepreneurial activities have to take calculated risks in order ultimately to be sustainable.

It is useful to return to the understanding of Sen's process of 'development as freedom' in identifying useful models to achieve sustainability in practice. Political freedom and democracy have been necessary conditions for economic growth and development in South Africa. According to Sen, development must have both an instrumental and constructive value: instrumental in the sense of "enhancing the hearing the people get in expressing and supporting their claims" and constructive in that it helps "build a democratic culture of discussion, debate and the exchange of ideas" (Sen 1999a: 5). This presupposes that a primary purpose of democracy is to diffuse power throughout society, and as a result to enhance the leverage of citizens and promote the accountability of state elites to their citizenry. But what if such diffusion of power does not take place and such accountability is not realized?

The case of the proposed archive paper mills highlights the difficulties in present South African conditions in implementing development projects that are aimed at substantially increasing the voice and agency of the poor. In the case study of the Archival Paper project, Phumani Paper provided an excellent opportunity for 'empowered' groups to finally access significant resources and directly manage funds that could meaningfully create a viable industry in a poor community. However, the conditions outlined above have, thus far, ensured that this opportunity cannot be realized (Figure 53c).

Systems Theory as a critical lens for analysing development

In my attempt to understand and apply the lessons learnt from the generally destructive interaction with government described in the case studies above, I have found in systems theory a useful set of analytical tools to address the challenge of negotiating dialogue within a complex web of relationships. Within the 'web' of relationships between government, Phumani Paper, its partner institutions, community groups and individual members, there are complex networks that sometimes break down and hinder growth. According to systems theorists such as Immanuel Wallerstein (1991), Fritjof Capra (1996) and Ilya Prigogine (1980), we cannot understand how an organism interacts with its environment by dissecting its parts, nor can we understand social systems by only examining the bodies within them. The relationship between social systems and people is environmental. The individual reacts, adapts and engages within a complex process of response and change amplified by self-

reinforcing feedback related to the sudden emergence of new forms, emotions and ideas. This iterative process can produce complex patterns of reaction, whereby each aspect of feedback has a compounding influence on its next iteration (Linds 2006: 119). One of the key characteristics of the organization of living organisms is their tendency to form multi-levelled structures of systems within systems, "or living systems nesting within other living systems" (Capra 1996: 27).

This is exemplified by the Phumani experience. For example, at the thriving Twanano paper project, there is continual self-reinforcing feedback that results in the emergence of new forms and ideas. The introduction of the milkweed fibre into the group produced a complex pattern of reaction, including environmental recycling, the production of new products, the exposure through the WSSD, and the securing of an order of environmentally friendly products for the Body Shop. This feedback process has had a regenerating influence. Another research project by a master's student, Tshabalala (2005), led to the production of cast paper sculptures, developed by yet another group of students, into the 'Phumani pets'. A French agency that saw this product at an international trade fair in November 2007 has since provided significant orders for export of these unique products, which will sustain the group with a steady flow of income (Refer to Figure 45).

In open systems theory, a prerequisite for growth requires systems that inter-relate and interact to form a generating whole. The Kuyasa case study provides a revealing contrast to Twanano as the feedback loops and interactive flows were consistently blocked, and the system was unable to feed or renew itself. Fritjof Capra's distinction between designed and emergent structures can be equated with the designed structure imposed by government frameworks for development, and contrasted with the emergent structures arising out of the various formations of the different Phumani Paper groups. According to Capra, who has applied systems theory to social situations, while a designed structure is based on rules and procedures, an emergent one enables the continual development of new structures through innovation. While designed structures are formal and based on official blueprints, emergent structures represent an informal network of relationships that "continually grows, changes, and adapts to new situations" (1996: 47). For example, the blueprint required by government for the equal distribution of resources to establish archival paper mills in each province did not take cognizance of strengths and capacities on the ground.

Open systems maintain themselves far from the closed state of equilibrium, and instead are characterized by continual flow and change (Capra 1996: 48). However, balance is desirable: overly designed systems cannot adapt to changing conditions, overly emergent ones lose

sight of goals. In *The Web of Life,* Capra (1996) suggests that to understand our interactions in this world, we must think systemically. As we engage in a continuous dialogue with each other through our behaviour, relationships, and conversations, this web becomes the space of possibility. What Linds calls the "metaxic in-between" is not empty but alive with intentions, responses and actions arising from the system's prior history[77] (Linds 2006: 120).

Systems theory may be productively applied to cultural practice. The examination of arts-based cultural engagement through the lens of systems theory, adds another creative dimension in that the artist-facilitator is able to ask questions such as 'what can you imagine for yourself and your group?' Such questions open a new space of possibility that is respectful of a complex world, and helps those who occupy such a world to discover different, unknown and unrecognized spaces within themselves or their communities. The facilitator/ artist/ leader, is then to enable the conditions of "metaxis," so that stories can emerge into and from this world. This task enables different voices, world views, value systems and beliefs to converse with one another. This concept of the artist facilitator as a catalyser of empowerment and creativity is something that will be explored further in Chapter Six.

Following Capra, the structure of Phumani can be seen as a series of interactions between the different projects and their environment. Capra maintains that living organisms continually maintain and renew themselves, using energy and resources from the environment for that purpose:

> Moreover, the continual self-making also includes the ability to form new structures and patterns of behaviour. Living organisms continually maintain themselves in a state far from equilibrium. They need a continual flow of air, food and water from the environment through the system in order to stay alive and evolve. The theory of autopoesis shows that creativity – the generation of configurations that are constantly new – is a key property of all living systems (Capra 1996: 163).

The use of the metaphor of living systems for understanding the process and evolution of Phumani Paper suggests that the resilience and sustainability of the units are the result of continual creativity and renewal, or 'self-making'. As long as the individual groups do not reach a state of equilibrium or stasis, (such as was the case with Kuyasa), they retain the ability to sustain themselves. In every community there will be contradictions and conflicts. The community needs both stability and change, order and freedom, tradition and innovation.

[77] Boal speaks of metaxis as "the state of belonging completely and simultaneously to two different worlds: the image of reality and the reality of the image. The participant shares and belongs to both these two autonomous worlds: their reality and their image of their reality, which she herself has created" (Boal 1995: 43).

In ecosystems the complexity of the network is a consequence of its biodiversity, thus a diverse ecological community is a resilient community capable of adapting to changing situations.

According to Taylor, author of *The Moment of Complexity*:

> When there is too much order, systems are frozen and cannot change and when there is too little order, systems disintegrate and can no longer function.

Significant change, he argues, takes place between "too much and too little order. Falling between order and chaos, the moment of complexity is the point at which self-organizing systems emerge to create new patterns of coherence and structures of relation" (Taylor 2003: 24).

The organizational systems under investigation in this thesis are complex, and linear reductive analysis would therefore be inappropriate. Complexity theory argues for the importance of possibilities that lead to creativity and system transformation. It proposes that systems are most creative when they operate with a combination of order and chaos. These premises can support organizations to value diversity, change, and transformation, rather than predictability, standardization and uniformity. A core assumption in this thesis is that to understand social complexity is to value 'appreciative inquiry', that is, surrender and wonderment, over certainty.[78]

It is my contention that artists cultivate or possess the qualities needed to participate in complex systems. Ideally, visual artists, like good jazz musicians,[79] are able to abandon what does not work and create innovation that takes the system in a new direction. They grapple with the constrictions of patterns and structures, and try to break out of these constrictions and patterned structures to create something new with the awareness that committing to either path entails a risk. They can embrace that risk and let go of the familiar. Ideally, musicians and artists can challenge themselves to stretch beyond comfortable limits; they can create fresh rather than stock responses, and they should be careful not to become too linked to comfortable habits that have worked in the past. They are also able to make use of whatever material is at hand and value the affirmative potential of found material and use it in a purposeful and coherent way. While this may be a rather idealistic description of the

[78] The concept of Appreciative Inquiry was developed by David Cooperrider and Suresh Srivastva in the 1980s. The approach is based on the premise that "organizations change in the direction in which they inquire" and "enhances a system's capacity for collaboration and change" (http://www.new-paradigm.co.uk/Appreciative.htm). See also the *Thin Book of Appreciative Inquiry* (Hammond 1996/8).

[79] Frank Barrett presents improvisational jazz as a concrete example of a self-organizing process (Barrett 2000: 228-244).

qualities of a 'good artist,' the values of creative practice can be applied to facilitating creative growth in a group.

I have suggested that systems theory, when applied to sustainable development also makes a case for the value of integrating the methodology of the creative arts in initiatives such as Phumani Paper. The process of art-making does two things: it values the whole person and her cultural values, and from that base asks questions that facilitate dynamism, prevent equilibrium and promote growth. The artist's questioning and facilitating creative practice becomes a catalyser for change, and the resulting disequilibrium allows for transformation. The statement quoted previously by one of the participants at the Winterveld project confirms this assertion about agency: "I am a paper-maker, and a paper-maker can make a plan." [80]

Reflections on Resilience

Eight years since the first Phumani Paper intervention in 1999/2000, fifteen of the original 21 paper enterprises are still surviving and still hold onto the vision of hope for a better, more prosperous future. This phenomenon continues to puzzle me. Handmade paper and paper crafts have not had much success in penetrating the market in South Africa. Sales are erratic and the groups struggle to make enough income to pay each of their members at the end of each month. Sales figures in 2007/8 indicate a moderately upward trend, with margins of profit that are too minor to sustain the national office without subsidized funding. Income from sales, therefore, is not the life-blood of the groups. It is also evident that Phumani Paper national office has not been sufficiently successful in delivering on its core mission of identifying markets for Phumani Paper products.[81] This phenomenon indicates that something other than money is sustaining the remaining 140 people in the Phumani Paper organization. [82] I propose that the success of this program over the past ten years has not been poverty alleviation in the way that government intended through income generation, but can claim success in terms of addressing the other kinds of poverty that Sen articulates, and that are discussed earlier in this chapter. The real success of Phumani Paper, I would argue, is its ability to incubate and nurture resilience. The resilience in the participants and the wider organization of Phumani Paper in my view, derives from the belief in the capacity to dream a

[80] Quoted by Lilo du Toit, mid-year review for the Ford Foundation, report submitted July 2007, KB Archives (FF Draw 6: File 2).
[81] Final review Report, May 2008b: 16. See Table 2: Earnings, Social Grants and Breadwinner Status Final Review and Mid-Term Review.
[82] The final review has counted 112 participants in the fifteen remaining groups from July 2008 and an average of eight members per group (du Toit, Executive Summary, May 2008a: 1). However, I have included the broader number of training team and community facilitators in the Phumani Paper organization; see lists of staff and participants. KB Archives (PP Draw 3B: File 3a, b). See Figure 52, Table 1.

better future, and from the participants who feel that they have the capacity and the skills to achieve success.

My own continued efforts to support organizational and funding efforts for Phumani Paper is a response to the resilience and the shared dreams of the participants. All of the stories told by the women in the Phumani groups are inspirational. They are moving and heartbreaking. They are powerful and humbling. One recent example of resilience and a belief in personal capacity is illustrated in the story of Hermina Sephati from Amogalang in Mmakau,[83] a remarkable project that finally closed down in 2007. This group, mostly made up of pensioners, was dependent on orders from Phumani Paper, as the women were not entrepreneurial or mobile in the sense of being able to leave their village to go out and seek external markets. Yet their endurance and belief in their own work and the will of G-d was inspirational.[84] Sephati is 61 years old and believes that the skills she has acquired are valuable to teach the next generation and are an important asset to retain in Phumani Paper. A small grant[85] allows her to travel for two hours to the Tswaraganang project to volunteer and pass on her special skills in paper-pulp stencilling, a unique product developed through the product development training of Amogalang received from Aid to Artisans. In a recent interview Sephati (July 2008) attests to the power of belief in her own agency (Figures 49a and b):

> The stress is only one thing. Because I'm not earning something every month, even if I do, it's not that much. I'm learning so much here. I dream to drive a car. I am an example to others.[86]

The project participants are often seen as leaders in their communities; they have dignity and pride; they have skills and knowledge. They are no longer victims of the desperate poverty around them. They create change. In spite of the extreme conditions of poverty and the many years of sacrifice and commitment of the Amogalang group, the resilience of Sephati, its surviving member, found a way to continue the group's legacy of contribution (Figure 50).

A Photovoice project (described in Chapter Six) began to facilitate and document the sharing of Phumani women's stories. This has since been developed into a proposed book *Women on Purpose: The Resilience of the Founding Women of Phumani Paper*. Twenty of the

[83] This case study has been written up in the UNESCO, KB Archives (PP Draw 3A: File 13).
[84] The documentary film *A Ripple in the Water* was dedicated to Amogalang because of the inspiration they had on the USA film crew (see transcripts of interviews) KB Archives (UJ Draw 5: File 5b).
[85] The grant was awarded by Eileen Foti, the Director of the documentary film *A Ripple in the Water.*
[86] A series of twenty interviews exploring aspects of resilience and leadership among the women of Phumani Paper groups was conducted as a joint project of University of Michigan and University of Johannesburg in July 2008. This project "Women on Purpose" is intended for publishing in 2009. The transcriptions of the interviews are available in KB Archives (PPR Draw 2: File 1b).

founding women of Phumani Paper have been interviewed as a way to begin to understand the root and power of their resilience, and the reason why Phumani Paper is among the estimated ten per cent of the poverty alleviation programs initiated in 2000 that are still operating.[87] Identifying the sources of this strength within the surviving Phumani Paper groups is important with regard to understanding sustainable development practice. Documenting and describing the different expressions of that resilience will be a way of identifying and sharing the lessons of 'deep development.' Self-creation is a purpose and outcome of teaching visual art practice. One of the core questions this thesis poses is: what would it mean to include self-creation as an objective for development practice? I suggest that self-creation is part of the hidden strength that accounts for the success of the Phumani Paper program that has been unnamed thus far.

Admittedly, the stress and pressure of sustaining the organization was extremely high, especially when Phumani Paper became a Section 21 Company. As stated earlier in the chapter, I recognized that a different person with a business development vision was needed to lead the organization. I realized that relinquishing control of the organization also meant that my own ethic would no longer be followed. I had to step aside and allow the business focus of the incoming Executive Director (January 2006), Frikkie Meintjes, to take over. My interest and primary capacities are in creative research and training. The Phumani Paper Board, which had been reorganized to consist primarily of business people, determined that the groups that could not meet the business objectives through lack of orders from the national office should be closed – this, of course, would affect the most rural, remote and poor groups. This approach, echoing earlier misguided government policies, counters the vision of building a more equitable society, and valuing the poorest of the poor. This focus, in line with the government's market-driven GEAR strategy, values the parts that have been historically (more) advantaged such as urban sites, for ease of bureaucratic management. However, despite what has happened in the past few years, the resilience and determination of many the rural groups has permitted them to weather the organizational shocks and they have learnt how to survive. Some of the remote groups remained at risk but had not closed down by the end of 2008.

I remain on the Management Committee of Phumani Paper that meets weekly, and am a Director on the Board, which meets quarterly. At the national office, a year before the resignation of Meintjes in June 2008, a creeping inertia had set in that seems to have affected levels of productivity at the sites. This may be due to the fact that it is unlikely that a

[87] Du Toit Interview with Steven Sack (22 April 2008d) KB Archives (FF Draw 6: File 1a).

market for handmade paper and products will ever be competitive with the flood of imports of similar and cheaper products. The funding to continue the programs within the Phumani Paper units has always been extremely fragile, and without a surge of growth through the expansion of commercial markets, the organization remains on the brink of survival. Phumani has never had the security of long-term funding commitments; rather it has had to motivate for funding support from year to year.

An interesting scenario has emerged which supports the systems theory metaphor of self-creation when faced with change. With the resignation of the Executive Director in mid-2008, young black leadership has emerged with a dynamic and creative approach to steering a new vision for Phumani Paper. David Tshabalala has been promoted as the national Phumani Paper Program Manager. His story is recorded as a case study in Chapters Three and Seven, and in an article about his rise through the ranks of the organization (*Legend News* 2008)[88] (Figure 52). An injection of new international and local markets, new partners and renewed interest in Phumani Paper by the University of Johannesburg has secured an opportunity to move the national office and showroom from its existing venue on the Doornfontein campus. Phumani Paper has been rediscovered as a flagship community engagement initiative and business venture as part of the new multi-million rand University of Johannesburg Soweto Campus investment. There are promises of investors, corporate clients and a profile for the projected 2010 economic boom. Hope, imagination and resilience continue to be the life-force of Phumani Paper (Figure 53).

Assessing Impact

Various impact assessments have been conducted on Phumani Paper projects in order to evaluate the efficacy of donor-funded programs such as UNESCO and the Ford Foundation. Stakeholder questionnaires have also been designed that determine a range of areas that attempt to measure 'most significant change' within each of the Phumani projects.[89] These include questions around what it is that people were able to do since they have left the project. Is there greater value in their lives? Have they got jobs? Who stayed, and why? It could be that people who had the least access to social capital stayed. What are the benefits? Regrets? Do they believe that one day their skills will be needed? What are their aspirations and hopes in staying? What family or social ties do they have that impacts their involvement in their groups?

[88] David Tshabalala: see KB Archives (FF Draw 6: File 1e) and article: (http://www.fetolammoho.co.za/emailers/emailer1/long/emailer.htm#section9).
[89] Melanie Hagen (2007) KB Archives (PP Draw 3B: File 17), Lilo Du Toit (2007, 2008) (UJ Draw 5: File 13), Joslyn Walker (2002, Due Diligence study 2003) (Draw 3B: File 11), Taryn Cohn (2004) thesis (UJ Draw 5: File 17).

Both quantitative and narrative data is available and forms part of the independent impact assessments and research studies. The most significant findings in my own assessment are the acknowledgement of opportunities for increased growth at a local and national level as well as the inter-dependent relationships of Phumani national office and the enterprises. Some of these are articulated in the brief summaries below.

The final evaluation report submitted in July 2007 of the five selected groups from the UNESCO Artists in Development Programme assessed by Melanie Hagen (2007) included select findings and recommendations, and reinforced some of the proposed strategies submitted to the Ford Foundation for further program support.[90] These included: treating programs holistically to start addressing some of the socio-economic issues at the same time as developing the entrepreneurial aspects; the identification of market access and penetration as the single biggest factor in ensuring the sustainability of the producer units; the need for a demand-driven, as opposed to a supply-driven approach; the recommendation of the implementation of an ongoing mentoring system linked to training programs; the importance of further product development initiatives linked to new marketing strategy; the requirement for support mechanisms for at-risk projects; the need to explore the development of more visually-based learning support materials, and the recommendation that an audit of administrative and reporting systems be conducted (Hagen 2007).[91] The report focuses on market challenges and reliability of the five selected groups that participated in the intervention and identifies strengths and weaknesses in each site. An overarching challenge hindering the success of market access appears to be linked to poor communication from the Phumani Paper national office.

The July 2008 Impact Assessment submitted to the Ford Foundation by Lilo du Toit examined the two-year intervention and focused on different indicators of change than the UNESCO Artists in Development programme above, and drew from an extensive baseline study conducted in 2007. I have selected a sample of the findings from the Executive Summary report submitted to the Ford Foundation below, and other findings pertaining specifically to the AIDS Action intervention will be referred to in Chapter Six.

Du Toit's impact assessment found that the majority of Phumani members are women (75%) and are either main breadwinners or contributing breadwinners in their households. The

[90] Note these recommendations were picked up in some of the Ford Foundation project objectives: See log frame of objectives and deliverables in Ford Foundation Summary, KB Archives (FF Draw 6: File 2a-d).
[91] Final Evaluation Report, July 2007: KB Archives (PP Draw 3B: File 17).

average household size of the members of Phumani groups is six people, including elderly parents, siblings, extended family and young children. All projects indicate that their members access social grants, mostly the child support grant. Since the Mid-Term Review of July 2007, project membership has remained stable, reporting a total of 112 members, and an average of eight members per project in the final assessment. Most of the enterprises report earnings between R500 and R1 000 per month per member, and Du Toit comments that it would seem as if there are other reasons besides income for members to remain involved with projects. This finding is something that this thesis addresses and expands upon in Chapter Six. All the enterprises have requested help with marketing as their area of greatest need. All groups have contact with a number of other organizations in their communities, including organizations that work with HIV support. Phumani enterprises access a range of resources and venues for opportunities to display their products. Du Toit also comments on the fact that members of Phumani enterprises not only seek help from other organizations, but they sometimes provide help to other groups and centres through volunteer work, advice and even money.

Numerous interviews were conducted between 2006 and 2008 by Du Toit, my student research assistants and myself.[92] Interviewees include stakeholders in government and NGOs that attempt to directly address specific questions about the role of government in establishing poverty alleviation programs, as well as student facilitators, partners and beneficiaries. The findings from the interviews will be referred to in Chapters Six and Seven. In brief, the stakeholder interviews by project members, trainers and managers refer to the values of leadership and the development of skills and capacities that have equipped participants to contribute positively to making a difference in the lives of others. These assessments support my argument throughout this thesis that it is not only income generation that accounts for the survival of so many of the groups, but it is the facilitation of deeper human values of dignity, pride, and the self-confidence that derives from having life skills to pass on to the next generation that has kept the hope alive.

In attempting to draw conclusions that could be useful for better understanding in the field of development practice in the arts and crafts sector, the following themes emerge from the case study addressed in this chapter, some of which will be analysed and discussed further in the conclusions to this thesis. The themes are as follows: the complexity of practice and the importance of culturally sensitive approaches to development; the systems approach to development and the role of government in supporting and/or undermining these

[92] The original interviews are available in KB Archives (FF Draw 6: Files 1a-e).

approaches; the sensibilities that arts processes can contribute to social development; the role of aspiration and imagination in relation to resilience and sustainability.

Conclusions

The case of Phumani Paper shows that the value of visual arts practitioners placed in unfamiliar contexts, such as that of development, leads to creative, innovative practices, which, because of the unfamiliarity with development discourse, artists are unlikely be prescriptive, hierarchical or disabling. The interactions with groups require consultation, group process work and improvisation. The idea of dreaming alternative futures and engaging in collective thinking in reaching for those dreams is a part of self-creation, and this process was a component of the initial phases of forming this complex organization. Yet, more and more, as funding requirements grew tighter and more rigorous, and deliverables needed to be linked to log frames, Phumani Paper learned to 'behave' or comply (at least on the surface) with the institutional practice of the South African government's development requirements in order to qualify for continued funding.

Edgar Pieterse has identified this process as typical, and cautions that it is counter-productive to bypass what already exists in communities in favour of "organizational forms that are more recognizable to development programmes" (Pieterse 2004: 348). He further claims that there is a tendency in many intervening government agencies or NGOs to assume that poor communities lack structure. Therefore, "upon arrival or 'descent' in a given area, the propensity is to establish yet another new organizational formation to act as an interface and to ensure adequate community participation" (Pieterse 2004: 348). This 'descent' approach is exemplified by Phumani Paper's experience of government-funded poverty alleviation programs, as reflected in the requirements for national outreach, irrespective of sustainability potential or community needs.

From one perspective, Phumani Paper's intervention in local communities was, in some ways, a 'top-down' effort born out of the objectives of the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP). The 'top-down' approach did not consult the communities as to whether learning to make paper was of value to the group; this initial directive was in fact imposed. As principal investigator, I identified papermaking as an innovative technology for job creation, new research and skills training. What made this intervention different from other 'top-down' approaches to poverty alleviation was, I believe, the use of creativity and a commitment to participation and shared decision-making. The artists who became the skills trainers in the various Phumani Paper sites used a method of teaching that required dynamic and active participation. The process of converting waste vegetation and recycled paper into

products of beauty and value evoked excitement and magic in the creative process that, I would argue, has contributed to the pride and resilience that has sustained commitment and involvement in the groups for over eight years. The implication of much development practice is that the 'beneficiaries' of the intervention are passive receivers. My own experience has confirmed the arguments of Sen, Swilling, Pieterse and others that counter the mistaken assumption that development can be 'given' to people, particularly development in moments of exceptional transition such as those which characterized the post-1994 government of South Africa. How does one ensure that the practice of development can restore dignity and social justice, in addition to guaranteeing 'delivery'? How can the process facilitate the discovery of the individual agency that is needed to make positive choices?

I agree with Alan Kaplan who advocates the approach that treats all development contexts "as 'living processes' in order to anticipate non-linearity, surprise, multi-dimensionality, and especially pre-existing agency" (Kaplan 2000: 33). This approach is akin to Appadurai's 'deep democracy,' a concept that could be useful for development activists who could work towards stimulating 'pre-existing agency' in community groups through creative participation that addresses specific aspirations or needs.

This chapter proposes that success in development could be partially defined in terms of resilience, which in the domain of craft enterprises in post-1994 South Africa, equals survival. Systems theory provides the theoretical frame to analyse different modes of development and thus to better understand the particular contributions that these case studies from Phumani Paper make to conceptualizing development in moments of transition in which cultures are striving for economic and social justice. I argue that open systems thinking and self-creation is the core methodology of artistic and cultural practice. When applied to development practice, this paradigm contributes to fostering and sustaining agency and empowerment. Government policies and practices function within closed systems, and I have argued here that this is at least partially why government-funded poverty alleviation projects have a poor survival rate. If we can agree that resilience and the survival of small development programs constitutes their success, then development projects or programs which adopt an open system thinking and organizing approach (such as that which characterizes art-making or creative practice) as their core methodology can succeed through facilitating an enabling environment for survival and growth.

This chapter has demonstrated that visual arts and crafts facilitators assist people to fulfil their potential and act productively for themselves and the collective, and in that way

contribute positively to change. The premise underlying this argument is that the development practitioner helps participants to achieve agency, and in that way the enterprises have a much better chance of succeeding. The processes of creative dreaming and imagining spark individuals to become agents of change; to go beyond self-actualization towards agency and collective participation. The arts and creative cultural practice have an important role to play in social transformation and in placing people at the centre of their own development.

CHAPTER FIVE: TRANSFORMATIVE PEDAGOGY IN HIGHER EDUCATION: A CASE STUDY

Introduction

This chapter presents and analyses a range of challenges I have faced in my attempts to encourage the institution of higher education where I teach to function as a site for transformation. By transformation I mean a process of change from an oppressive to a democratic social system, one that not only provides equality of educational opportunity but also a more inclusive educational structure. In 1994 when I joined the Technikon Witwatersrand (TWR), much of the country was filled with optimism and hope that was fostered by the impending democratic change. Transformation in an institution such as the TWR, which had been the primary training institution for the mining industry that had propped up the apartheid government, was imminent. When I entered the Fine Art Department, there were very few black art students or lecturers. To address the enormous disparity between the educational opportunities offered to white students as opposed to minimal access to black students, the White Paper on higher education called for a change in curriculum, management and demographics. As a printmaker with a strong belief in the democratic potential of the medium, I chose to join the Technikon because it was seen as an arena for broad-based 'massification' that was not required to reproduce the more elitist educational agenda of the university system. Change did come slowly: within two years the Fine Art Department hired Moleleki Frank Ledimo as a printmaking lecturer and the first black staff member in the Faculty.

Furthermore, substantive transformation required more than new appointments. It demanded a deep institutional soul searching that questioned both the purpose and content of a Eurocentric curriculum, and imagined new ways of producing knowledge. Our department was privileged amongst tertiary education institutions, for as a college of technology we enjoyed the space to introduce vocational opportunities for students, including teacher training, workplace learning and community outreach, that helped to make fine art not merely an indulgent qualification for middle class white students supported by their parents, but a vocation that connects all students to the reality of economic survival. In this milieu, my association with Artist Proof Studio (APS) was seen as an opportunity to introduce the black artistic community to our students and faculty. However, as will become clear, it turned out to be more difficult to achieve this and other community engagement goals than initially expected.

The aim of this chapter then, is to explore how research in the arts can play a significant role in meeting the challenge provided by the Department of Education in 2001 to evolve "an equitable, sustainable and productive higher education system that will be of high quality and contribute effectively and efficiently to the human resource, skills and knowledge and research needs of the country" (Ministry of Education 2001: 6); and further:

> contribute to the advancement of all forms of knowledge and scholarship, and in particular address the diverse problems and demands of the local, national, southern African and African contexts, and uphold rigorous standards of academic quality (White Paper 1997: 1.14).

I focus my interrogation of the challenges of rising to this exciting opportunity by analysing the fortunes of one Higher Education project designed to reach these goals. I initiated instruction in a new medium – hand papermaking – that required the printmaking students to learn about practice-based research and to apply their knowledge to a skill of making paper out of processed waste materials. In order to access research funding outside of the Fine Art Department, I established the Papermaking Research and Development Unit (PRDU). As is the case with many university-based research centres, tensions developed within the department, leading to heated conflict over educational priorities as well as my position as a senior lecturer in the department.

The questions that underpin this analysis include the following: How can educators meet the challenge of transformation in building a new democracy in South Africa? How can the arts play a role in contributing to research and education for democracy? How is it possible to expand the concept of research in the arts so as to make research relevant, fluid, inclusive and collaborative? What would an 'African' research and education paradigm look like for the arts? What framing research questions would ensure the production of new knowledge, and enable researchers to exercise agency as participative democratic citizens? How can programs supporting the 'public good' become part of an agenda shared by universities and arts programs? And finally, what is it about the higher education system that is so resistant to the incorporation of community engagement as part of core business? What are possible, appropriate strategies to counter the conservative trend that is shutting down innovative, imaginative programs, using the rationale that these are non-compliant with the given academic structures of schools and departments?

What follows is a summary history of my early attempts at introducing transformational pedagogic practices into the former TWR, and an interpretation of the causes of the regressive tendencies that have increasingly opposed such transformation. As a senior lecturer in the Fine Art Department since 1994, I have been engaged in the energizing and

challenging process of linking research activities with community engagement and artistic practice. This process has established a dynamic arena that has required a rethinking of the way knowledge is created, taught and retained, and that has created new spaces for pedagogic practices that are radical and innovative. Such practices have at various stages encountered dramatic resistance and opposition from gatekeepers within a hierarchical educational infrastructure. I examine why this is the case, and investigate the conditions that foster these retrogressive tendencies.

South Africa's ongoing disputes over pedagogy are part of a much wider scholarly investigation of the public role of the university that has shaken the ivory tower image of tertiary education internationally. One of the first scholars to address the need for a radical pedagogical practice was the Brazilian activist-educator Paulo Freire. In South Africa Freire's *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1970) was a valued and banned text, sought after by progressive left-wing activists during the apartheid struggle. It provided a foundation for much of the philosophy of education for liberation that was part of the student opposition struggle against oppression. Central to Freire's approach were the complementary concepts of building on the student's existing knowledge base and of collaborative learning. According to Freire:

> There is no such thing as a neutral educational process. Education either functions as an instrument to facilitate the integration of the younger generation into the logic of the present system, or it becomes the practice of freedom, the means by which men and women participate in the transformation of their world (Shaull 2003 in Freire: 16).

In his introduction to the 30th Anniversary edition of *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, Donald Macedo simply and elegantly thanked Freire, "for having taught us how to read the world and for challenging us to humanize the world" (Macedo 2003: 26). I share Macedo's gratitude and have endeavoured to respond to Freire's challenge.

This initial approach to transformative education has been augmented by recent feminist scholarship, as well as by South African educators such as Ahmed Bawa (2006), Jonathan Jansen (2004), Nico Cloete and Teboho Moja (2004) and others who have provided an ongoing critique of an increasingly conservative trend throughout the educational system globally. [1] With respect to the former, the feminist scholar Chandra Mohanty contrasts

[1] *Transformation in Higher Education: Global Pressures and Local Realities* by Nico Cloete, Peter Maassen, Richard Fehnel, Teboho Moja, Trish Gibbon, Helene Perold (2004) provides a range of perspectives that support the transformation goals of equity and democracy and "to develop a structural understanding of how systems change in the course of complex interactions between state, institutions and society" (Introduction: 2).

pedagogies of accommodation – comparable to Freire's "instrument … for integration into the system" – with pedagogies of dissent; she writes:

> Feminist pedagogy of dissent … attempts to link knowledge, social responsibility and collective struggle. And it does so by emphasizing the risks that education involves – the struggles for institutional change, and the strategies for challenging forms of domination – and by creating more equitable and just public spheres within and outside educational institutions (Mohanty 2003: 201).

After democracy was achieved in South Africa, it seemed as if Freire's radically democratic model was going to be implemented. The Department of Education's White Paper 3 of 1997 and the 1996 White Paper produced by DACST (the Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology) were far-sighted documents that incorporated some of the most advanced theories of knowledge production and insisted on the importance of research to social transformation. Alexandra Hofmaenner supports this progressive goal for higher education:

> Human and social scientists play a vital role in the critical analyses of national goals, choices of development policies and strategies, and other national issues pertaining to the transformation of South African society. Their involvement is crucial to a deeper understanding of social issues and to stimulating public debate that could lead to a reconsideration of chosen paths (Hofmaenner 2006: 11).

As a result of such newly-implemented government polices, exciting spaces opened in education, all addressing the crucial goal of transforming a colonial-dominated education system into one that was more appropriate to an African model. Entering the former TWR in the year the ANC won the first democratic elections in South Africa, my interest as a lecturer at a historically white, Afrikaans-speaking institution was to build community outreach and access. It may have been naïve and idealistic, but I imagined that our challenge as South African educators was to devise an innovative new curriculum that built upon the knowledge base of the new learners, while minimizing the legacy of oppression and injustice that learners brought with them to the academic environment.

However, I am inclined to argue that the radical vision of the late 1990s has disappeared from South African educational theory, policy and practice. My opinions were confirmed when I attended a lecture at the University of the Witwatersrand in May 2006, given by Professor Ahmed Bawa, Deputy Vice Chancellor of the University of KwaZulu-Natal on "Re-imagining South African Higher Education in the Image of a Liberated South Africa." He argued that the higher education system has failed to enact the kinds of transformational possibilities put forward in the 1997 White Paper. The discussion of the transformation of the University as a social institution is a very large and important subject, and, as Bawa pointed out, this would have to include discussion of the nature of knowledge and the nature of the

production of knowledge. He argued that after twelve years of democracy, we have not seen any fundamental changes in the educational system. On the contrary, he suggested that there is a regressive re-racialization of the student bodies. My experience confirms Bawa's observations: the challenge facing educators in racially-mixed Fine Art student bodies includes not only the politics of race, but also the politics of pedagogical transformation of the ways in which meaning and identity are constructed, communicated and integrated into the curriculum.

Bawa, Freire and Mohanty, among others, confirm my belief that the goal of education should be to encourage students and their faculty collaborators to think critically about their relationship to society and knowledge creation, and to fundamentally transform their worldview: "the pedagogy [of dissent] does not entail merely processing received knowledges … but also actively transforming knowledges" (Mohanty 2003: 201). Building on the work of these scholars, it is my contention that artists in particular cultivate or possess the qualities needed to transform knowledge. In their creative practice, artists are able to abandon what does not work and create innovation that takes a project in a new direction. They grapple with the constrictions of patterns and structures, and try to break out of them to create something new. Artists are practiced at embracing risk and letting go of the familiar. They expect to challenge themselves to stretch beyond comfortable limits; they aim to create fresh rather than stock responses, and they are careful not to become too linked to comfortable habits that have worked in the past. Artists are also trained to make use of whatever material is at hand: they value the affirmative potential of found material and use it in a purposeful and coherent way. In other words, the philosophy of pedagogy of freedom introduced into the South African context in the 1970s by Freire's writings seems to constitute a very appropriate fit with the practice of the critical investigation of the relationship between society and knowledge creation; moreover, I argue that the artist has the creative ability to actively engage that relationship.

I suggest that today there exists a pressing need in higher education for a substantive discussion about the role of universities in nation-building, in entrenching democracy, in maintaining a culture of human rights, and in developing citizenship. In other words, I argue that our challenge is to open a world with all its complexity to students and teaching, to learn to democratize rather than colonize experience, and to do this using principles of non-hierarchal participation and reflexive practices. I suggest that Higher Education should apply its considerable knowledge base and resources to the task of reducing the pressing socio-economic problems such as poverty, social dislocation and HIV/AIDS that are decimating the population of this country. In my opinion, the fundamental task of education must be to serve

the public good and, accordingly, research should be practice-based and engaged with public scholarship.

To address the questions posed at the outset of this chapter, I will broadly examine the challenges of community engagement in post-apartheid higher education, and propose new pedagogical models for community-based research through the case study of Phumani Paper at the University of Johannesburg. Despite the promise of the 1996 White Paper on education, the more radical impulses within higher education communities have been significantly constrained by the neo-liberal economic policies established under President Thabo Mbeki. George Subotzky argues that the concern for "public good through pursuing redress, equity, and redistributive justice [is] increasingly constrained by the hegemony of global market-orientated, neoliberalism" (Subotsky 2005: 128). He argues that the transformation agenda of the first eight years of democracy has been replaced with a globalized market model of the university:

> The dominance of the single market model and its higher educational equivalent – the entrepreneurial university, which has become the benchmark of innovation and relevance – ignores the pursuit of equity or redress or, worse, discredits it as outmoded idealism. Despite the best of progressive intentions, certain developments in South African higher education have been unanticipated; they were driven by factors other than policy, and in some cases, they have been counterproductive. These two strands are linked. Together they obstruct the advancement of transformative development goals, which are priorities in developing countries particularly (2005: 128).

In South Africa, the university, I would argue, is moving away from its primary value as a site of intellectual activity for the public good, and further towards a corporate activity for developing the knowledge economy to serve the priorities of global capital. In a critical review by Omano Edigheji and Steven Friedman that investigates "Public Accountability in South African Higher Education," the authors affirm the problems of the corporatization of university administration that Subotsky identifies:

> The corporatisation of management and the consequent diminished roles of democratic structures representing academics, such as the Senate, are also widely seen as one of the major dangers to public accountability of higher education institutions in the new South Africa. However, those who are concerned about managerialism's impact on academic activity are clearly concerned with threats to academic freedom posed by higher education institutions themselves (Edigheji and Friedman 2006: 11).

The corporatization of the university has changed the way education is understood. In addition to Edigheji,and Friedman, scholars such as Donald Hall have argued that in the United States, education is no longer considered a public good, but a means of equipping students with the competence to contribute to economic competitiveness (Hall 2007: 11).

Similarly Cloete and Moja identify the major function of education in South Africa at present to be the production of potential employees in the corporate world, rather than citizens who participate in a democracy:

> Higher education has two important functions in the knowledge economy. The one … is to produce medium-skills level professional graduates for the professions in the service sector; the other is to produce highly skilled knowledge producers for high-level [corporate] innovation (Cloete and Moja [2001] 2004: 244-245).

In sum, these scholars argue that a new form of colonialism has emerged in the information age: the market has colonized the academy. The primary purpose of the latter has changed from public scholarship serving transformation to education that serves the needs of production and exchange. Equally disturbing, access to higher education in this model is based on the ability to pay – and as a result many people are denied access to higher education institutions.

Instead of exclusively educating students to assume a position in a corporate hierarchal environment, I argue that universities should create opportunities for the inclusion of community-engaged research and learning. In spite of the listing of community engagement as one of the three tenets in the vision statement of most higher education institutions, universities are increasingly leaning toward what Freire terms the "banking system of teaching." (Freire [1970] 2003: 72). For instance, at the University of Johannesburg there is a pressure on all research output to be published in accredited journals, as this will lead to subsidy for the University. However, only certain sorts of value are recognized. For instance, although the Papermaking Research and Development Unit (PRDU) provides an example of a research activity that can create economic value as well as facilitate access to education by the previously excluded members of the public, there is still pressure to prove its value through publishing accredited articles.

To cite a personal example of the current dominance of the banking mentality: in a meeting with the Faculty research administrators in March 2007, to evaluate my research request for funding students from different departments to work on my community research project, the only criteria to qualify for internal funds put forward was: "Will funds granted lead to an accredited research output?" On presenting my proposed budget, I summarized the research outcome as follows: the new knowledge generated from the skills of chemical engineering students collaborating with Fine Arts students interning in the Archival Papermaking Mill will present the possibility for greater job creation and enhanced excellence of the product. The purpose of the research project is to develop mechanisms for testing archival handmade paper for its permanence and pH content in a laboratory context, an exciting experiment in

multi-disciplinary investigation. Nonetheless, I was told that that new knowledge per se does not qualify for funding support as a research output as it does not generate a Department of Education subsidy for the Faculty. Only after I agreed to co-author an article with the research graduate of the archival paper-mill would the Dean release the funds requested for the Honours students' project. I agreed, and a compromise was reached and we subsequently published a paper in TAPPSA, the (non-accredited) journal for the South African paper-industry (Berman and Marshall: 2008).[2] Freire's analogy of the "banking system" is therefore in line with a capitalist paradigm of generating money for some, (in this case the University); rather than improving the lot of many.

The limited vision demonstrated in this incident reinforced my determination to challenge the trend in the 'knowledge economy' that is driving educators back into the former elite conception of the purpose of the academy. This traditional approach to education is linked to the notion that the undergraduate students' task is to consume information fed to them by a lecturer: to be able to memorize and store it. Furthermore, the present funding ratios mean that the viability of learning programs is dependent on a high ratio of students to lecturers. As the arts cannot be effectively taught in large classes, the Fine Art Department is not economically viable in the eyes of a university driven by corporate goals. Fine Art learning programs depend on a ratio of relatively fewer students to lecturers than in other fields, in some cases ten to one. The alternative is to generate subsidies through accredited research publications, but these are not always appropriate forums for practice-based research in the arts.

In spite of such obstacles to the implementation of my original vision, I remain convinced that community-based arts research, that promotes consensual and cooperative ways of learning, can provide an alternative objective to what I perceive as competitive, power-driven, conflict-ridden organizational processes that characterize the academy at present. The model of community-based research that serves the public good constitutes a viable strategy to address what Ahmed Bawa has observed as the failure of higher education to imagine its transformational vision (Bawa 2006).

My experience of introducing Phumani Paper as a research project in the Faculty of Arts provides valuable lessons about the ways in which arts-based research can play a role in community upliftment. The research goal was to devise and implement appropriate

[2] TAPPSA (*Journal for the Technical Association of the Pulp and Paper Industry of Southern Africa*), (http//www. tappsa.co.za).

technology and skills for poverty alleviation and job creation through craft enterprises. Ironically, Phumani Paper as a community engaged initiative of the University of Johannesburg can be adapted to fit the demands of neoliberal banking-type criteria that generate publications and have economic value. Yet the issue for me is to ensure an ethical and social justice approach that extends a broader access to knowledge generation beyond the academy and its accredited publications. The difference is that there is more value for the poor and the focus is not the elite. An additional issue relates to the neoliberal thrust that has somehow made it possible for a conservative backlash in the name of retaining 'quality' and 'real research'. Elements within the academic bureaucracy have tried, and sometimes succeeded, in shutting down radical, innovative programs in the name of protecting the academic integrity (and exclusivity) of the academy. I assess the pedagogical implications of this case study here as an example of the role that arts can play in shifting a paradigm, informing a pedagogy of liberation, and affirming an African model of re-imagination in the generation of new knowledge.

In their essay "Towards an African Identity of Higher Education," Malegapuru Makgoba and Sipho Seepe discuss "the need for (re)-formulation of liberatory philosophy and goals for education that will resonate with the aspirations of the majority". Prominence, they assert, "should be given to questions dealing with the type of society envisaged, [and] the kind of knowledge, skills and values required for cultural, societal and economic development" (Makgoba and Seepe 2004: 30). It is my experience that prominence can be given to these questions in research projects, but that if the means for assessing community-based arts projects remains hostile to such transformation strategies, the students engaged in these projects fall victim to a clash with a seemingly incompatible discursive and value system that has been associated with historically white institutions. This complaint is frequently articulated by black students as "an alienating organizational culture/ethos" in our universities (Makgoba and Seepe 2004: 19).

In spite of the regressive tendencies that manifest in practice, such as those discussed above, South African education policy documents reflect a continuing adherence to the idea of higher education as serving the public good.[3] (Such a dislocation between policy and practice is not uncommon in other sectors also.) In 2001 the Department of Education issued three challenges to higher education institutions that are summarized as follows: How do educators, through teaching, research and related activities, teach 'good'? (in the context of

[3] The term is used in a position paper: "Reinserting the Public Good into Higher Education transformation" *Kagisano, CHE Higher Education Discussion Series*: (Singh 2001 and Badat. 2001a).

'serving the public good'). How do educators produce professionals and researchers who can think theoretically, analyse with rigour, gather and process empirical data, and do all this with a deep social conscience and sensitivity to the diverse needs of South African people and society? How is it possible to produce young men and women who will personify good, and in this way ensure that in the years ahead South African political, social and intellectual life will not be banal, self-centred and mired either in greed or desperate attempts at survival, but rather, will be rich and vibrant, engaging questions of social justice and intellectual and political actions towards achieving a humane society? (Badat 2001a: 5).

The case study of Phumani Paper is a useful example of a community engagement and research activity that attempts to address these challenges. The research I undertook with my students into hand papermaking began as an empirically-based effort. It was only some years after the PRDU had been established and funded (1997) that it began to be informed by educational theory, which then began to redirect our efforts in the manner of a feedback loop. Before turning to the research project, however, it is important to discuss the current educational theory developed by both American and South African scholars that I have found relevant, not only for my research projects, but that I deem important for the future direction of a more progressive and participatory pedagogy furthering the public good.

Traditional Research versus Public Scholarship

The concept of public scholarship significantly challenges the traditional approaches and methodologies of scholarly research in the academy. Julie Ellison, a professor of literature at the University of Michigan and the founder of the nationwide consortium of American colleges, Imagining America, has powerfully articulated the role that scholarship could, and should, play in public life.[4] She defines public scholarship as follows:

> Public scholarship does not mean simply the delivery of knowledge to the public in accessible forms. Nor does it mean that faculty scholars become service providers. Public scholarship is not the same as public intellectual work (academic production that has a public audience) or faculty investigations of public culture or the public sphere. Rather, our approach to public scholarship grants faculty members agency and interests as civic professionals working with peers in a community of practice and inquiry.

Ellison supports her argument with a quote from her former colleague David Scobey:

[4] Imagining America (IA) is a presidents' consortium of 70 colleges and universities, based at the University of Michigan. Its mission is to strengthen the public role and democratic purposes of the humanities, arts and design. IA supports publicly engaged academic and creative work in the cultural disciplines. It works to advance the structural changes in higher education that such work requires. IA's major task is to constitute public scholarship as an important and legitimate enterprise.

> As asset- or resource-based theories of social movements and community studies have taught, we are collaborating with partners who are themselves agents, creators, and interpreters, with their own expertise and their own account of both their world and ours. (Ellison 2006: 14).

In a study on responsive tenure policies for public scholars in the Humanities, Arts and Design, Ellison and the Imagining America tenure team explored the value of "the adventurous work of publicly engaged scholars and artists" (Ellison 2006 Tenure Report[5]). This extensive report on tenure policy provides a stimulating intellectual framework, as well as a useful guide that is motivated by an imperative for universities to be "accountable to the larger civic purposes of education." The report identifies four aspects of engaged scholarship – contextual, complex, public and cultural – and underscores the importance of 'the project' in publicly engaged work in the cultural disciplines: "The project is often a hybrid enterprise, integrating creative work, research, pedagogy, and outreach" (Ellison 2006). Ellison acknowledges the challenge of creating criteria to evaluate the scholarly excellence of such integrative projects, and cites the following reasons for establishing clear guidelines to support these undertakings: the project is often the basis for the core professional identity of public scholars and artists; the project is the provocation for and subject of writing, publication, and presentation; and finally, the project is the focus of new programmatic and funding infrastructures in colleges and universities.

This definition provides a useful way of framing the challenges that I experienced for community-based research at the University of Johannesburg. In our context, I perceive the main challenge to be for the University and its faculty, department and post-graduate supervisors to be able to accommodate, supervise and provide evaluation guidelines for the kinds of hybrid projects described by Ellison above. However, my experience with the supervision of masters' students who were involved in such publicly engaged projects has revealed the hopeless inadequacy of our accepted guidelines for evaluating the generic Master's of Fine Art student. Assessment of my students' research revealed the depth of what I experienced as an inability of evaluators to support research whose primary outcome was directed at the public good. The postgraduate students' non-compliance with a narrow Fine Art model was seen by examiners as the students' failure. It took the seeking out of international experts and scholars to transform these students' initially poor results into highly rated achievements. This experience made clear to me the necessity of evolving guidelines

[5] "The Imagining America Background Study", by Julie Ellison (2006) is a Discussion Draft for the participants in the tenure team initiative.(http://www.imaginingamerica.org/IApdfs/tti-background-study%20DRAFT.pdf). This has since been adapted and published as : "*Scholarship in Public: Knowledge Creation and the Tenure Policy in the Engaged University*: A Resource on Promotion and Tenure in the Arts, Humanities and Design" (Ellison and Eatman 2008).

for examiners evaluating 'public good' research projects. I offer an example of such guidelines in Appendix 1 of this thesis.

Although public scholarship is an unfamiliar term in South Africa, similar thinking has occurred elsewhere in the world. University of Minnesota Professor Harry Boyte has developed the concept of the student researcher as citizen that provides the appropriate balance to Ellison's public scholar. The model Boyte developed at the Humphrey Institute's Center for Democracy and Citizenship makes a powerful argument for the value of public scholarship by student-researchers, one that is relevant to an African model of empowerment:

> From the beginning of Public Achievement [the engaged learning program for developing civic capacities at the University of Minnesota], a central question has been: how can young people shift from being spectators to being citizens? Put differently, how can people develop a sense of themselves as powerful, bold, effective actors, problem solvers, and co-creators of the democracy, not its victims, clients, protestors, or consumers? We knew that this transformed sense of selfhood would require a different kind of politics, an everyday politics that teaches young people to work across differences to solve problems, create things of lasting benefit for their communities, and contribute to democratic renewal (Boyte 2006: 2).

The following assertion by Boyte supports my own experience:

> Young people want opportunities to break out of cultures that treat them as objects to be manipulated and amused. They want to develop a public life in living communities, and engage in work of consequence for themselves and the larger society. They want to be recognized and valued for their efforts. Public Achievement, in its largest aim, is part of the movement to change the culture 'from Me to We,' building societies in which all people are valued, and of which all can be proud (Boyte 2006: 10).

In short, he asserts that students want to be treated as 'critical agents,' who are directly involved with working for change in their communities. This is also true for the students working in the Phumani Paper program who have responded very positively to their experiences.

However, the desired coalition between 'town and gown' can be problematic, and so educator Beth Savan (2002) has proposed a structure that would help assure a positive working partnership between university researchers and communities. In her essay: "Campus and Community: Partnerships for Research, Policy, and Action" Savan focuses on partnerships that join universities with community-based NGOs to achieve specific research and action outcomes. She provides a definition of community-based research from the Loka Institute that is applicable to my argument: "Research partnerships that harness academic

resources and rigour to meet community development goals are collectively termed 'community-based research.'" She elaborates:

> Community-based research is distinguished from more traditional applied research in that the community groups have an important role in defining the research topic and sometimes managing the research itself. In other words, community members are not research subjects to be studied by academics to advance knowledge in a particular field: they are, instead, research directors, working in partnership with university-based scholars to identify and pursue original research trails. Invariably, these research goals are intimately tied to action or advocacy outcomes, which contribute to community development and environmental improvements or enhanced population health (Savan 2002).

A question pertinent to the challenge of postgraduate supervision is: How can South African higher education play this role in mentoring young, previously disadvantaged students in both university and community settings? What should be the focus of postgraduate supervision in engaging with a student from a background where there is often an appropriate resistance to white colonial methodologies that uphold outdated standards and values? How can supervisors facilitate the role of postgraduate students to fulfil their purpose as change agents in communities?

Postgraduate supervision can be seen as a challenge of mentorship and role-modelling. Our goal should not be to turn excellent practitioners into mediocre or inadequate academics. Rather, we should shift the paradigm, and understand postgraduate supervision as a process of facilitating 'voice' or 'agency', that is, of teaching young people to "work across difference, to solve problems, to create things of lasting benefit for their communities, and to contribute to democratic renewal" (Boyte 2006: 10). As an educator in the arts, I see this as a worthy, exciting and challenging role. The skills of research methodology, academic compliance, and structurally competent writing are all techniques and skills that can be taught as part of a learning curriculum. However, methodological approaches must be used to support and enhance the quality of research, and not suppress the voice of the agent to force compliance to strictures of existing systems. Makgoba and Seepe go further by asserting the need to make the "political more pedagogical". This requires pedagogical practices that "problematize knowledge, utilize dialogue, and make knowledge meaningful, critical, and ultimately emancipatory" (Makgoba and Seepe 2004: 38).

This set of challenges leads back to the questions framed in the introduction to this chapter: How may the concept of research in the arts be expanded in order to make research relevant, fluid, inclusive and collaborative? And what would constitute an 'African' research and education paradigm for the arts? Brenda Cooper has written an insightful paper on the

role of interdisciplinary research for alleviating 'spiritual poverty' in the edited volume *Shifting Boundaries of Knowledge.* She argues that interdisciplinary research requires a nuanced understanding of the relationship between the social sciences, natural sciences and the arts, while respecting the methodologies of each. I agree that the understanding of the role of the arts in social change requires a mastery of the complexity of multidisciplinary strategies (Cooper 2006: 92).

In an attempt to clarify and contextualize community-based research in the relation to theory and practice, I have adopted two concepts: 'participatory paradigm' and 'praxis' as defined by Marcia Hills and Jennifer Mullett (2000) from the Community Health Promotion Coalition in Canada. Expanding on Peter Reason's (1997) discussion of 'participatory paradigms', the authors offer various guiding principles for community-based research. On 'praxis' or the relationship of theory to practice in community-based research, Hills and Mullet acknowledge that theory is often talked about as if it belongs exclusively in the world of the academy. They define theory as an explanation of phenomena; it is implicit in all human action and is therefore necessary in developing evidence for community-based practice. In contrast to orthodox science, community-based research does not see theory as something that is known and that 'informs' practice; As Max Van Manen says: "Practice (or life) comes first, and theory comes later as a result of reflection" (Van Manen 1990: 15). Community-based Participatory Action Research (PAR) is based on the concept of praxis that is dialectical. It is a reflexive relationship, in which both action and reflection build on one another.

> In community-based research, it is the cycling through the iterations of action and reflection creates praxis, and concomitantly generates evidence for future practice. This process grounds practice in theory, rather than applying theory to practice (Carrol, Hills and Mullett 2007: 128).

This notion of praxis is a fundamental concept in Freire's work and is fundamental to creating evidence-based practice in communities. In interpreting what could constitute an 'African' research and education praxis for the arts, I propose that it be linked to Hills and Mullett's 'participatory paradigm'.[6] Engagement in the process of research allows students and participants to develop new ways of thinking, behaving and practising:

[6] A paradigm is "a set of basic beliefs (or metaphysics) that deals with ultimates or first principles. It represents a worldview that defines, for its holder, the nature of the world, the individual's place in it, and the range of possible relationships to that world and its parts, as, for example, cosmologies and theologies do" (Guba and Lincoln, 1994: 105). Guba and Lincoln made a significant contribution in articulating four differing worldviews of research - positivist, post positivist, critical, and constructivist- based on their ontological, epistemological and methodological assumptions. Heron and Reason (1997) argue for a fifth world view – a participatory paradigm. Community-based research is situated within this paradigm and also embraces the ideology and methodology of cooperative inquiry described by (Heron 1996; Reason 1994; Heron and Reason 1997) (See expanded definition http://www.leeds.ac.uk/educol/documents/00001388.htm: Accessed 29 November 2008).

> By full involvement of community groups and policy makers, decisions can be made throughout the process about how to use the information to bring about change. Community-based research recognizes that any research process has multiple outcomes and takes into account the need to enact ways of working that protect or enhance the dignity and identities of all people involve. (Hills and Mullett 2000b: [s.p.]).

The paradigm of praxis/participation is central to the theory of PAR. As defined by Peter Reason, PAR is a 'coming to know,' rather than a formal, traditional research methodology. He defines PAR as a methodology for an alternative system of knowledge production, based on the people's role in setting the agendas, participating in data gathering and analysis, and in controlling the use of its outcomes. It emphasizes the political aspects of knowledge production, creating knowledge directly useful to a group of people. The research process involves full reciprocity, so that "each person's agency is fundamentally honoured, both in the exchange of ideas and in action" (Reason 2001: 324, 339). As this methodology has become widely adopted, it has in due course been revised. For instance, activist educator Ernest Stringer (1999, 2005) has expanded Reason's definition of PAR to include the key outcome of improving the quality of the lives of the participants. He writes: "Community-based action research is a collaborative approach to inquiry or investigation that provides people with the means to take systematic action to resolve specific problems" (Stringer 1999: 17).

All of the scholars cited assume that community-based action research focuses on methods and techniques of enquiry that link to people's history, culture, social practices and emotional lives. Such research seeks to shift the balance of the research situation so that it can enhance the lives of those who participate. Accordingly, Stringer and others have proposed that programs be evaluated not only according to their technical or functional worth, but also according to their impact on people's social and emotional lives.[7] It is my contention, argued throughout this thesis, that the emotional responses conveyed through narratives by participants in the course of PAR interventions are deepened through the use of visual arts methods, which provide a critical component when evaluating aspects of sustainability and resilience. (This will be expanded upon in Chapter Six). Participatory Action Research methodology requires scholars to establish evaluative criteria that can measure the effects of the research on intangible values such as taking responsibility, building commitment and ownership, stimulating creativity and benefiting the public good. Value should also be given to human dignity, care, justice and interpersonal respect.

[7] Guba and Lincoln (1994) argue for interactions that respect people's dignity, integrity, and privacy. They contend that such interactions will "stimulate creativity, instil pride, build commitment, prompt the taking of responsibility and evoke a sense of investment and ownership."

Finally, complexity, a recurring concept in the analyses of arts-based processes for community engagement and research has been discussed as both a framing theory and strategy in Chapter Four. I refer to it briefly in this context in order to note that complex systems theory "invites us to look for patterns rather than parts, probabilities rather than predictions, processes rather than structures, and non-linear dynamics instead of deterministic causalities" (Swilling 2004: 327). I argue that this concept is vital in the quest for transformation in South African higher education.

Papermaking as a Research and Development Program

When I began teaching at the former TWR in the mid-1990s, the research arena was wide open, and the agenda for transformation had been initiated and supported by a progressive Dean. At that time, the National Research Foundation (NRF) funded research projects that had redress and community relevance as their key components.[8] The research activity I initiated, papermaking for economic development, thrived in this environment. As there was no Master's program at the time, (the MTech degree program was established in 1996), Fine Art students had almost no foundation in research methodologies, whether quantitative or qualitative. Ironically, this absence cleared a creative space for developing a curriculum suited to the individual student's projects or needs. At the same time, the government offered funding opportunities for research projects in the newly-defined Cultural Industries sector. Hand papermaking was one such industry, and the first two Master's students developing their research into hand papermaking, Bronwyn Marshall and Mandy Coppes, sought outside assistance from other disciplines and external experts in the field, as there was no precedent for this kind of research in South Africa. This opened the door to innovative knowledge production through collaboration and multi-disciplinary methods of investigation.

These students investigated appropriate papermaking technologies for sustainable rural livelihoods, specifically the conversion of agri-waste into craft. What has become evident over the past decade of engaging in and sustaining such activities is that artists' creative thinking can introduce innovative ideas that have solid practical applications. In the context of establishing hand papermaking for economic development as a research activity area in the former Technikon, my students and I entered a space of possibility. The approach we used emulated the principles of chaos theory more closely than any deterministic or rational

[8] At the time the NRF was called the Centre for Science Development (CSD). The National Research Foundation (NRF), established on 1 April 1999, incorporates activities of the former Foundation for Research Development (FRD) and the former CSD.

methods. Chaos theory describes cyclical processes of discovery and change within a system of unpredictability.[9]

ln 2000 I received a very generous grant from the government to use research to create hundreds of new jobs in hand-paper crafts. This Papermaking Poverty Relief Program became Phumani Paper (discussed in Chapter Four). Furthermore the NRF awarded full research bursaries to four Master's students and support to four BTech students in this new activity area each year from 2000 to 2005. The program has since been renewed, with two new master's students being supported in activist and community arts and two to four BTech students receiving support as research assistants annually.[10]

The term 'cultural industries' was defined and framed by government in the 1994 White Paper for Arts, Culture, Science and Technology. This area opened up new opportunities for research projects in the arts sector. In the absence of a pre-determined methodology for the research process, the creative space of inquiry and the drive to make a difference to the poorest of the poor facilitated a very dynamic and fluid process of discovery. As a result my students and I operated in an environment that felt like a creative incubator that was non-prescriptive and was not policed by bureaucracy, nor constrained by academic conformity. We were allocated a basement venue in the deteriorating Marydale building on campus, where other faculty members refused to teach, as it flooded when it rained and was very cold in winter. Down in the basement my printmaking students worked not just at the grass roots, but in the muddy ditch of emerging knowledge, stripping bark off various plants and carefully recording the optimal procedures for turning those plants into paper. They proved to be outstanding researchers, and four master's student research projects have been essential to establishing sustainable processes within the Phumani Paper enterprise. These include the use of cotton and sisal for archival paper production (Marshall 2003), the use of invasive plant species for sustainable cultural development (Coppes 2003), and paper-based technologies such as paper-clay (Ladeira 2004) and cast paper pulp for three-dimensional craft production (Tshabalala 2005). (Figures 6a and b).

In sum, this project was engaged in research that was directly applicable to the public good. The stakes were high. The DACST grant of R3 million tasked the research unit of the former TWR with establishing at least 460 new jobs in this new cultural industry in its first year of

[9] The term "chaos theory" comes from the fact that the systems which the theory describes are apparently disordered, but chaos theory is really about finding the underlying order in apparently random data (http://www.imho.com/grae/chaos/chaos.html).

[10] Annual Reports from NRF Research funding and student projects are available in KB Archive (UJ Draw 5 File 12).

implementation. The teams consisted of postgraduate students, BTech research interns, papermakers with expertise (Linda Sihlali and Cathy Stanley), community facilitators (the regional co-coordinators hired by the Papermaking Poverty relief program (PPRP) to set up and manage the projects), and local community artists (primarily drawn from Artist Proof Studio) who all worked alongside each other. There was no hierarchy of privilege or knowledge. White and black university students were learning with, and were supported by, their community-based counterparts in rural and township community centres. Knowledge was shared, methods experimented with and invented, and an exciting world of multidisciplinary and multicultural opportunities was opened up to all involved.

Subsequently, two of these master's students (Coppes and Marshall) embarked on internships with the Agricultural Council to research plant fibres, and were awarded research grants to visit facilities in Belgium and Japan to study print and paper. Another master's student (Terence Fenn) received a fellowship to Australia to do a Community Research Master's program in multi-media.[11] Further, through the NRF Visiting Scientist/Mentor grants, I was able to arrange for all of the students and community artist collaborators to participate in intensive workshops with visiting expert papermakers from the United States, Europe and the Philippines, as well as a month-long intensive pineapple fibre training with a Japanese shifu-master.[12]

Further collaborations with papermakers from the United States as well as local artisans led to the design and construction of new equipment that was continually adapted to our evolving needs. I applied for, and subsequently received, a patent for an unusual design and modification of a duplex Hollander paper beater.[13] An accomplished Johannesburg-based artist, Durant Sihlali,[14] (the father of South African papermaking and an innovator in paper-making technology for artists), provided essential expertise, supervision, training and advice to the students. Research into product design, plant dyes, invasive vegetation, sculptural applications and livelihood opportunities emerged in collaboration with student and staff members in different design departments and centres within the Technikon. Building on the contacts we had established with Paper Prayers, (see Chapter Three) the students and

[11] Research reports from international visits by students are available in KB Archives (UJ Draw 5: File 15).
[12] The visiting artist papermakers included Robbin Silberberg, Lee Scott MacDonald, Gail Deehry from the United States, Veerle Rooms and Angela Melson from Belgium. Shifu is an ancient Japanese art of weaving textile from pineapple fibre paper, Asao Shimura both visited the PRDU and trained people on a pineapple farm in the Eastern Cape in paper fibre arts (see Figures 4 and 29a Chapter Four).
[13] The self-taught engineer and designer was Antonio Moreno (see Hollander beater Figure 43b Chapter Four). The patent was registered and awarded: KB Archives (UJ Draw 5: File 7).
[14] Durant Sihlali died in 2006 and the PRDU purchased his equipment to prevent it from being sold for scrap (see Figure 39 Chapter Four).

community artists visited rural villages, learning about local environmental initiatives, and investigating ways to tap into local industries and community centres. Partnerships with NGOs that were active in each community assisted us in setting up workshops and recruiting participants to join a new enterprise of converting waste paper and waste plant vegetation into handmade paper and paper products.[15]

Each of the Master's students' research projects were involved in investigating and devising new technologies for craft development to enhance income generation within Phumani Paper projects. A part-time master's student Taryn Cohn (2004), a sociology student from the University of Stellenbosch, focused her master's research on Craft and Poverty Alleviation in South Africa, and conducted an impact study of Phumani Paper as a multi-site, craft-based poverty alleviation programme. She was able to register her study at the University of Stellenbosch and conduct her research under the PRDU. Her research findings assisted Phumani Paper to make the argument to the National Treasury division tasked with dispersing poverty grants, that poverty alleviation was not reductively about income generation, but also needed to address social, environmental and economic poverty. Cohn agued that the women who made less money than some of their counterparts in other sites, expressed similar responses to social empowerment questions as those in the groups that earned better incomes. Cohn's research focused on the social and human dimensions of sustainable development, and stressed the importance of social status, and that in some cases the dignity of having work and skills outweighed income. I would add that the use of creative processes further reduced spiritual poverty, a notion that is further explored in Chapter Six.

Further, each project was participatory and developed with the members of the groups concerned. For example Coppes (2003) experimented and tested the viability of eight invasive vegetation plant fibres and applied three that are currently used by the Phumani Paper enterprises (black wattle in the Eastern Cape, Port Jackson willow in the Western Cape and milkweed in Gauteng.) Coppes went on to design training manuals for the accredited qualification in papermaking that has been implemented nationally.[16] Marshall's thesis (2003) formed the basis of the development of the archival papermaking mill at the University of Johannesburg, and the subsequent development of an accredited training qualification (NQF Level 4). Jeannot Ladeira worked with the Endlovini potters in their village

[15] An extensive network of community sites exists. Information on each community partner is available in KB Archives (PP Draw 3B: Files 10 and 12).
[16] See Training materials for hand Papermaking Qualifications (NQF 2 and 4) registered with SAQA through the MAPPP SETA (Coppes and Marshall 2005). KB Archives (PP Draw 3A Files12-14 and Draw 3B14a).

in the Gingindlovu region of rural KwaZulu-Natal to introduce paper clay to their pots for the tourist trade in order to enhance their durability. He also introduced screen-printing and new designs into the Eshowe paper and craft unit which contributed to their marketability and resulted in increased income to the group, (see Figure 14 Chapter Four). David Tshabalala conducted an ambitious poverty relief skills project in association with Friends of the Earth and the World Summit on Sustainable Development,[17] and introduced a new technology of cast paper to produce sculptural products. This innovation is proving to be one of the more commercially viable products for Phumani Paper: the Phumani Pets produced by the Twanano group. (See Figure 42, Chapter Four).

These research projects, while not designed specifically as Action Research investigations when they were initiated, exhibit the essential characteristics of Action research in that they "improved the quality of the lives of the participants" and facilitated ways for people to reflect and act to address specific problems (Stringer 1999: 17).

The PRDU's interdisciplinary approach was central to knowledge production, but unfortunately, interdisciplinarity was not welcomed in the increasingly conservative university climate. This lack of support of the program was taken on in my own Department and it became very uncomfortable to continue to fulfil my mandate from the University's Executive Management, who had signed the grant agreement with DST, as well as to fulfil my commitment to undergraduate teaching and administrative duties in the Department. The threat of exclusion from the Fine Arts discipline proper during the period of curriculum revision, was an experience that my Master's students and I, working in community-based research outside of the Fine Art paradigm, consistently encountered. Among the challenges we faced was 'crossing the line' from 'Fine Art' into 'craft, requiring artists to design tourist items. As Sipho Seepe writes: "the next generation of scholars must still reckon with the possibility that interdisciplinarity can frequently lead to exclusion from one's own discipline" (Seepe 2004: 39).

For some students, however, the risks associated with interdisciplinarity were worth it. The first two Master's students developing their research into hand papermaking, Coppes and Marshall, established in-house links with the Departments of Engineering and Chemistry. These departments assisted in assuring the use of proper scientific procedures, and

[17] Friends of the Earth contracted Phumani Paper to conduct a three-month project that involved recycling waste paper leading up to the World Summit on Sustainable Development (WSSD) in 2002. Tshabalala was assigned to the project which subsequently became the case study he explored in his Master's dissertation. This project is expanded on later in this chapter.

recruited students for product development projects from Graphic Design and Industrial Design. The value of working across disciplines went further than expanding the knowledge base and capacities of all of the students concerned; most of them received funding, internships, travel opportunities and job placements through and beyond their studies. As researchers, these students were fully engaged and inspired by the challenge of their groundbreaking efforts in a new field and they produced very substantial research. Each spent two to three years of dedicated energy in the field before attempting to write up their research findings in their master's papers.

The guiding philosophy of all members in the PRDU embodied the values and ethics of collaborative, participative, and consultative processes that worked towards the empowerment and ownership of the research by community and university participants. The vision was to facilitate the establishment of micro-enterprises that could generate livelihoods for community members. As described in the previous chapter, 21 handmade papermaking projects were established in the first two years of implementation, between the end of 1999 and 2002. Eight to nine years later at the end of 2008, fifteen enterprises are still surviving with varying levels of success.

The students were not 'out there' researching 'the other', but attempting to co-design and co-produce new knowledge from local resource bases within each of the Phumani Paper groups. Each group had different needs, different local vegetation suitable for paper, and different degrees of access to resources such as electricity, water, transport, and raw materials. Each unit therefore needed particular attention to issues of design, technology and training that relied on the needs identified by the participants and trainers. All new paper and product research was transferred, tested and owned, or rejected, by the community participants.

The PRDU was also active in expanding existing curricular offerings in the Fine Art Department. Many of the Phumani Paper facilitators who were fourth-year Fine Art graduates, also serviced the Teacher Training Unit over the years. (These included Sister Sheila Flynn, Terence Fenn, Percy Madia (from APS), Usha Seejarum and Mandy Coppes). Each of the student facilitators contracted as trainers in papermaking, including the community artist participants from APS, were required to attend a one-year learner-centred, visual arts teacher-training facilitation course offered by the Fine Art Department, to develop the necessary capacities and skills for training participants in their communities. The training methodology designed for this certificate program eliminated the tendency toward top-down

teaching, familiar to students graduating from most pre-democracy and township schools (See Figure 12 Chapter Two).[18]

Our experience of what we termed at the time 'community-based research' was instinctive, experiential and imaginative. While we did not subscribe to particular framing theories or methods, our praxis was in line with the definition offered by Hills and Mullet:

> Praxis does not involve a linear relationship between theory and practice wherein the former determines the latter; rather it is a reflexive relationship in which both action and reflection build on one another ….
> Conceptualizing the relationship between theory and practice this way reorients our thinking about research from searching for understanding and explanation to ethical action toward societal good (2000b:[s.p.]).

The success of this approach to research is reflected in the quality of the student/artist graduates. Most are still fully engaged in their own careers as educators, trainers, and/or community facilitators, passing on their commitment to using the arts for economic and social upliftment.[19]

Yet despite their innovative and groundbreaking research, four of my master's students' research projects were dismissed by conservative, South African examiners, who would have failed them as non-compliant to normative academic expectations because their dissertations neither fit into the Fine Art format, nor complied with a social science model.[20] As I refused to accept this judgment, it became necessary to have these projects re-examined by more visionary academics, both local and international. Ultimately, two of these students graduated their Master's cum-laude, and another, one of the first of two black master's student graduates in our Faculty, paved the way for a practice-based participatory research methodology, particularly suited, in my opinion, for the South African context. I analyse the case of David Tshabalala at length as evidence for this claim.

[18] The Teacher Training Course was co-designed and partnered by CDP (Curriculum Development Project) which has extensive experience in training arts educators. CDP have since partnered with Wits School of the Arts (2003) which was more receptive to formalizing this important initiative than the University of Johannesburg

[19] To cite examples among my postgraduate students are or have been involved in community engagement: Carol Hofmeyr founded and directs the Keiskamma Trust, Sheila Flynn manages the Kopenang Trust, Terence Fenn, who received a scholarship for his Community Master's degree in Australia on the basis of his postgraduate involvement as a facilitator for Phumani Paper, is a full-time lecturer in the Multi-Media Department at the University of Johannesburg, Mandy Coppes has founded and directs Origanix, a company specializing in eco-friendly craft product development and programme management, Bronwyn Marshall after managing the archival Paper unit furthered her studies in multi-media and produces children's books, David Tshabalala manages Phumani Paper, Zhané Warren lived in Belgium for four years during her Master's studies and has recently established a collaborating Print Studio in Cape Town called Warren Editions; Jeannot Ladeira is a consultant and artist working on cultural exchange programs between South Africa and Angola, his country of origin.

[20] The students whose results I contested were Carol Hofmeyr (1999), Mandy Coppes (2003), Bronwyn Marshall (2003) and David Tshabalala (2005).

Case Study: David Tshabalala

In the case study I will now describe, the Master's candidate was and remains an excellent practitioner, has an excellent ability to conceptualize, is a dedicated community activist, is a good researcher, and has an ability to transfer skills and assist others to achieve. However, he had poor to average academic and writing skills. Most institutions would not accept such an individual for a Master's program, but the former TWR Fine Art Department, a program that is reputed to have a strength in mentoring art students as high achieving art practitioners, agreed to admit David Tshabalala on the basis of my motivation as his supervisor. In addition, the government imperative for educational diversity and redress supported the former TWR position at the time that artistic talent and discipline could compensate for mediocre or poor academic preparation. Further, when the system opened up to transformation, access, and community engagement, funding opportunities became available to encourage postgraduate black students from financially and educationally disadvantaged backgrounds. Tshabalala was one such student: from a poor and rural family, he was keen to improve his qualifications, and to become a role model in his community.

In 2002 when South Africa was hosting the WSSD (World Summit on Sustainable Development), the Friends of the Earth, an international environmental action NGO, offered Phumani Paper the opportunity to participate in a poverty relief recycling project that required the production of 10 000 paper dolls for a public installation. I handed this project to David Tshabalala, who was a fourth-year research assistant to Mandy Coppes's Master's research project at the time. The project included the participation of ten marginalized community groups (ex-prisoners and HIV-positive men and women); the setting up of a range of partnerships; the creation of a new paper casting technology for manufacturing 10 000 dolls; and skills training for a range of stakeholders (Figures 1 and 2). The project turned into an extraordinary learning process in leadership and conflict resolution, as well as community facilitation. The results were spectacular. At the WSSD, Tshabalala led a protest march of 500 people to hand a memorandum to the Minister of Environmental Affairs (Figures 3a and b). The installation of 6 000 dolls, which were made by impoverished participants from recycled waste, symbolized the key themes of the Summit: globalization, environmental decay, and poverty (Figure 4).[21] A photograph of the installation was published on the front page of the *New York Times*, (Figure 5) and it symbolically presented the three sustainable development issues of the conference – economic, environmental and social. Tshabalala

[21] The intended proposal for 10 000 dolls was not realized because of the unrealistic time frames and an excessively rainy season that slowed the drying time.

was subsequently encouraged to write up this highly successful and complex project as a case study for his Master's dissertation.

There were problems, however. The project was completed for the WSSD Summit and was set up according to community imperatives and partnerships, and not as a research project as its first objective. I proposed action research as an appropriate and acceptable practice to assess the project, and suggested that Tshabalala conduct a subsequent research project to follow up the impact of the intervention. The resistance to accepting this methodology in the Art and Design academic domain was revealed when I sought examiners to evaluate the student's thesis. The external examiner rejected the project as non-compliant to accepted standards in Fine Art practice.
In contrast the two internal examiners and a USA-based external advisor (who was a visiting Fulbright scholar during the project phase of the candidate's research) had all passed the candidate (with a solid second-class pass), noting weaknesses in the literature review, organization of written materials, and weakness of theory, but highly commending it as a community-based research project with its numerous beneficial outcomes. In contrast, the internal Academic Promotions Committee expressed concern in writing about "a lowering of standards" The committee then required the dissertation to be re-written with another co-supervisor appointed, in a manner that would take into account the external examiner's concerns.[22]

Furthermore, the Faculty's Academic Promotions Committee (APC) responsible for coordinating the results and awarding a final mark for the student, overlooked the fact that the two internal examiners and a USA-based external advisor (who was a visiting Fulbright scholar during the project phase of the candidate's research) had all passed the candidate (with a solid second-class pass), noting weaknesses in the literature review, organization of written materials, and weakness of theory, but highly commending it as a community-based research project with its numerous beneficial outcomes. In contrast, the internal Academic Promotions Committee expressed concern in writing about "a lowering of standards" from a student who is "academically inferior". The committee then required the dissertation to be re-written with another co-supervisor appointed, in a manner that would take into account the external examiner's concerns.[23]

[22] The APC members, who are drawn from the Faculty Research Committee (chaired by the Dean), do not have to be familiar with the candidate's dissertation, they serve to moderate marks.
[23] The APC members, who are drawn from the Faculty Research Committee (chaired by the Dean), do not have to be familiar with the candidate's dissertation, they serve to moderate marks.

To ensure that the student was treated fairly, I elicited a further opinion from an international expert familiar with community-engaged scholarship, who read the dissertation voluntarily, and provided the academic promotions committee with a written report in which she outlined the framework of “public scholarship” and provided an argument in favour of the candidate’s passing. A new co-supervisor, Dr Mark Creekmore, (a social scientist at the University of Michigan), was appointed and proposed some concrete recommendations for restructuring the document before submitting it for re-evaluation. Creekmore then assisted Tshabalala and myself in restructuring the information and interviews into an acceptable formulaic format. He was also able to verify the methodology of PAR as having sound academic merit. While the outcomes remained the same, the structure of the document became more ‘scientific’. The personal, experiential voice of the researcher was significantly reduced, and the document adhered to an acceptable formula of presentation in the social sciences. The second version was evaluated a year later, and commended by all readers. The question of whether social science methodologies, used exclusively, are appropriate to postgraduate theses in the Fine Arts was never raised.

The value that this case study has contributed to the Faculty of Art, Design and Architecture has become evident in the subsequent acceptance of interdisciplinary co-supervision, as well as the acceptance of specific criteria to assess research in the community-based arts. This case study indicates that progressive scholars do need to develop evaluation strategies that are adequate to research, and that integrate Fine Arts practice into social movements, in which community groups and organizations play an important role.

In the case of Tshabalala there was a significant lack of common ground in evaluating the candidate's work between the South African external examiner of the first version of the dissertation, and the two international (United States-based) advisors. For instance, the international advisor (co-supervisor of the dissertation) noted in her reader’s report that the candidate’s research contributes to important new developments in arts education, evaluates a “remarkable” public installation, and demonstrates in an original way how a social movement like environmental advocacy changes the social meanings of material artifacts, particularly when those artifacts are produced through an emerging “new economy” of cultural projects.

The negative comments by the South African evaluators, on the other hand, denied the contribution of the thesis as the kind of case study and model needed in order to generate new projects, and also ignored the fact that sustainability demanded an institutional

environment that values this kind of work. The evaluators comments were impossible for me to reconcile with a postgraduate student who, in addition to winning an international fellowship at a major United States University[24] and exhibiting his fine art work there and in South Africa, has demonstrated the ability to assume moral and intellectual leadership, and moreover, has conceptualized, planned, facilitated, and documented, the transfer of skills to over 100 individuals that resulted in both income generation and awareness of environmental decay in their communities. Further, the candidate became the second black postgraduate student to receive a Master's degree in the Faculty of Arts. Deeply committed to community development, he acted as the manager of a skills learnership at Phumani Paper that offers accredited training for enterprise development. He was the first person in his family and village to receive a university degree and is a role model for young arts practitioners. I have had to contest the poor evaluations of three other master's students engaged in community-based research. Community-based research projects should be assessed fairly against guidelines and in accordance with its public-good values by academics who are familiar with action research methodologies.

However, at the end of these lengthy procedures, and the lengthy discussions and arguments they generated, the University of Johannesburg Faculty of Art and Design and the administration departments now understands the value of community-based research. So, in the end, the difficult process had a positive outcome. I proposed drafting guidelines for the evaluation of future master's projects of this sort, and in 2007 they were approved by the Faculty Research Committee. Furthermore, the dissertation in community-based art is now an official option within the Fine Arts Department's revised Master's of Visual Arts degree. The attached guidelines of the new Community-Based Master's Program (Appendix 1) provide criteria for assessing community-based arts research that take into consideration the contribution of the action research to its community partner. For example, the standard academic categories such as 'field of study' and 'research design and methodology' would consider criteria such as significance to the public good and the values and ethics of collecting data. The 'literature review and use of theory' category requires a critique of existing literature and a contribution to building new knowledge. The 'presentation' should be inclusive of the voices of the stakeholders as well as the researcher, and the 'contribution to technology and new knowledge' calls for a focus on values of caring, social justice, and human dignity.

[24] Tshabalala was the recipient of a Moody Fellowship at University of Michigan that offered him and fellow Master's student, Jeannot Ladeira, a three-month residency and two-person exhibition in 2004.

What the experience of introducing community-based research in the Arts at the University of Johannesburg suggests is that the most effective way to develop a methodology of evaluation for innovative new work in community-engaged research in the arts in South Africa is to adapt evaluation policies based on the methodologies of public scholarship and PAR. I recommended adapting the key criteria proposed by the Imagining America tenure team's advocacy for public scholarship within universities to the goals of evaluating community-based arts action research. These include: scholarly and creative ('artifactual') work jointly planned and carried out by co-equal university and community partners; intellectual and creative ('artifactual') work that yields a public-good product; critical and artistic work that contributes to public debates; and efforts to change cultural and educational institutions themselves and research on the success of such efforts (Ellison and Eatman 2008).

Community-based action research suggests the possibility of more socially responsible uses of research, providing the means for people to have a more direct impact on significant issues that continue to diminish their lives. This kind of research seeks to formulate ways of living and working together that will enhance the life experiences of the student and community participant. Finally, it embraces richer, more intense forms of inquiry using artistic forms of expression. The next section argues that the participatory and democratic structures of community-based research projects are fundamental to fulfilling the university's public mission through research.[25]

Phumani Paper and the University of Johannesburg

Phumani Paper proved that it was possible for a higher education institution to be both accountable and responsive (if only for a short period) to the government's call in the White Paper for tertiary education institutions to play a role in the reconstruction and development of South Africa, as the government-funded poverty alleviation program was accommodated by the mechanisms of the institution. Community partnerships were integrated into the Phumani Paper program to the extent that the external funds paid salaries for community activists through the university's payroll.[26] Needless to say, while Phumani Paper can hardly claim credit for transforming the bureaucracy of the Human Resources and Finance departments, I maintain that the Phumani Paper program did succeed in humanizing pockets

[25] It has been established that public scholarship is legitimate as knowledge and thus research, (Ellison, Boyte et al.), see the Common Agenda (2006) http://www.thenationalforum.org/common_agenda.doc (Accessed 25 November 2008).
[26] Initially called the Papermaking Research and Development Programme (PPRP) from 1999 to 2002.

of the system: for instance the cashiers and creditors, human resource officers and finance secretaries all began to feel pride when their timely payments made a difference to people in the deepest poverty nodes of the country. Some individuals in administration received handmade gifts from project participants and others held a sale of the groups' products in their offices. In addition, the program received awards, was featured in the University's annual reports, and was cited as a success story in public promotion events.

However, in 2005 the Department of Education required traditionally-white universities to merge with marginalized black institutions as a means of redress and integration, and the Technikon was incorporated into Rand Afrikaans University (RAU). The new entity became the University of Johannesburg. At that time, RAU's management considered Phumani Paper to be a liability that required excessive time and resources on the part of the administration. For instance, as the merger was in process, RAU's registrar was horrified to discover that rural women in the remotest regions of the country were on the payroll as staff members of the University of Johannesburg.[27] In the end, the new administration demanded a complete dislocation of Phumani Paper from the University of Johannesburg. All Phumani Paper contracts were terminated, and the organization was re-established as a Section 21 company. Phumani Paper barely survived this very damaging process of separation that not only discredited the program as a financial liability but also demoralized the students and staff involved. The sizable grants from government, UNESCO and the Ford Foundation were not seen as valuable to the University of Johannesburg as the funds did not benefit the University directly. This phenomenon of the University adopting a capitalist paradigm that values assets and resources being directed to the elite has been discussed earlier in this chapter. The University of Johannesburg did, however, compromise after a series of high level interventions that were symptomatic of the struggle between two institutions that were culturally incompatible, and the executive management permitted the head office of Phumani Paper and its two satellite projects to remain on campus with a University of Johannesburg email address.[28]

I perceive this level of hostility as symptomatic of the new University's understanding of community service as an extra and expendable activity (Berman 2007).[29] Phumani Paper was not the only initiative that was closed down. Another casualty of the new dispensation

[27] As the government grant was paid to the TWR, the only way to appoint staff on this project was to use the standard academic temporary appointment forms, the same used for contract lecturers.
[28] The rental agreement remains under negotiation. See memorandums between the former Dean of Research and University Executive Management, KB Archives (UJ Draw 5: File 4).
[29] See further discussion on the difference of community service and community engagement in a paper published in the University of Johannesburg Journal: *Education for Change* (Berman 2007a).

was the Department of Fine Arts one-year Teacher Training certificate program that has trained hundreds of arts educators over the course of twelve years. The new Dean of the Faculty, appointed in 2007, discovered that the Senate had not endorsed this course because it was a 'service program' that was not accredited; as a result, the program has been terminated. This is not only a tragedy for all the teachers that now cannot benefit from this training, but is also a considerable loss to University of Johannesburg and Artist Proof Studio students whose lives were profoundly touched through the communities these programs engage with.

Mark C.Taylor has argued that the new mandate for "merged institutions" has not led to a vital process of rethinking curriculum needs, but rather provided a rationale for and "longing to return to basic values and foundational beliefs," as institutions with very different histories and functions attempted to find common ground. He concludes that such thinking tends to re-establish hierarchies and inequalities (Taylor 2001: 31). It is my contention that in this present period the University of Johannesburg exemplifies a closed, hierarchical system, which is now promoting or privileging traditional scholarly research and publication over experiential learning and community engagement. Indeed, it seems that the more research is engaged with community, the less it is accorded academic value. The gap between academia and activism will never be bridged unless new definitions of research are developed that are consonant with the radical paradigm shifts in knowledge production that have occurred over the past generation.

In support of this position, Teboho Lebakeng argues that "the problem with the current mergers is that … they focus exclusively on governance and structures and are not based on a comprehensive curriculum audit. Neither are they informed by a guiding educational philosophy deriving from indigenous African epistemology" (Lebakeng 2004: 113). According to Lebakeng, the mergers have tended to overlook the fundamental purpose of education and intellectual production in South Africa. He goes on to recognize that "the challenge lies in capacitating African academics in establishing an Afrocentric epistemological paradigm" (2004: 115). That paradigm, he argues, is critical of colonialism and affirms African socio-cultural identity and values. This could be extended to include participatory and communal practice.

When the TWR merged with RAU, the values implicit in a vocationally-based pedagogy were discarded in favour of a strong effort to increase the number of formal, academic degrees among students and faculty. In an essay on civic agency and change, Harry Boyte has observed a similar process in the United States: "Our norms justify … meriocratic

assumptions about 'the best and brightest', preparing students to join the elect, which form the air we breathe in research institutions" (Boyte 2008: 12). In contrast, he argues: "Craft traditions treated knowledge-making as a social process and recognized the importance of apprenticeships and contextual practice to student learning. The craft nature of the scholarly disciplines has diminished; we need to revive it" (2008: 12).

These 'social processes' of learning describe the vocational and 'industry-based' apprenticeships of the former Technikons that are currently being buried as a result of the merger. Not only must the Fine Art lecturers focus on research and publishing, but they are required to upgrade their qualifications to professorships. The intelligence and talents of educators without graduate degrees has been de-legitimized. As a result, it has become almost impossible for those of us committed to community engagement to find the 'free time' for such research. The message the Fine Art Department has been given by the current Dean, who is tasked with implementing the research-focused vision and mission of the University of Johannesburg as a "premier research institution," [30] is that the 'knowledge economy' that generates subsidies through accredited publications and rated researchers is the first priority.

These kinds of pressures, in my opinion, can be detrimental if they are prioritized at the expense of teaching and learning. Our contact hours with students have been reduced, staff members must improve their qualifications, and students must complete their degrees in the minimum time or the department's subsidies are cut by the Department of Education. Education is becoming product rather than a process. Is it right for educators to accept the devaluing of skill and craftsmanship in favour of a financially focused bottom-line approach to learning, or do we assume leadership in efforts to oppose this trend? In a position paper, "Reinserting the 'Public Good' into Higher Education Transformation," Mala Singh acknowledges that:

> Making social justice issues explicit and real within the notions of higher education responsiveness and accountability is likely to prove enormously difficult, if not impossible. The task requires not only tenacious commitment but also clarity of conception about what is required, and mobilisation of different role players around it (Singh 2001: 18).

American scholar Donald Hall concurs:

[30] See UJ website for vision and strategic goals: "To establish the University of Johannesburg among the top research universities in the country in terms of nationally and internationally accepted research criteria". "As a university it takes its research component seriously and is committed to intensifying research activities and output" (http://www.uj.ac.za/).

> Change is uncomfortable and nerve-wracking for anyone, but for academics, alone or in groups, embracing change means giving up of one of the foundational myths of academic identity: the myth of mastery … To seek change is to admit humbly that one's current existence and one's current set of narratives are outdated or inadequate (Hall 2007: 6,7).

Fortunately, since the start of 2008, there are a number of initiatives that indicate a progressive direction at the University of Johannesburg. These include new leadership, including the appointment of activist scholar Adam Habib as Deputy Vice-Chancellor: Research, Innovation and Advancement; and new programs such as the establishment of the Centre for Education Practice Research in the Faculty of Education; the establishment of a Centre for the Study of Democracy with appointments of very progressive scholars such as Founding Director Steven Friedman; and Dr Xolela Mangcu as a founding Director for the Platform for Public Deliberation as well as an introduction of a Community Engagement Policy.[31]

Despite these positive developments, research continues to happen in the elite world of higher education, while activism and community engagement continues to happen on the ground. Until we bridge that gap, we have not truly transformed South African education. Phumani Paper as an action research and community-based program that has led to the establishment of papermaking as a small cultural industry for South Africa has demonstrated the value and possibilities of engaged and collaborative research. Although many writers, policymakers and educators agree on the need for transformation in higher education in building democracy in South Africa, this task appears to have barely begun in the university system. Yet, however slow, the process of change must continue, and will do so only through ongoing dialogue with students, faculty and administration. According to Hall:

> The transformative conversational process really rests on a few basic principles – we listen carefully to others, allow their perspectives to denaturalize our own assumptions, engage with enthusiasm in explanation of our own lives and perspectives and learn to work with that process of dialogue toward understanding, and mutual tolerance of abiding differences (Hall 2007: 69).

Applying Hall's concepts of the transformative conversational process, I have recently been able to establish a new research activity, 'The Role of the Visual Arts in Social Change,' that operates within an NRF-funded Research Centre in the Faculty of Art Design and Architecture. The Centre facilitates the support of students and projects working in this

[31] I was involved in the advisory committee to formulate a Draft Policy document (KB Archives, KBR Draw 4: File 14).

area.[32] The research outputs are measurable: improved qualifications, papers and conferences in accredited and peer-reviewed journals, Master's-student exchanges, a research publication, and an impact assessment funded by the Ford Foundation.[33] These outputs meet the corporatized criteria for research that the university has imposed, and permit me to continue my work.

Conclusion: Directions for Engaged Learning and Research

This chapter has discussed the topic of the transformation of higher education using the specific example of a graduate program. Although not discussed in detail, I am clearly advocating the transformation of the entire university system, both graduate and undergraduate. The American activist Andrew Mott of the Ford Foundation's Community Learning Project, has asked a crucial question in his publication, 'University Education for Community Change: A Vital Strategy for Progress on Poverty, Race and Community-Building': "If poverty, race and community are such central issues for our society, why don't institutions of higher education develop programs to educate people for careers as leaders and supporters of community change efforts?" (Mott 2005: 5).[34] His question is directed to undergraduate education in general, and not to specialized programs in economic development. The report highlights the practical steps "which would substantially increase the relevance and impact of American Universities in opening up new opportunities for communities of color and low-income people." Mott lists the following elements for developing the skills that university graduates need to lead the process of change, all of which are relevant to the South African context:

- low-income communities must be the prime movers in order to ensure that the change reflects their needs and priorities
- they must build their own effective organizations to represent their interests, and they must hold those organizations accountable
- while people can learn and develop all these capacities through experience, trial and error, they will develop far more quickly if they have an opportunity to learn through a combination of structured learning opportunities, practice and critical reflection

[32] My NRF-funded research activity is registered in the official Fine Art research niche area entitled 'Visualising Identity in a Post-colonial Environment'. Ironically, although my program's ideology, purpose and vision is opposite to that of my colleague, who is the leader of the niche area specializing in post-colonial theory; being part of the niche area as the research umbrella has allowed me to submit my program as part of our 'core business' in the Faculty. Subsequently, the Master's program in Community-Based Arts using PAR was passed by the Faculty of Art Design and Architecture (FADA) as this program has become much less of a threat to the Faculty. It is now 'inside the system', as opposed to operating on the margins.
[33] See Research outputs of the NRF/URC/Ford Funded research activities : KB Archives (KBR Draw 4: File 12).
[34] See full report (http://www.communitylearningproject.org/docs/university education.pdf).

- university-based programs can be one important route for developing these leaders, but the curricula must be reshaped to accomplish this specific purpose.

Despite the drawbacks of university bureaucracy, Mott argues that the university's role is indispensable:

> First, universities are the best point of contact with the young generation which the community change movement desperately needs.
> Second, it is by now abundantly clear that non-profits will never get the resources which are needed for the intensive, long-term educational programs.
>
> Third, while the vast majority of universities offer few courses which are directly relevant to community change work, universities do have great potential as sources of education and training for this field.
> Fourth, this generation of students has a strong orientation to service which is causing universities to give new attention to community needs (Mott 2005: 11).

The experience of Phumani Paper, a community development program within a university, has reflected many of the benefits Mott has listed. It introduced students to the field of social and community change; it linked research projects to technology transfer for community development; it required multi-disciplinary expertise; it was grounded in both theory and practice, and advanced both; it created real partnerships with community individuals and organizations; it strengthened participatory processes that were designed to build on community assets, and it strengthened students' abilities to lead community change efforts. The students also graduated with a significantly greater knowledge base than that of other graduating Fine Art students, as well as analytical capacities and practical skills that were gained through the use of experiential teaching methods and participatory action approaches to research. Most of all they learnt empathy, and now most are deeply committed to social justice and democratic values. They have been trained as leaders in community change efforts, and exemplify the educational goals Mott has outlined.

Each of the six Master's students involved directly with community-based research through Phumani Paper has found employment and has assumed a leadership role in community facilitation, training and development. Examples of these have been indicated previously (see footnote 20). Furthermore, there are many other university graduates whose exposure and involvement in community arts programs have had a profound influence on their choice of career in community-based arts.[35]

[35] They include BTech graduates, including Terence Fenn, Usha Seejarum, Shannin Antonopolou, Sheila Flynn, Ilse Pahl, Christian Hlasane, Cloudia Hartwig and Shonisani Maphangwa.

I argue throughout this thesis that strong and creative grassroots organizations in South Africa are central to building a healthy democratic society. They bring low-income people together to address issues that matter; they are in the forefront in the fight for the prevention of HIV/AIDS, and the support and treatment of those infected and affected by HIV/AIDS; they create ties and partnerships and strengthen communities; they build social capital, develop leadership, build self-reliance and skills, and represent the interests of the people who would otherwise be marginalized or ignored. Many NGOs are critical vehicles for delivering responsive services and launching important community development projects, but, as Mott asserts, universities must play an increasingly central role in this endeavour.

I argue strongly that a high priority should be given to supporting university-based efforts to prepare the next generation of leaders and staff for leading grassroots organizations and the networks and institutions that are critical to their growth and success. The arts in particular should not be excluded from this critical role for community change. Arjun Appadurai argues for a research culture based on imaginative rethinking of given relationships between pedagogy, research and activism in the age of globalization. He calls for the democratization of research in the "context of certain dominant forms of critical knowledge" (Appadurai 2004: 3). The PRDU has, in a small way, responded to this imperative for the 'democratization of research' that can open opportunities for greater connection between community building and the pursuit of new knowledge. Participation in this program has created enabling environments for students to see themselves as change agents and navigators for democratic society building.

While the case study I have described reveals my personal struggle for acceptance of community engagement projects as research activities in my Faculty, the point that needs to be made is that this case study is symptomatic of much bigger issues around research and transformation. I am proposing a paradigm shift that goes much deeper than assessment criteria and is a radical challenge on a number of levels as it crosses several 'sacred boundaries' in higher education.

These are:

- it is deeply interdisciplinary across faculties (uncommon in the arts except for recent moves in digital arts)
- it requires simultaneous recognition of three areas of an academic's role: research/ teaching/ community service
- it bridges the 'Town/Gown' divide, in which the ivory tower encounters the street

- it challenges different definitions of what constitutes research: Creative Arts as research, Community work as research, Research as research (divisions between what constitutes research in formulaic social sciences, development, social work, public health and humanities).[36]
- it challenges the corporatist model of what is of value to the university. For example, the prioritizing of accredited publications is the equivalent of bottom-line quarterly reports to shareholders in the corporate sector; versus the long-term contribution to the public good in the form of a new industry and employment of the previously unemployable.

As proposed in this chapter, the arts in my opinion could be ideally suited to applying imagination, collaboration and scholarship to integrate all three pillars of learning (teaching, research, and community service) in higher education for arts research to have relevance in contributing to building a post-apartheid democratic society.[37] Change is the intended outcome of community-based action research. This kind of research allows for the possibility of moving from reflection and theorizing to action. These moves must be made explicit so that the institutional imperatives of the universities and bureaucracies do not inhibit the potential of the research process. These values and practices of engagement connect knowledge produced inside and outside of academic institutions, a model well suited, in my opinion, for a transformed paradigm of research and evaluation of community engagement in the arts.

[36] This is extracted from a paper, 'Shifting the paradigm: The need for assessment criteria for community-engaged research in the visual arts'. Publication pending in *The South African Journal of Higher Education* (Berman 2008b).

[37] The three pillars in Higher Education are listed as three of the ten strategic objectives of the University of Johannesburg's mission to: "promote excellence in teaching and learning, conduct internationally competitive research, be an engaged University" (Available: http://www.uj.ac.za/).

CHAPTER SIX: CULTURAL ACTION FOR CHANGE: AN AIDS ACTION CASE STUDY

Introduction

In many ways the four chapters preceding this one, Artist Proof Studio, Paper Prayers, University of Johannesburg, and Phumani Paper, are the spokes of a wheel that involve different organizational structures, different teams of people, different missions and visions, and distinct components of my professional, educational, activist and managerial activities. This chapter connects the four different organizational ecosystems. It aims to bring together the challenges that arise from each program as revealed in the previous chapters, and links these challenges in order to form the components of a complex AIDS Action intervention. Combining the four programs manifests the gestalt tenet that the whole is greater than the sum of its parts, which motivated the strategy for designing an integrated methodology that could prove how the visual arts can create change.

The Ford Foundation funded an intervention from July 2006 to 2008 that brought three organizations – Artist Proof Studio, Phumani Paper and the University of Johannesburg – together in an ambitious program. Following the submission of the impact assessment and findings, the Ford Foundation extended its funding for two further years to July 2010. The overarching program is titled Cultural Action for Change and has had three iterations over five years. An early pilot collaboration (which was separately funded) was undertaken by scholars and students from the University of Michigan in July 2005 and July 2006, and was called New Partners/New Knowledge. This was an intervention in six of the Phumani sites that implemented and tested the methodologies used in the subsequent AIDS Action program. It culminated in a seminar and workshop at the University of Johannesburg that was designed to explore and share the early findings and Participatory Action approach with the academic community. This prepared the way for the subsequent two-year roll-out of the program to all sixteen of the Phumani Paper sites from August 2006 to June 2008, which was titled the AIDS Action Intervention. In July 2008 the Ford Foundation funded an extension of this grant that will include a broader outreach and will use a new methodology – community and visual mapping. Artist Proof Studio will use its trained teams to expand the outreach of this new phase into broader sectors, such as schools and support centres, using the methodologies that have been developed in partnership with the University of Johannesburg and Phumani Paper.

This third phase is called Cultural Action for Change, the name that the program has also adopted to describe the whole five-year program. This chapter will describe the implementation of the five-year program, including its methodological approaches, and will asses the outcomes thus far. The latter will also be elaborated on in the conclusion of this thesis in Chapter Seven.

The rationale for the Cultural Action for Change intervention is linked to the journey of my thesis: the quest to provide evidence to support the contention that the visual arts are a valuable tool for creating social change. The program has developed a range of methods to evaluate impact, because the measuring of impact is often a challenge for arts-based programs. Funding agencies want to know that their funding criteria have been met, and the academy wants to know that the research is credible and verifiable, and that scientific research procedures are being followed. The Ford Foundation funding facilitated the contracting of an independent social science researcher to use the discipline's 'hard data' approach to measure impact alongside the 'softer' arts-based participatory methods of visual arts activities such as the use of Photovoice and Paper Prayers to generate narratives. This mixture of approaches has come together in the latest intervention through the use of tools such as social and visual mapping and can be used by each community site to monitor and manage their own research data linked to action plans. This chapter aims to trace and analyse case studies that describe processes of change in individuals and Phumani sites. The chapter is divided into three parts: Part One is focused on the theoretical framework and methodologies of the intervention; Part Two provides a descriptive analysis of the different phases of the intervention, and Part Three presents the findings and the way forward through the Cultural Action for Change program.

PART ONE: Framing and Methodologies

Starting the Process: Goals and approaches

Preceding the fire at APS in March 2003, I wrote a concept paper for the Ford Foundation for an intervention that would expand the Artist Proof Studio's HIV/AIDS campaign through a more extensive use of visual arts. After the fire the funding priority shifted to the building of the new studio, and so the program was put on hold for two years. In 2005, working together with the grant-makers at the Ford Foundation and focusing on the principles of the participating organizations, I conceptualized a Participatory Action Research (PAR) project that would involve the collaboration of Artist Proof Studio, Phumani Paper, Paper Prayers and student researchers at the University of Johannesburg. The PAR Research program that

I devised was directly linked to the key research questions of my PhD thesis. How do the visual arts contribute to social change? How deep can that change go? Can it foster agency and empowerment? Can it enrich people's quality of life, alleviate spiritual and economic poverty, or even save lives? How can I demonstrate my impassioned belief in the power of the creative process? Can the research and the research outcomes provide evidence of significant change, as well as co-create new knowledge that will have direct benefits to the participants of the process?

The resulting complex and ambitious proposal to the Ford Foundation required the Foundation to collaborate across three of its program disciplines: Sustainable Livelihoods, HIV/AIDS and Reproductive Health, and Higher Education and Research. In turn, the successful grant allocated funding to three collaborating programs: Artist Proof Studio, Phumani Paper, and my University of Johannesburg research activity area: Art and Social Change. I served as the conduit across the three programs, each with their distinct objectives and roles.

The goal of the AIDS Action Intervention was to provide support to, and increase the agency of, participants of the Phumani Paper craft enterprises affected by the HIV pandemic. The great majority of these workers are women. The aim was to enable them to break the silence, to confront the fear and stigma of HIV, and to seek voluntary counselling and testing (VCT), thereby reducing the numbers of deaths in their projects and communities. This was an intensive intervention that aimed to both provide support to the groups and individuals through the multi-modal workshops, to initiate awareness of the value of VCT, and to establish links to local clinics, counsellors, and medical support. In this way each enterprise could gain the capacity to access support or refer others to support within their own communities. The program did not claim to reduce the infection rates of HIV, but to reduce the fear and stigma surrounding the pandemic, so that the participants could act on choices available to them.

An additional objective was to achieve an increase in productivity and income for the enterprises as a result of greater group trust, information, networking and agency. The Phumani Paper program intervention aimed at empowering the groups themselves to better manage their enterprises, whereas the Phumani Paper national office and regional staff were challenged with investigating and accessing markets.

Finally, the academic component of Cultural Action for Change was structured to test the efficacy of participatory learning that employs students as researchers and teachers as well

as learners through PAR methodology. What is gained academically from engaged learning? What is the unique role of the creative interventions of Photovoice and Paper Prayers in this process? The fundamental challenge the research teams faced in engaging research with Phumani Paper groups revolves around the following questions: How can this endeavour maintain an equal exchange of value and not result in exploitative power relationships? How does this research resist the perpetuation of the norm, which often involves researchers using institutional research resources to exploit a community to further their own career development?

The success of this research is dependent on its meeting the community development priorities. The project proposes that the visual arts can play a valuable role in connecting and integrating new knowledge transmitted from the community participants to the researcher, and in redefining the researcher as an activist and facilitator for catalysing social action. In sum, Cultural Action for Change bridges the divide between engaged, experiential and participative learning, and theoretically-based academic research.

In this chapter, one of the Phumani groups, Kutloano in Welkom, Free State Province, is discussed in depth in order to clarify the process and outcomes of this complex project. The program was structured around the concept of fostering agency as the most effective means of addressing the overwhelming challenges posed by HIV/AIDS.

Framing the Approach: Concepts, issues and theory

What follows is an identification of the key issues and concepts that inform this intervention, and an overview of the ideas that have been instrumental to the establishment of the theoretical framework of this strategy. The strategy focuses on the framing theories in three areas: the role of culture in development, visual culture in relationship to arts and crafts, and a gendered approach to AIDS action.

The Role of Culture and Development: Poverty, agency and empowerment

Lourdes Arizpe provides a definition of culture as the flow of meanings that human beings create, blend and exchange:

> Cultures are philosophies of life that hold together all the social practices that build and maintain a capable, creative human being. Such practices also hold together well-functioning, balanced societies. In this sense, cultures function as primary regulating systems that help to keep peoples´ feelings and actions within the bounds of institutionally acceptable behaviour. Guidelines for behaviour are expressed in discourse as values. When such systems are ignored in development they tend to create unsocial behaviour (Arizpe 2004: 178).

Arizpe's definition of culture revises the lay interpretation of culture as tradition, that is, unchanging customs from the past. Both Amartya Sen (2004) and Arjun Appadurai (2004) advocate with this position and also stress the dynamic, future-oriented qualities of culture, understood as systems of meaning on multiple levels. As discussed in Chapter Four, Appadurai develops the concept of the "capacity to aspire" on the part of the poor. He proposes that "in strengthening the capacity to aspire, conceived as a cultural capacity especially among the poor … the poor could find the resources required to contest and alter the conditions of their own poverty" (Appadurai 2004: 62). While Sen and Appadurai's approach to development has been referred to a number of times in the course of this thesis, an elaboration of this underpinning theory is particularly crucial to understanding the principles of the AIDS Action Intervention. Appadurai stresses culture's open, interactive, fluid, dynamically complex, and constructed qualities. People's capacity to aspire is tied to 'voice,' and the development of the power and recognition that people gain through long-term organizing. He argues that "voice must be expressed in terms of actions and performances which have local cultural force." The development of voice also means learning how to negotiate larger contexts. "There is no short cut to empowerment. It has to take some local cultural form to have resonance, mobilize adherents, and capture the public space of debate." Organizing requires "efforts to change the dynamics … in their larger social worlds" (Appadurai 2004: 60-62). As so defined, however, Appadurai's notion of voice is based on linguistic skills. I argue that the eleven official languages spoken in South Africa make this linguistic model of agency a potentially limiting one. The multi-modal approach of this intervention instead used the visual arts of photography and printmaking to develop voice as defined by Appadurai: that is, the capacity to inquire, share, dream a better future, and plan actions that transform silence into articulated goals.

A pivotal working premise of this thesis and all the interventions it analyses is the power of voice expressed as action – action that has local cultural force, in terms of initiating social change. Chapters Two to Five provide evidence that using creative capacities to construct narratives can positively impact on the creation of identities though imagination and aspiration, and can have a powerful effect on an individual's agency and self-actualization. This is especially the case in the AIDS Action intervention funded by the Ford Foundation, which sets out to facilitate the creation of those narratives or cultural expressions that lead to a greater sense of agency for each participant, both in the implementing team and amongst the community partners.

The participants in each of the Phumani Paper sites described in Chapter Four differ considerably with regard to ethnicity, language and age. Each group also exhibited different responses to the AIDS Action Intervention, but the determination of agency expressed by how many people each member has referred to counselling at the end of the intervention is one of the quantitatively measurable indicators of change. Qualitative results, however, provide a richer elaboration of the impact. For example the comments made during an interview of the group leader from the Bosele group in the Northwest Province conducted at the end of the two-year intervention (April 2008) demonstrates this power of voice expressed as action. The project leader in her interview cites various instances of referral of family members for testing and counselling, as well as disclosures in the group contributing to greater group cohesion.[1]

Visual Culture and Public Action

The concept of agency is becoming central to many development fields. In a collection of essays entitled Culture and Public Action, edited by Vijayendra Rao and Michael Walton, the authors argue for a shift from 'equality of opportunity' to 'equality of agency'. This shift requires a radical change from expert-led interventions to an understanding that poor people must become the authors of their own development. The editors sum up the contributions to the anthology from authors such as Amartya Sen and Arjun Appadurai as follows: rather than doing things for people, development workers need to focus on "creating an enabling environment to provide the poor with the tools, and the voice, to navigate their way out of poverty" (Appadurai quoted by Rao and Walton 2004: 361). This understanding of agency requires that participants have the navigational capacities to negotiate and to transform their own environments that they understand to be fluid and open.

The collaborative partners engaged with the AIDS Action program as "a culturally aware public action" intervention use creative methods to express the perspective of each individual, so that they may visualize themselves as agents. In order for the poor to use their voice to "navigate their way out of poverty," our challenge was to develop the capacity to discover modes of vocalization that are not threatening or intimidating, and do not require specific linguistic competence or knowledge. The approach proposed that visual and cultural literacies can compensate for the possible limited ability amongst many participants to express thoughts and ideas using a linguistic voice.

[1] Jacobeth Lepedi interviewed by Shonisani Maphangwa, April 2007. See transcript of interview KB Archives (FF Draw 6: File 1h).

The essays in Rao and Walton's anthology unmask former assumptions about the "culture of poverty" that attributes the persistence of poverty to the cultural practices of poor groups. Such 'blame the victim' poverty diagnoses are not fruitful; they argue: "Poor people display a remarkable capacity to adjust to extraordinarily difficult circumstances, and it is incorrect to characterize their poverty as deriving from some unchangeable, inherited attribute. However, it is the case that conditions of poverty and inequality can be a product of cultural processes, and culture, economic conditions, and power can interact to sustain disadvantage" (Rao and Walton 2004: 16).

In the context of attempting to use the visual arts and crafts as a process to create agency for meaningful social change, the focus is on the striving for a good and valuable life. Artefacts can carry meanings based on existing social, economic and cultural values. However, whether or not the products are tied into a given culture, history or tradition, they can still embody values such as pride, dignity, self-confidence and aspiration, all of which are qualities that are necessary for Appadurai's notion of 'voice'. For example, the members of the Phumani Paper groups do not see themselves as crafters who are building on traditional practices, but as individuals who have acquired skills that can transform waste into objects of beauty. I would however distinguish between craft, which is income-generating, and the more creative and free expression of visual art processes in, for example, the making of a Paper Prayer artwork. The participants may or may not be producing a saleable item when they make expressive prints, but they acquire a different 'capability', a capability that I argue enhances agency. If you are creative, it means you can make a plan, make a decision, produce an artwork, and respond to the world.

Appadurai asks the crucial question for those engaged in the active work of development: "What does it mean to nurture the capacity to aspire?" He makes the following recommendations, which have served as guidelines for the methodology of the AIDS Action program:

> Whenever an outside agent enters a situation where poverty is a major concern, he or she should look closely at rituals through which the process of consensus is produced. Every effort should be made to encourage exercises in local teaching and learning which increase the ability of the poor people to navigate the cultural map in which aspirations are located and to cultivate an understanding of the links between wants or goals and the contexts. All internal efforts to cultivate voice among the poor in the context of any project should be encouraged, as it is through unleashing the capacity to aspire that the exercise of voice by the poor will be achieved. Any developmental project or initiative should develop a set of tools for identifying the *cultural map of aspirations* that surround the specific intervention. This may require specific technologies or material inputs to be placed in their aspirational contexts. Further, this will require careful surveys that can move from specific goods

> and technologies to the narratives within; and then to the norms which guide these narratives (Appadurai 2004: 83) [my emphasis].

These interrelated points are key to effective and holistic development interventions, and the concept of "cultural mapping of aspirations" has been adapted to designing methodologies and criteria of assessment for future programs. (This assertion will be developed in the findings described in the conclusion of this chapter). For example, the next phase of Cultural Action for Change will apply the concept of 'mapping' to help situate individuals and groups within their cultural milieus. How do individuals locate themselves in a given community, and how can fruitful interactions be fostered? These maps will assist the enterprises to develop action plans that plot the identified priorities of the group.[2]

Appadurai argues broadly for the need to create more productive relationships between anthropology and economics, that is, between culture and development, in the battle against poverty:

> This change requires us to place futurity, rather than pastness, at the heart of our thinking about culture. It has direct implications for increasing the ability of the poor to truly participate in the aims (and debates) of development (Appadurai 2004: 84).

To help test the validity of this argument, an honours course has been developed for 2008 by Dr Naude Malan from the University of Johannesburg's Department of Anthropology and Development Studies on participatory democracy. During the course, each honours student investigates particular organizational structures of a local Phumani Paper craft enterprise. As a result of their interviews, they then assess aspects of power and participation in a democratically based organization and initiate an investigation into the levels of economic participation of the groups though arts and culture. Their findings are fed back through an open discussion with the groups and the Phumani Paper national office. This process led to improved changes in communication and structure in two of the groups (Tandanani and Rags2Paper) in August 2008.

AIDS Action and Gender: HIV and women's empowerment

The trauma experienced by the members of Phumani Paper rural projects across the country as a result of the illnesses and deaths resulting from HIV/AIDS seems overwhelming. The

[2] My Master's of Fine Art student, Mphapho Hlasane, at the University of Johannesburg, who has been involved in the Ford Foundation project to date will facilitate and document this next phase as a component of his research. See Hlasane proposal KB Archives (UJ, Draw 5: File 4).

statistics continue to shock: over 1 000 people are dying of AIDS each day in South Africa.[3] Because of government intransigence and disinformation, the nation has failed to respond adequately to this crisis. The pandemic continues to take its daily, deadly toll, and in its wake it has become clear that every citizen must be involved on some level to help ameliorate this tragedy. How many educators and artists respond effectively? One meaningful action is to address the emotional and economic impact of HIV/AIDS through skills training and empowerment (Figures 1a and b).

It is important to be specific about the context of the AIDS Action Intervention. There are numerous approaches to addressing the AIDS pandemic in South Africa, some of which were discussed in Chapter Three. Strategies include the legal efforts by the Treatment Action Campaign (TAC), initiatives by the Art Therapy Centre, the Love-Life Campaign, home-based care and many others. The AIDS Action Intervention chose to work with a gendered approach to HIV that addresses South Africa's patriarchal culture and the gender inequality that fuels the epidemic. Inexplicably, HIV is often considered by the general populace to be women's problem, and there is a prevailing myth that women are the "vectors of the epidemic" (Albertyn and Hassim 2003: 140).

One seemingly intractable barrier to behaviour change is patriarchal tradition. Gender inequality fuels the HIV/AIDS epidemic.[4] For instance, Shireen Hassim and Catherine Albertyn (2003) note that HIV/AIDS has deepened the gendered stigmatization of women and further entrenched resistance to ideas of gender equality and women's autonomy. Women are blamed for spreading the HIV/AIDS epidemic to partners and children. This bigotry is reflected in the colloquial labels given to the disease. In KwaZulu-Natal, the province with the highest levels of prevalence, HIV/AIDS is referred to as a "woman's disease" or a "prostitute's disease".[5] In sum, HIV infection in women has resulted in reinforcing misogynistic sexual stereotypes. Although men are assumed to have multiple partners, it is women who are labelled as 'promiscuous' and morally unworthy. The disease

[3]References to statistics can be found on the websites of the AIDS Law project http://www.alp.org.za and Treatment Action Campaign www.tac.org.za. UNAIDS (2006), "UNAIDS 2006 Report on the global AIDS epidemic", Annex 2: HIV/AIDS estimates and data, 2005. By the end of 2005, there were 5.5 million people living with HIV in South Africa, and almost 1 000 AIDS deaths occurring every day, according to UNAIDS estimates.

[4] This point is now widely accepted in academic and policy literature. It was acknowledged in the Declaration of commitment on HIV/AIDS: Global crisis – Global action, United Nations General Assembly Special Session on HIV/AIDS, June 2000, http://www.un.org/ga/aids/coverage/ Final DeclarationHIV/AIDS.html, paragraph 4.

[5] Leclerc-Madlala argues that 'the general theme of blaming women for AIDS has been documented throughout Africa', in 'Virginity testing' (2003: 16).

also reinforces the cultural codes that sustain these stereotypes, such as violence against women or a conservative return to 'traditional values' (Leclerc-Madlala 2003: 16).[6]

Experience from the Paper Prayers Campaign suggests that people are saturated with information on HIV, yet infection rates continue to be high. In response to this puzzling and frustrating phenomenon, the AIDS Action Intervention takes the position that there is an obligation to try a new approach. The standard information workshops with condom demonstrations have been conducted repeatedly for more than a decade now, and there does not appear to be much change in sexual behaviour. What arts activists have found, and which is reinforced by the interviews with various stakeholders and beneficiaries, is that a participatory approach is better received than simply 'learning a lesson' (Gould 2007: 5). The emphasis on the participants' own narratives and expression through the artistic processes enables agency. The pilot project designed a sound methodology to train multi-disciplinary teams to offer week-long interventions into the targeted communities. The resulting intervention used a combination of visual methods in combination with storytelling and narrative to explore the concept of self-creation.

The realization of the idea of freedom as the ability to achieve a fulfilling life requires an engagement with, and transformation of, the social and cultural norms that constrain women's choices. Although the AIDS Action intervention builds on existing cultural values, it does not necessarily accept all of them (such as entrenched patriarchy), but rather attempts to understand these values as a starting point for change. Amartya Sen relates freedom to "our capability to achieve valuable functions that make up our lives and, more generally to promote objectives we have reason to value" (Sen 1992). The AIDS Action intervention recognizes that it cannot achieve any radical change of patriarchal culture, including men's sexual behaviour, but proposes that the creative process that evokes the expression of voice can reduce the stigma and empower women to seek support and treatment that may save their lives. In other words, while in general men may remain reluctant to relinquish their claims to sexual privilege, women can work to save themselves and help change their communities. Such assumptions do have precedents. For example, Men as Partners (MAP) training programs do actively work to change patriarchal attitudes, and the Engender Health approach has been incorporated into the AIDS Action intervention though a partnership

[6] See, for example, the comments of Zuma in V. Warby, "Tighten reins on sex and violence, Zuma urges", *The Star*, 18 August 2002. The campaign on 'moral regeneration', championed by the then Deputy President Jacob Zuma, sought to set up a movement that is an alliance of government with religion, business and women's organizations. However, far from 'liberating' or 'empowering' women as equal and autonomous beings, the dominant public images of moral regeneration tend to be conservative, signifying a 'return' to traditional values and slipping into a discourse that rejects 'promiscuity' and 'unnatural' sexuality.

agreement that includes a training representative whenever possible on each of the teams' site visits.[7]

Helen Gould and Mary Marsh have confirmed that communication programs for HIV/AIDS strategies have tended to focus largely on one aspect – behaviour change. However behaviour change communication models are criticized as being based on Western assumptions about what change is required, and for assuming a degree of individual volition which does not exist in some societies (Gould and Marsh 2004). Such models have also tended to focus on giving information, rather than building dialogue and sharing knowledge within communities – influencing attitudes and behaviour through telling, rather than by engaging and empowering people.

While this thesis does not claim the application and impact of art therapy through the use of professional art-counselling services, the methods of the interventions share the premise of art as therapy; and that creativity provides the essential energy for the process of art towards healing and empowerment. As Martina Schnetz writes in relation to the use of image/word approaches in group therapy sessions for Post Traumatic Stress Syndrome: "It appears that the image-making process using the dialogical image/word approach seems to facilitate a process for individuals to reconnect and integrate their mind, body and spirit within a social context in a more primal, intuitive way" (2004: 233). Schnetz presents a convincing case as to why artistic expression is helpful in dealing with trauma in therapy. She describes traumatic memories of illness and death as "being wordless, de-contextualised, meaningless patterns that affect the individual on many levels without them being able to consciously work with them on a cognitive and verbal level" (Schnetz, 2004: 232).

The visually-based methodologies of Paper Prayers and Photovoice provide opportunities to 'break the silence' in a safe and supportive environment. For some groups the resistance to engaging in discussions about HIV and AIDS is initially high, and participants feel threatened to disclose or share their status for fear of gossip or marginalization. However, that fear dissipates when discussing a photograph or artwork which creates a mode for describing personal feelings in a non-threatening way. The conceptual view of using artistic methods in healing and teaching was corroborated strongly by various stakeholders in the program, such as those involved at a program level as trainers, coordinators and managers:

> 'It has done so in a way I never expected. I have seen the most powerful articulations of HIV-related issues than in any other intervention I engaged in.'

[7] Engender Health website ref MAP www.engenderhealth.org/our-work/gender/men-as-partners.php. Also see APS and MAP training partnership agreement 2007. See KB Archives (APS, Draw 1: File 1).

and '... if empowerment means being able to make more choices, then yes, I think these interventions contribute to empowerment'[8] (HIV counsellor, Stakeholder Interview 2007).[9]

Methodology for the Intervention

I divide the discussion of the methods used for this intervention into four categories: academic approaches, multi-disciplinary arts-based research, visual methods for the interventions, and assessment methods. The specific discussion of how these methods are implemented is discussed in the next section on the intervention that cites specific case studies.

Academic goals and approaches for the AIDS Action interventions

The methodology of the intervention draws on the paradigm of Participatory Action Research (PAR). The specifics of the intervention are described in the section below, and the methodology is more particularly illustrated through the description of case studies that attempt to illustrate how change occurs. For example Caroline's story from Twanano Papermaking in Ivory Park exemplifies how change occurred as a result of her ability to relate her story through Photovoice (Figure 3).

Budd Hall, who helped establish some of the founding principles of Participatory Action Research suggests that this research methodology was not invented by researchers or community activists but has always existed whenever communities attempted to understand their contexts. His approach adopts the view to "do our best work by validating the participatory research processes that are already underway within a given community or social movement context" (2001: 174). In John Heron and Peter Reason's "The Practice of Co-Operative Inquiry: research 'with' rather than 'on' people," the authors problematize traditional research as often being theoretical rather than practical (2001: 179). "Primacy is given to transformative inquiries that involve action, where people change their way of being and doing and relating in their world in the direction of greater flourishing" (Heron and Reason 2001: 180). The approach of PAR is the grounding principle of the methodology of the AIDS Action interventions described below, in that the knowledge systems, inquiry skills and validation procedures are structured to ensure and enhance the quality of knowing. This capacity of knowing is core to initiating social change that emerges from the community participants.

[8] Du Toit (2007) Phumani Paper/ Artist Proof Studio Stakeholder Interviews: Summary Document KB Archive (FF Draw 6: File 1b).
[9] Stakeholder interviews: 20 interviews can be found in KB Archives (FF Draw 6: File 1a-d).

The pilot project designed a sound methodology to train multi-disciplinary teams to offer week-long interventions in the targeted communities. The resulting intervention used a combination of visual methods in combination with storytelling and narrative to explore the concept of self-creation, which will be expanded upon in the following section.

As has been stated in the introductory chapter of this thesis, the fundamental challenge that the research and training team face in engaging research with Phumani Paper groups revolves around the following questions: How can this endeavour maintain an equal exchange of value and not result in an exploitative relationship of power? How does the researchers' purpose resist the perpetuation of the norm, which often involves using institutional research resources to exploit a community to further research goals?

The pilot phase New Partners/New Knowledge reflects on the relationships between partners – be they higher education institutions and academics, AIDS activists, community artists or group participants. These partners share the common objectives of deepening democracy and agency. The approach aims to resist the imposition of a hierarchy of privilege onto those who are seen as disadvantaged. The 'outsiders' (students and trainers) were invited into the sites to learn and exchange knowledge, and the community facilitators were tasked with mediating an equalizing of skills exchange, and upholding the spirit of partnership. The diversity of the teams with respect to discipline, gender, culture and expertise was a strategy designed to resist hierarchy of privilege and is described in the case study of an intervention below.

Multi-disciplinary, Arts-based Research

In this thesis I argue that the arts, far from being an optional extra, are critical for the formation of a fluid, cohesive, and mutually-engaged society in South Africa. I further suggest that arts research can contribute to the discursive fields of sociology, social psychology and health studies. For example, research has demonstrated that music and art therapy "generates inter-subjectivity and enhances as well as repairs human communication" (Pavlicevic 2006: 214). The AIDS Action intervention described in this chapter explores ways for academic research to make a meaningful difference in the lives of ordinary people. I propose that research results matter when they can improve livelihoods or the well-being of the participants. I argue in Chapter Five that community engagement though a university program can function both as a site for research and as a site for social change. In other words, while such engagement should produce very concrete and tangible results, such as

income generation, it can also act as an 'incubator' for the work of researchers who are trying to connect theorizing, research, production of knowledge and advocacy. The AIDS Action intervention has both research and community agency and participation outcomes. The success of the research is dependent on the achievement of meeting the community development outcomes. The project proposes that the visual arts can play a valuable role in connecting and integrating new knowledge transmitted from the community participants to the researcher, and nurturing researchers as activists and facilitators for catalysing social action.

The multi-disciplinary approach does much to 'ground' the social sciences, (such as sociology, anthropology and development studies) in reality, because each discipline adds value to another. It is useful to cite an example of a multi-disciplinary project linked to Phumani Paper that is not directly part of this intervention, but that offers an example of effective inter-disciplinary co-operation. The eco-fuel briquette project, which manufactures an environmentally friendly energy source, has required a collaboration between chemical engineers, chemists, researchers, industrial designers, mechanical engineers, papermakers, graphic designers and artists at the University of Johannesburg. Together this team has developed an eco-friendly alternative to coal and charcoal made from compressed plant and waste fibre from papermaking that will meet a local need and provide a new product for the projects (Berman 2008a FADA Newsletter: 11).[10] The technology is sourced from Uganda and Malawi where there is a successful history of alternative fuel production. This project reflects a growing interest in cross-disciplinary research as well as a response to the energy crisis in South Africa. Graphic design students have designed innovative packaging, and marketing students will be conducting preliminary market research of this new product as part of a class assignment (Figures 2a-d).

Claudia Mitchell, a Canadian researcher working with the University of KwaZulu-Natal, draws from the work of Schratz and Walker (1995) and uses the term "research as social change" to describe the ways in which research might operate to enhance social change (Mitchell 2006: 227). Mitchell asks some of the questions that the Ford Foundation HIV/AIDS Action intervention has addressed. Some of her questions challenge improving research designs so that there is fluidity of boundaries between doing research and reporting on research. They include: expanding the possibilities of making the results of the research more accessible to the communities they serve; deepening our understanding of social science research by drawing on artistic modes of expression in the visual arts; and challenging innovative visual

[10] See eco-fuel briquette project report and findings. KB Archives (UJ Draw 5: File 9).

and arts-based methodologies to link to a more action-orientated agenda for both academics and participants in social science research (Mitchell 2006: 228). Mitchell recognizes that "those working in the arts and those working in the social sciences need to form alliances." Her own work with Photovoice emphasizes the link between research, social change and visual arts-based methodologies, such as photography, drawing, video documentary and performance, and attributes this alliance to the long-standing traditions of the arts in "making visible and making public" (Mitchell 2006: 234).

In the AIDS Action intervention the research team found that all of the stakeholders regarded interdisciplinary collaboration very favourably, not only for their own practice, but also for the growth of their students and trainees. In an academic environment, practitioners often do not realize the extent to which they are products of, and therefore limited by, their particular disciplines. In programs such as these, which facilitate real-world engagement while at the same time applying the wisdom and knowledge of academia, academics and students get the chance to stretch their capabilities for the betterment of people's lives. As one Higher Education stakeholder asserted:

> 'Most problems in life require interdisciplinary perspectives and methods, yet in higher education most of our learning occurs within highly constrained, disciplinary frameworks' and 'When knowledge is shared, creative solutions become possible' (Stakeholder Interview 2007).

Mitchell argues that visual arts-based methodologies have potential both for engaging people in finding solutions, and for deepening understanding of the interplay of knowledge, behaviour and attitudes within a social context. She asserts: "This work forces us to look again at what the purpose of research in the social and human sciences in South Africa should be, and how it should be evaluated. Can it provoke change? Can it afford not to?" (Mitchell 2006: 240).

For the purposes of this thesis, multi-disciplinary research is not simply cross-disciplinary within the academy, but multi-sectoral and multi-modal, in that it involves many sectors of society in engaged, interactive endeavours using a range of methods to foster social change. The team of researchers, artists and community activists worked from the assumption that visual and cultural literacies could compensate for the possibly limited ability amongst many participants to express thoughts and ideas using a linguistic voice.

Visual Methodologies: Photovoice, Paper Prayers and Community Mapping

The creative strategies that the research teams used for the AIDS Action intervention were Photovoice[11] and Paper Prayers. The use of two different visual strategies helped to ensure that the majority of the participants found a vehicle to articulate their concerns, fears and visions for the future. The rationale for the choice of these two methodologies was based on the proven record of success they had demonstrated in other applications, particularly in the example of Brinton Lykes' (2001) use of Photovoice in Guatemala in 1992 and the Artist Proof Studio's organization of the National Paper Prayers campaign in 1998.[12] Community Mapping is being used as a visual tool in the third phase of the intervention, which is expanded on in the conclusion of this chapter.

Photovoice: Imaging and Imagining the world

Photovoice uses the photographs made by individuals in the community to produce narratives about their lives. Photovoice is increasingly used by Action Research scholars such as Brinton Lykes (2001), Wendy Ewald (2005), Caroline Wang (1998) and Claudia Mitchell (2006), and is especially prominent in the health sector. Lykes worked in Guatemala with women who only spoke Ixil, their mother tongue, and only a few of them were able to read and write. According to Lykes (2001: 365), photography not only allowed for full participation by the group, but also improved communication. The following more extended definitions of the tools of the intervention are described in order to clarify the methods used in the intervention. The Photovoice method was developed by Caroline Wang and Mary Ann Burris:

> Photovoice is a process by which people can identify, represent, and enhance their community through a specific photographic technique. It entrusts cameras to the hands of people to enable them to act as recorders, and potential catalysts for social action and change, in their own communities. It uses the immediacy of the visual image and accompanying stories to furnish evidence and to promote an effective, participatory means of sharing expertise to create healthful public policy (Wang and Burris 1997).

Photovoice enables researchers to more accurately perceive the world from the viewpoint of the people who lead lives that are different from those usually in control of the means for imaging the world. As such, this approach to participatory appraisal values the knowledge

[11] More information on the history, theory, and applications of Photovoice can be found on Caroline Wang's website, see website: http://www.photovoice.com See also workbook and reference materials used to introduce Photovoice to the groups. KB Archives (FF Draw 6: File 4a).

[12] Brinton Lykes first presented her Photovoice project that she conducted with Mayan women in Guatemala in1992 at a conference on Healing and the Creative Arts at Museum Africa in 2000. She spoke of the women's use of Photovoice to bear witness on atrocities experienced and the violent repression during Guatemala's 36-year war (Berman, 2004).

put forth by people as a vital source of expertise. It confronts a fundamental problem of community assessment: what professionals, researchers, specialists, and outsiders think is important may completely fail to match what the community thinks is important. Most significantly, the images produced and the issues discussed and framed by people may stimulate policy and social change. According to Wang, Photovoice is a methodology to reach, inform, and organize community members, enabling them to prioritize their concerns and discuss problems and solutions. Photovoice goes beyond the conventional role of community assessment by inviting people to promote their own and their community's well-being. Examples of how this happens are provided further in the chapter in the discussion on the case study interventions (See Figure 3). A catalogue providing a range of Photovoice examples was published in July 2008 and is housed in the archives (Antonopolou, Berman, Hlasane and Sellschop 2008).[13]

Paper Prayers: Expressions of Hope

As described in Chapter Three, Paper Prayers uses simple printmaking techniques to encourage individuals to express their emotions about loss and illness. Paper Prayers workshops have proved to be an effective method of teaching AIDS awareness, sexual practice and behaviour change using artistic methods. The structure of each workshop depends on the profile and circumstances of each group. A training manual for facilitators has been developed to conduct HIV awareness and printmaking workshops. This manual describes particular exercises and techniques in practical detail (Antonopolou et al. 2008).[14] For instance in communities where resources are scarce, printing is done with cut-out stencils, found or waste materials such as string and found objects such as plants and items with different textures. The objects are rolled up with printing ink, or sponged with paint, and a spoon is used to rub the back of the paper to transfer the image (See Figure 11 in Chapter Three). The facilitator explains how emotive words and adjectives can be translated into formal elements such as line, colour, symbols and shapes. This becomes the stimulus for a visual narrative and artwork (Figures 4a-c). A range of examples is documented in the catalogue published for the Cultural Action Exhibition in July 2008 (Antonopolou et al. 2008).[15] Participants draw their ideas and designs on paper before the printing process is demonstrated to the group. The images and symbols facilitate an open discussion of participants' fears and concerns in a safe environment.

[13] The catalogue: Visual Voices from the Phumani Sites provides a range of examples KB Archives (FF Draw 6: File 6b).
[14] The Training Manual for facilitators is used by the APS facilitators and a copy was distributed to each Phumani Paper site. KB Archives (FF Draw 6: File 7a).
[15] The catalogue "Paper Prayers: An art-making process for emotional well-being" provides examples of different paper prayers and narratives from a range of groups. KB Archives (FF Draw 6: File 7b).

Comments from student educators capture the efficacy of Paper Prayers as a methodology:

> I think that art activities like Paper Prayers can really make a difference in changing people's attitudes about HIV/AIDS. When one engages in an activity like this, one feels at ease and happy, unlike sitting down and listening to gruesome stories and realities about the virus. Paper Prayers is a positive action that encourages people to think good thoughts and helps to eliminate stigma and stereotypes about the HI-Virus (Bongiwe evaluating the workshop, August 2008).
>
> Paper Prayers contain messages that heal people's spirits. It lets them know that they are not alone in their struggle with the illness. Paper Prayers also serves to promote awareness to those not infected yet to take all the necessary precautions to protect themselves – in order to stay negative (Jane, August 2008).[16]

An HIV/AIDS educator or counsellor accompanies each team. Before artistic processes are introduced, the workshop participants take part in an information-sharing session that determines the priorities of the group and the focus of the training. For example the goals of one workshop may be structured as follows:

- to familiarize participants with the basic HIV/AIDS facts, myths, modes of transmission and gender-related issues
- to reinforce behaviour change practices especially with regards to individual responsibility, prevention and risk-reduction practices
- to facilitate education sessions focusing on enabling and capacitating participants to make effective decisions regarding their sexual behaviour and reproductive health
- to help participants to strengthen their sense of individual responsibility, reduce risk and adhere to universal precautions regarding their sexual behaviour.

Some facilitators introduce the Behaviour Change Model which emphasizes risk reduction, prevention, and individual responsibility to encourage positive lifestyle choices. Others focus on sex and sexuality, HIV and gender, sexually-transmitted diseases (STDs) and treatments such as anti-retroviral drugs (ARVs) and various forms of contraception (Antonopolou and Sellschop (eds) 2008).

Community and Visual Mapping: a pathway out of poverty

Asset or resource mapping is a familiar term used by geographers and social and health development practitioners. John Kretzmann and John McKnight (1993) and others (Galen El-

[16] Workshop for student educators at Wits University. Report by Shannin Antonopolou August 2008. KB Archives (PPR: Draw 2: File 2).

Askari, Julie Freestone, Chicky Irizarry, Karen L. Kraut, et al. 1998) have written extensively on asset-based community development.[17] This methodology has been adapted to develop action plans for improved access to health care, and to resources and markets for enterprises. The action plans are translated into a visual process of wall-mapping, onto which a range of images, texts, photographs, references and action plans are collaged. The mural map in each enterprise provides a very direct way of monitoring change and increased productivity.

Visual mapping is an artistic practice currently used by a significant number of contemporary South African artists. I propose that the application of these artistic interventions is an emerging area that has rich possibilities for research and community change objectives (Figures 5a and b).

Assessment Methods

A social science researcher was contracted to conduct an impact assessment for the Ford Foundation AIDS Action Intervention. Three reports were compiled: a Baseline Report (du Toit and Korth 2007), a Mid-Term Report (du Toit 2007) and a Final Report (du Toit July 2008b).[18] However, as has been repeatedly stressed, the 'hard' data generated through the use of traditional methods that use social indicators cannot successfully convey the richness and complexity of the community groups and interventions. The assessment and monitoring design of the AIDS Action intervention has used mixed-method approaches and indicators, developed by the research team to measure impact and take into account the equal mix of 'hard' and 'soft' information.[19] Here I will briefly summarize the range of methods and indicators, and then compare the team approach to one suggested by Arlene Goldbard who proposes some very useful approaches particularly suited for community cultural development. Her indicators can helpfully be merged into the structure we have developed thus far.

While the first phase baseline report used traditional social indicators, such as per capita income, housing, literacy rates and others (Korth 2007),[20] the later mid-term report and stakeholder interviews enriched the data with diverse personal narratives on the role of

[17] See website links to Health asset mapping. These include: The Asset-Based Community Development Institute for Policy Research (http://www.sesp.northwestern.edu/abcd/ and others such as: http://heb.sagepub.com/cgi/content/abstract/25/2/146).
[18] The reports, questionnaires and raw data are filed in KB Archives (FF Draw 6).
[19] The team here comprises the contracted researcher and myself, with collaborative input from partners at the University of Michigan.
[20] See Baseline Assessment tables: (du Toit and Korth 2007). KB Archives (FF Draw 6: File 2d).

creative approaches and individual understanding of creative practice. The designs of the assessment tools were collaborative: they were drawn from sources such as *Most Significant Change* (Davies and Dart 2005), and World Bank Empowerment Indicators (Alsop and Heinsohn 2005), and modified by the team of academics from the University of Michigan, as well as artists and community practitioners. Recommendations were then collated by the social science researcher contracted to implement the assessment (du Toit 2007 and 2008b). The format retained social science conventions and methodology; but considerations of indicators were expanded to include vitality, access, participation, consumption, productivity, lifestyle, health constraints, loss, social grants, identity, creative practice, ethics, governance, conduct, and many others.

For me it was important to continuously ask such questions as: How important are such indicators? For whom and what purpose? How can this approach avoid the risk of people feeling like experimental subjects? I was concerned to achieve a paradigm shift to bridge the gap between community development and a creative, engaged arts-based approach. Arlene Goldbard proposes values for unifying the cultural development field. These include: active participation, diversity, equality of cultures, commitment to culture as a crucible for social transformation, prizing cultural expression as a process of emancipation, an encompassing understanding of culture and valuing artists as agents. Goldbard proposes these values as yardsticks to assess actualities against aims. This is a practical methodology for assessing change. The way the research team was able to engage the research element in the AIDS Action intervention was to focus on what the community needed to enhance the growth of their enterprises. Our team approach included:

- having group workshops and discussions
- conducting Paper Prayers workshops as a visual arts intervention to discuss the impact of loss and trauma as a result of AIDS
- role-play performances/ drumming circles/ drawing
- discussions on consent and ownership of knowledge/ use of research
- handing out disposable cameras to take photographs of issues affecting them in their communities and to develop personal narratives about their images to participate in Photovoice
- having group discussions and sharing personal family stories emerging from images to develop trust and intimacy
- having each group set their own priorities for further themes for planning each intervention.

The interviews conducted by the students in the local language also became one of the components at the end of the intervention, and these functioned as part of an evaluation of the process. In this way the team attempted to minimize the discomfort of a participant feeling like a research subject. Interviews took on a format of dialogue and exchange and were conducted by a familiar member of the team.

PART TWO: The Intervention

PHASE ONE: The Pilot Phase: New Partners/New Knowledge: 2005- 6

The grant application to the Ford Foundation, which supported a two-year intervention, outlined an approach to training for change that embraced the complexity of the cultural contexts existing in individual Phumani projects. Building on the experiences that Artist Proof Studio had encountered over the years with the impact of the Paper Prayers on collectives, I collaborated with like-minded academics in the United States to develop a program that would include a verifiable process to measure the impact of any significant social change. The intervention's overarching goal was to influence the lives of HIV-positive people who do not believe that they may choose to seek support. This project was named New Partners/New Knowledge: Sustaining Learners and Social Change through Participatory Action Research. The work of four American-based scholars has inspired and assisted me with designing the methodology of this project: Professor Julie Ellison, Director of Imagining America, inspired me with her writings on public scholarship and community engagement; Dr Mark Creekmore, a social scientist and social worker contributed his expertise in assessing the impact of community development programs; Dr Jane Hassinger (University of Michigan), clinical psychologist and feminist scholar; and Professor Pamela Allara my PhD co-supervisor from Brandeis University.

While completing the design of New Partners/New Knowledge my collaborators and I set specific goals for the intervention that included: 1) creation of networks within rural communities in order to provide access to information on HIV prevention and treatment; 2) training in creative skills and actions for the proposed rural and urban projects' HIV/AIDS interventions; 3) conducting research and contracting an independent impact assessment to track the changes that the various creative interventions have made; 4) building support for the Phumani Paper business units to reach acceptable levels of self-sustainability and commercial viability; and 5) engaging in the research methodology of Participatory Action

Research in order to gather data for subsequent scholarly publication that is intended to contribute to the literature on social engagement through the visual arts.

The New Partners/New Knowledge approach was first tested in 2005, with a separately funded visit from University of Michigan academics and students who wished to explore and teach the use of Photovoice and Participatory Action Research methods. This first intervention provided the foundation for the more ambitious program, and launched the partnership between the University of Michigan and the University of Johannesburg. The Ford Foundation funding was granted the following year, and the pilot project was implemented in July-August 2006. The pilot involved five Phumani hand-papermaking sites, and three academic institutions committed to exploring the pedagogy of practice. The training of the Johannesburg-based teams was coupled with the second visit to South Africa of the University of Michigan's 'Working in Cooperatives in South Africa' (WiCSA) program, managed by Mark Creekmore and Jane Hassinger and including five of their students.

Each of the three teams on the pilot project consisted of two artists from Artist Proof Studio, who were tasked with presenting the Paper Prayers workshop; several students from the University of Michigan and the University of Johannesburg, who documented the intervention and assisted with the introduction of Photovoice; a community leader from the regional Phumani Project; an HIV/AIDS trainer; and an academic from each of the participating universities (University of Johannesburg, University of Michigan and Brandeis University). The teams conducted visits to five Phumani Paper sites: Kutloano in Welkom, Free State Province; Twanano in Ivory Park Gauteng; Tswaraganang in Winterveld, Northern Province; and Eshowe Paper and Craft and Imboni Craft in KwaZulu-Natal (See Figure 6 map).[21] The teams' challenge was to create a multi-layered program for the scholars, students, activists, and project participants, wherein each member could learn to democratize rather than colonize experience, using principles of non-hierarchal participation and self-reflexivity. The pedagogy of Participatory Action Research (PAR) was adopted to facilitate community engagement.

As discussed in Chapter Five, PAR requires a repositioning of traditional research and scholarship from the individual and the archive to the communal and the collective, thereby serving as a bridge between theory and practice. Following Peter Reason (2001) and Lykes (2001), the research team adopted PAR as a methodology for an alternative system of knowledge production, based on the community's role in setting the agendas, participating in

[21] See www.phumanipaper.co.za for a description of each site.

data gathering and analysis, and in controlling the use of its outcomes (Reason 2001: 324-339). Part of the research findings included the documentation of how the method of PAR functions in creative practice.[22]

As suggested above, the major reason for this intervention was not only to break the silence and fear surrounding the AIDS pandemic, but to facilitate access to resources such as testing, counseling, support and treatment. It was also envisaged that the Phumani Paper enterprises could become more sustainable and generate a more consistent livelihood for groups if the effects of AIDS were addressed. All of the groups had experienced losses due to illness and death, but they had not, prior to this project, received trauma or bereavement counselling, nor the support needed to cope with loss of members, income, and the resulting decline of their business. Our thesis was that creative practice can bypass negative group dynamics that might exist, because the participants' discussions of their own lives are framed by their own images of themselves and their community ties. In addition, with the emphasis on participants being able to determine the subject matter and direction of the conversation, there is little room for the researcher to impose preconceptions during discussions or when administering questionnaires.

Summary of the 2006 Pilot Project Intervention

The New Partners/New Knowledge training was held at the Faculty of Art, Design and Architecture (FADA) at the University of Johannesburg in July 2006. Three teams were established that were led by a senior researcher and had representatives drawn from each participating organization; the teams consisted of at least seven members each. The training was designed consultatively, and included contributions from specialists from Engender Health or other experienced HIV/AIDS counsellors; and the Universities of Michigan, Brandeis and Johannesburg.[23] Creekmore and Hassinger from the University of Michigan led the six-day pilot training. Principles of behaviour and methods, such as listening, not giving advice, and creating safe spaces, were demonstrated through interactive activities throughout the training. In addition to understanding the methodological processes and theoretical goals of Photovoice and Paper Prayers, the training emphasized team-building. A central activity was the sharing by each member of their own Photovoice narrative, so that trust and respect were established among all members (Figures 7a and b). At the end of the

[22] The seminal work of Dr Brinton Lykes inspired the methodology when I was introduced to her work in Photovoice on a trip to Boston in 2001. I subsequently wrote an article in the FADA research newspaper called "Archival Paper: A model for Project-Based Research" (Berman 2004) which I presented as a hybrid of the sector of practice. FADA articles can be found in KB Archives (UJ Draw 5: File 11).
[23] See website for more information (http://www.engenderhealth.org/).

training, a day-long symposium was held for stakeholders and partners, as well as the broader university audience, which enabled general questions and feedback to be provided. The symposium also fulfilled the research and academic objectives of introducing PAR as a new method of scholarship into the Faculty of Art, Design and Architecture at the University of Johannesburg.

The training was followed by site visits, the format of which was as follows: introductions and learning of names, introduction to Photovoice and distributing of cameras, and the introduction of the HIV/AIDS trainer. Two days of intensive HIV/AIDS training followed, then one to two days of making and printing Paper Prayers. On the last day, the Phumani members returned the cameras so that the photographs they had taken could be developed and distributed on the return visit the following week.[24]

Once the teams went out in the field, however, the methods of each intervention differed according to the strengths of each team, as well as the differences in dynamics at each Phumani Paper site. For instance, in the Tswaraganang group in Winterveld in the Northern Province, a historic dumping ground of people from various ethnic and language groups in the old apartheid homeland system, where there was less cohesion among the group of seven women than at the other sites, one of the facilitators, who was also a musician, used the *mbira* and other traditional musical instruments as a vehicle for assisting the group to get in touch with their feelings of loss and fear[25] (Figure 8: Stompie Selibe and group). The group sat in a circle, and as they listened to the evocative sounds of different instruments, they were encouraged to express the spontaneous associations and memories that surfaced. Participants were able to then extend the exploration of their feelings by picking up found objects, and share with each other what they felt each object symbolized. According to psychoanalyst Jane Hassinger, a collaborator on the intervention:

> Creative activity – particularly in groups where members share the results of their efforts – helps to restore a sense of inner cohesion by establishing an experiential tie to a sense of unity of self that was once inseparable from mother and home. Creativity constitutes an attempt to feel oneself, see oneself, and 'tell' oneself. Viewers/listeners also are beneficiaries, acquiring a more nuanced sense of identity and accurate understanding of one's cultural history (Hassinger 2008: 3)

[24] Original photographs from all interventions are housed at Artist Proof Studio in the Paper Prayers files, and digital copies of photos and narratives can be found in KB Archives (PP Draw 2: Files 8, 9).
[25] The *mbira* is a musical instrument from Zimbabwe consisting of a wooden board to which staggered metal keys have been attached.

Subsequently printing the found objects with ink and transferring them into a Paper Prayer collograph became a powerful vehicle for the translation of feelings, which led to an opening up and a willingness of the women to tell their stories about loss and illness (see Figures 9a and b). Art became an equalizer; it generated laughter, release of tension, and a sense of pride (Figure 10: an example of Photovoice). Their narratives were recorded in the workbook that was later provided to the group as a record of the intervention.[26]

A number of difficult situations arose that the pilot project could not address in just two weeks; these resulted from the very patriarchal attitudes the AIDS intervention was designed to confront. For example in the traditional village of Endlovini in rural KwaZulu-Natal, the local Zulu men are polygamous and infect each of their many wives. The women felt that they did not have bargaining power to advocate the use of condoms, and unfortunately they had very little recourse to seek treatment, because it cost R70 to transport themselves to the nearest clinic. As we anticipated, many women did not see that they had choices. This was corroborated by the fact that the highest rate of AIDS deaths in the country, one in three, is experienced in that region. Obviously, the intervention could not provide access to treatment if it was inaccessible or unaffordable. Solving that problem became a challenge for the next phase of training. In the second year of the program trainers arrived on site with resources and contact information on support services available in the surrounding districts, or particular suggestions for site members to source information for themselves.

When the fieldworkers returned to Johannesburg after the first site visits, the training process continued over the following weekend with the groups coming together for the PAR-established process of self-reflexivity and sharing of experiences. I attended the reflections, assisted in providing direction and advice for the next stage of the process, and took note of particular difficulties communicated in the various interventions. Some of the weaknesses of the training program that emerged included the problem of translation from English to the local language(s), especially because the HIV training was conducted in English. Dependence on the local language speakers in the team for translation was in certain respects a strength, because it required mediation, communication, listening, and slowing down the discussion so that everyone could participate and understand. The drawback was the extra burden placed on local language speakers, mostly University of Johannesburg and Artist Proof students or facilitators, most of whom nonetheless excelled at the task and enjoyed the increased responsibility required by their skills. Moreover, the local translators understood that the American students bore the burden of writing up and correlating all of the

[26] See Workbooks intervention 1 and 2 KB Archives (FF Draw 6: File 4a-f).

narratives. Another difficulty was the size of the teams, which sometimes outnumbered the smaller Phumani Paper groups and contributed to altering power dynamics in the workshops (Figure 11: Training team and group).

A further weakness was the problem generated by the need for signed consent forms for the research component of the project. The teams had difficulty conveying the idea that this legal form was to protect the privacy and ownership of the material by the site members, rather than to legally bind them in some way. The fact that the consent forms were in English made them very intimidating, but in the end led to productive discussion. By the end of the initial training, the Phumani Paper participants understood that they owned their photographs and stories, and that they would not be used without their knowledge and consent.[27]

After the weekend discussions, the teams returned to the sites to give back the developed photographs. Some of the remarkable narratives that emerged will be summarized below. The last day in the field was given over to the facilitation of action plans identified by each group. These were recorded in the workbooks and used to feed the planning of the next intervention. In discussions with the researchers, the Phumani Paper women expressed delight, pride and self-worth in both celebrating their new creative skills and sharing their lives with people from overseas who wanted to learn from them. Their new art skills were also recognized as a source of empowerment, as some of the women expressed confidence that they could teach the new activities: for example, to children, to help them stay off the streets. They felt empowered for future action that would address problems in the community such as environmental degradation, unemployment, and HIV prevalence. They recognized that their new skills would also assist them with the development of new product designs and enhance their Phumani Paper products. Finally, the methodology of training for many of the participants made them more comfortable with communicating about sex across generations, and equipped them with a vocabulary and the confidence to begin to break the silence and communicate with each other. These findings translated into an initial action plan for several of the groups, who wanted to function as a site for distribution of nutritional supplements such as ‘e-pap’ and vitamins.[28] Some groups also anticipated serving as a source of advice for testing and treatment in their communities, because they had become owners of a new resource: knowledge.

[27] See file of consent forms and translations KB Archives (FF Draw 6: File 3).
[28] E-pap is a vitamin-enriched supplement of porridge that boosts the immune system and is distributed primarily to poor people suffering from TB or HIV/AIDS.

The close of the pilot program consisted of a two-day seminar open to members of the public and attended by all the relevant partners and stakeholders. Each team presented a printed poster and a PowerPoint presentation displaying the processes undertaken in, and lessons learned from the field, as well as selected Photovoice and Paper Prayers narratives. Funders, government and university officials also attended the seminar. The concluding session, a seminar for representatives from the Phumani sites, was dedicated to interrogating the pilot model, detailing future action plans, and suggesting modifications for the implementation of the intervention at the remaining Phumani Paper sites during the next phase of the two-year program (Berman, FADA newsletter 2006b).[29]

Kutloano – A Case Study of the Intervention: July-August 2006

As indicated in the beginning of this chapter, the Kutloano group in Welkom, which is one of the sixteen Phumani Paper groups which participated in the AIDS Action Intervention, has been selected as a case study in order to present the practicalities of implementing the methodology through the various phases (Figure 12).

Kutloano is situated near Welkom in the Free State Province. At the time of the intervention, in July-August 2006, the organization had five members, all women, who lived in Thabong township, 6.5 km from the enterprise's premises. Members earned an average of R500 per month from their craft activities. Kutloano indicated that they needed help with the marketing of their products.

According to the National Census 2001, in the Lejweleputswa District Municipality, 45% of the economically active population were unemployed; 56% of households lived on R800 or less per month, with 27% of households having no income. HIV prevalence was 34% compared to the 30% provincial average. Anecdotal information suggests that such statistics had not improved between 2001 and the time of the intervention. All five members indicated being the main breadwinners in their household, with the average household size in this group being six people, with mostly children as dependents. Members generally indicated living in brick houses, although one member indicated that she lived in a shack with two other people. The members' long-term goals included becoming successful businesswomen. Apart from this, they indicated that they wanted to provide a better education for their children, and to own a car and a bigger house (Du Toit March 2007: 7).

[29] The Pilot Program is documented with articles, reviews and copies of the presentation in KB Archives (UJ Draw 5).

Before the intervention began, the student researcher in the Kutloano team conducted an interview with the project leader. These were some of the leader's responses to questions about HIV and AIDS:

> 'Members in our group do not talk much about HIV,' 'People do not disclose,' 'People in the community: they don't talk about it,' 'If someone dies, he is bewitched or poisoned' (Mamiki Mangayi, Kutloano project manager).[30]

The group then assembled for the Photovoice training. The members of the team introduced themselves to the five women, and a student from the University of Michigan distributed the disposable cameras and instructed the members in their use (Figures 13a and b).[31] The themes identified for taking photographs were presented as two questions:

1) In the last year, what are the most significant changes you have seen as a result of illness?
2) In the last year, what are the most significant changes you have seen as a result of creative activities?

The discussion that followed made clear that the women could addresses changes at any level – self, family, work community, faith community, and neighbourhood, and trainers encouraged members to discover their own themes as well. At the end of the training, the group was extremely reluctant to sign the consent form designed by the University of Michigan academics, which they found confusing. Overnight the team simplified and translated the form into Sesotho, and the resulting discussion with the group was very productive about picture and story ownership, as well as the subsequent use of the research. The forms were signed and copies retained.

The HIV/AIDS Workshop

On the following two days, AIDS activist and counsellor Bart Cox, presented the HIV/AIDS workshop. All of the members and researchers were very engaged in learning and gathering information for themselves, families, and communities. Cox provided Kutloano members with files to keep information as resource materials and gave some Kutloano members (on request) colour pictures of genitals infected with STIs to show to their children. He used a variety of visual and spoken approaches, many of which were interactive. He understood that change could occur only if sexual partners could speak to each other about safe practices, hence the use of role playing. He underscored the need for women to speak up for their right to be protected and to move beyond traditional patriarchal gender relations (Figure 14).

[30] Interviews by Kim Berman and research assistants 2006-8 (KB Archives FF Draw 6: Files1a-h).
[31] The team consisted of an HIV trainer, two students from Michigan, one University of Johannesburg student, two artist facilitators from Artist Proof Studio, an academic from Brandeis University, the intervention coordinator, and a Phumani Paper manager.

The Paper Prayers workshop

The Paper Prayers workshop that followed the end of the HIV training was hampered by the fact that the APS facilitators were not thoroughly prepared. They had not explored methods for printing collographs without a press, and the results were of poor quality. After a team discussion and resolving an argument between the two APS facilitators, the workshop was repeated the next day more successfully (Figures 15-17).

The Photovoice discussion and images

When the photographs from the Photovoice part of the intervention were returned to the participants during the second week, the group gathered in a circle, and the women each chose one image to present. The depth and emotional honesty of their personal stories made clear that even the most rudimentary image can carry the weight of trauma, and convey the strength of perseverance in the face of enormous obstacles. One researcher commented that their narratives demonstrated a subtle grasp of symbolism and metaphor that she would not have anticipated. In addition, their honesty and frankness in dealing with huge trauma and loss demonstrated their willingness to trust the group as a unit. Finally, it was clear that they were looking forward to receiving their illustrated narratives, and to sharing them with family and friends. The testimonies bore witness not only to the difficulties of their lives, but also to their courage.

The team who conducted the HIV training in the intervention found that the visual methods created a level of comfort that made it increasingly possible to discuss sensitive topics, such as sexuality and HIV/AIDS: “because of their [the methods’] potential for empowering individuals and groups by virtue of their emphasis on opening up formerly inhibited, stigmatized speech, decreasing isolation, increasing group solidarity and activating social goals in the group” (Trainer, from Stakeholder interview 2007) [my insertion] (Figures 18a and b).

Action Plans

The workshop concluded with group members devising plans for future actions to implement what they had learned. These actions included: a wish to continue the facilitation of Paper Prayers with their children and in their communities; a commitment to talk more with family, friends and community members about HIV/AIDS; to connect with potential agents to sell e-pap and Nature’s Health products (vitamins) to people affected by HIV/AIDS; to continue

taking pictures and using them to enhance sales of paper products; and to have more regular meetings between the site members to discuss more effective marketing strategies.

General Summary of the Findings of the Pilot project intervention

The process of creating an enabling environment in which to use the tools of Photovoice and Paper Prayers was the key to the varying levels of strength of each intervention. The resulting artworks and outcomes depended on the team of facilitators, HIV trainers and artists, and their ability to work effectively as a group. As this was a pilot project and the team members were students being mentored at different levels, there was a level of unevenness in some of the resulting outcomes, such as the lack of experience and preparation by some of the Artist Proof Studio facilitators. However the process was consultative and reflexive, and after each intervention the team met with the mentors and coordinators to discuss strengths and weakness. The development of the notebooks, which remained at each site as a data recording and progress monitoring resource, was seen by site members as very useful for their own organizational management.

The results of the pilot project demonstrated that artistic forms of expression such as Photovoice and Paper Prayers offer a rich and intense form of inquiry, and are effective in facilitating the expression of voices that have not been heard. These visual-narrative methodologies produce a form of documentary evidence that can contribute to a further process of what activist Maria-Rosario Jackson identifies as a need for “rigorous qualitative analysis of projects,” as in her Rockefeller-commissioned study on the impact of cultural initiatives she “found little theoretical or empirical research that speaks to how arts and cultural participation contribute to social dynamics” (2002: 4).

Visual outcomes as research evidence

Artists are not generally trained in data collection and analysis, but I have found that visual methods of engaging creative thinking provide a useful means of gathering evidence. The resulting materials and outcomes enable both the researchers and participants to analyse and draw useful findings from the themes elicited by the narratives. The visual narratives from the pilot and subsequent roll-out of the interventions in each of the sixteen sites have been collated and archived. Some of the visual and narrative texts have been included in the needs assessment compiled by the contract researcher Lilo Du Toit, from the Department of Anthropology and Development Studies at the University of Johannesburg, some have been included in the site workbooks and others published in an exhibition catalogue of visual

voices (Antonopolou, Berman, Hlasane & Sellschop 2008).[32] In aggregate, they demonstrate a marked increase in the Phumani Paper women's awareness and empowerment around issues of HIV/AIDS. In addition, the project exemplifies Amartya Sen's notion that the leadership of women is a crucial aspect of 'development as freedom' (Sen 1999b: 202), as, in addition to providing information to assist HIV-positive women in choosing options for treatment and counselling, this intervention focused on the changing agency of women that derives from also improving their economic and social conditions.[33]

The research methodology, Participatory Action Research, provided a recognized and progressive research context for students and facilitators, and helped secure a successful pilot project. Close collaboration between the facilitators and the project members insured that knowledge production remained non-hierarchical and that the member's voices were accurately recorded. To quote from the facilitator-stakeholder interviews: "I have seen the most powerful articulations of HIV-related issues than in any other intervention I engaged in" and "if empowerment means being able to make more choices, then yes, I think these interventions contribute to empowerment" (Facilitators stakeholder interview 2007).[34]

PHASE TWO: The Roll-out of the AIDS Action Intervention 2006-8

One of the ongoing challenges of any intervention is to sustain the enthusiasm and commitment initially created. The initial pilot training was followed by the roll-out phase that assisted in establishing links to additional networks and resources in response to the action plan drawn up by each of the five pilot groups. In addition, the roll-out also required that the AIDS Action Intervention reach the remaining eleven Phumani Paper sites across seven provinces. Each of these groups was to receive two training and collaboration visits of four days each, led by a team of four to five facilitators from multi-disciplinary fields. For example the training teams are comprised of a Phumani Paper community liaison, a team coordinator, two printmaking trainers from APS (a mentor and mentee), a University of Johannesburg research assistant and an HIV/AIDS counsellor. Despite our efforts to retain this balance of academics, artists and activists, the pilot project New Partners/New Knowledge had specific and somewhat unusual characteristics that could not be replicated during the subsequent roll-out phase. Specifically, the pilot teams were top-heavy with academics from the United

[32] Photovoice narratives, as well as Paper Prayer narratives have been printed in two exhibition catalogues (July 2008) that document selected narratives. Further narrative analyses of many of the Photovoice outcomes have been analysed by Creekmore and Hlasane. See KB Archives (FF Draw 6: File 5).
[33] While several male group members in some of the sites were also included in the training, women were numerically dominant.
[34] Records of all stakeholder interviews are in KB Archives (FF Draw 6: Files 1a-d).

States and included American sociology students who had fairly sophisticated research and reporting skills. The local teams had to face the daunting challenge of managing the nationwide roll-out without international support. As a result, during the second year, the interventions, as well as the research and facilitation methods, were adapted to better fit specific local conditions and capacities. In fact, the approach differed in each regional and ethnic context. The selection of the facilitators was dependent on their language skills, and their familiarity with regional and project dynamics. For example, in conducting a second intervention in KwaZulu-Natal, the team composition was changed considerably. The HIV/AIDS trainer-counsellor, Bart Cox, a white, older, English-speaking activist who we had used in the pilot phase, was replaced with a young Zulu woman, a Treatment Action Campaign (TAC) activist who focused on the importance of treatment. To begin with this change appeared to be misdirected, as the group were initially very hostile and suspicious towards the young Zulu woman activist, but the artists chosen for the creative intervention were also Zulu speakers and had experience in art therapy and group management and managed to hold together the group's dynamics. The new configuration of team members subsequently proved to be effective in that the group's resistance softened, and the members were able to open up to each other through the narratives that they shared.

One major challenge that the teams faced was that the APS and University of Johannesburg art students' research and writing skills were less well-developed than those of their American sociology student counterparts, and these weaknesses contributed to the decision to collaborate with a specialist within the Social Science Department at the University of Johannesburg. The Head of the Department of Anthropology and Development Studies, Professor Thea de Wet, referred me to part-time lecturers in the department and independent consultants: anthropology researcher Marcel Korth, who conducted the Baseline Survey, and Lilo du Toit , who completed the analysis and conducted the mid-term study, as well as the final impact report as required by the Ford Foundation agreement.

A parallel research process that used traditional social science survey and questionnaire methodologies supplemented the results with those generated by participatory and interactive methods. The documents generated by the social science researchers held weight and credibility due to the classic research methods approach that substantiated 'hard data.' The results from the social science researchers have been impressive, but their process was parallel to the intervention and not integrated into the participatory method used by the teams. While a sociological approach satisfies established notions of what constitutes effective quantitative and qualitative methodologies for data collection and analysis, the research team found that the visually-based interventions of narratives emerging from the

use of Photovoice and Paper Prayers deepened and enriched the social science approach. Further, I argue that visual arts-based learning methodologies provide a richer and more meaningful expression and quality of information than when standard social science methods such as surveys, questionnaires and interviews are applied in isolation. Both benefit from being used together. The encounter with artistic methods of communication results in a more personal experience of the research process for that participant: in creating her own artwork she has a level of freedom to talk about personal feelings and beliefs in visual and symbolic form that is often not possible in dialogue within a group context. It was those personal fears and embedded beliefs of the myths about HIV/AIDS that the intervention aimed to change.

For me still, there is a need to find new ways to bridge the divide between theory and practice. An uncomfortable conflict exists between data analysis and the creative facilitation of empowerment, that is, the agency to make purposive choices. Evaluating, analysing and measuring are important in serving the ends of academic research and donor requirements, yet the richness and value of creative processes and exchange lies in less measurable attributes: the ability to dream and imagine. The capacity to aspire leads to action, a sense of self, and the development of purposive goals through reflection … The voices from the intervention*:* "I am someone." "I can make a difference to my life and others," (2007 extract from participant narratives) provide powerful evidence of change that would be muffled if fed into a numerical summary of similar statements (Figures 19-21).

For example, standard action research methods involve focus group discussions and interviews, which are beneficial for achieving specific research and community change objectives. I would argue, however, that the personal engagement with creating and narrating a personal image focuses on the emotional wellness of the participant, and that that process taps into what was previously described in Chapters Two and Four as 'self-creation'. The depth of reflection in a description of a photograph is critically revealing and life-affirming, and integrates learning and life changes. The self-reflexive component of storytelling, as well as the interpretation of symbolic or abstract representation in imagery, enriches the understanding of everyone involved. I argue that in some cases, the internalizing of knowledge through art processes can lead directly to agency and empowerment in ways that standard social science methods do not. The image often contains the "evidence" of agency that the social scientist struggles to prove. See examples of visual voices in the exhibition catalogues (Antonopolou et al. 2008).

A visual analysis of the imaging of the individual's view of the world can contribute to deepening the understanding of aspiration and positive change.

Case Study of Phase Two: The Kutloano Group 2007-2008

The Kutloano group requested that the second intervention be focused on HIV/AIDS training. Unfortunately, Bart Cox reported that on his return to the group a year after the pilot phase, the group was not well prepared due to poor communication of dates and time by Phumani Paper national office, and that the group was distracted by a pending order. Furthermore, old information had to be repeated to refresh everybody's memory and understanding. Because of this loss of ground, the team recommended a list of actions for future interventions that included: the clarification of the short- and long-term aims of HIV/AIDS workshops for members, the training team and Phumani Paper national office; the preparation before each workshop should include a list of questions the members may have on the HIV/AIDS-related issues; the listing of facilitation techniques to assist members 'teaching' each other; the drawing up of a detailed plan of action at end of the first workshop; the identification of a dedicated person for regular communication on HIV/AIDS-related needs, activities, community links and plans of action; finally, a local language speaker is needed in order to conduct training and to increase its effectiveness. These relatively unsuccessful interventions often provided lessons to strengthen subsequent training visits.

A visit after the second Intervention in Kutloano: May 2007

In May 2007 I visited the group in Welkom, accompanied by my masters research student, Mphapho Hlasane from the University of Johannesburg, who acted as scribe and translator. These were the replies to the same questions that were asked before the 2006 pilot intervention. They indicate that, despite the weaknesses of the second training, the women had regained the ground they had lost:

> 'We always talk about HIV. People disclose to us; they come to us to get advice.' 'I have sent people to the clinic for testing and counselling when they were very sick, and now they are well and on treatment'. 'Yes, we have saved lives.' 'I have been invited to talk to my church on Women's Day about HIV/AIDS. I will talk about Photovoice. I will use Bart's[35] pictures to show the young people about this disease.' 'We want to help others with our knowledge'. 'All my grown-up sons and my close family have now tested' (Kutloano members May 2007).

In addition to the powerful and insightful narratives from the pilot project, subsequent focus group interviews in the form of group discussions during the roll-out site visits has revealed a remarkable change in attitude and sense of agency among the women. When asked why

[35] Bart Cox, the HIV Trainer, left training materials on site at the request of the group, KB Archives (PPR Draw 2: File HIV training materials).

they thought Photovoice and Paper Prayers are effective, responses included: “It’s easy to talk about photos;” “You can use symbols and colours to talk about feelings and things that are not easy;” “Art helps to relieve stress – it is a way of healing;” “I’m no longer shy to talk.”

With respect to this group, Kutloano, which is one of the smallest and most cohesive of the Phumani Paper enterprises, I am confident that the arts interventions had provided the women with ‘voice.’ They identified the changes they saw in themselves articulately:

> ‘We are leaders in our community.’ ‘I am proud of what I can do. Before I could not speak; I was ashamed that I did not have an education. Now if a doctor or professor comes to visit us I have something I can teach them.’ ‘I am confident now; I can socialize and be with other people.’ ‘I know that I can turn a leaf into paper. I do not throw away; I recycle waste.’[36]

The interviews, Photovoice and Paper Prayers narratives represented in this case study focus particularly on two members of the group, Mamoeti and Mashechaba, who both indicate change and agency. Masechaba is 56 years old and only had one year of high school education. She recently joined an adult literacy program in her area. All the women believe that hard work, and walking six kilometres each day to start work by 9 am sets an important example for their children. They all express pride in keeping their business alive, and aspiration in growing their business and markets. Or as Mamoeti says: “I can do anything I want to do to help myself”. An earlier aspiration of the young unit manager, Mameki, was her wish to help people and to grow as a leader, and she received a scholarship, and is now registered as a student in nursing college.

A recent investment in August 2008 by the De Beers mining group and their mines in the Free State will boost Kutloano’s visibility, orders and production – perhaps to the extent that they will be able to hire additional members and create additional jobs. Yet, my impression is that their sustainability is not about economic success and marketing, but about resilience and ‘self creation.’ Each one of these five women sees herself as a role model in her community.

[36] Kim Berman interview translated by Mphapho Ra Hlasane April 2007. Transcripts of interviews in KB Archives (FF Draw 6: File 1h).

PHASE THREE: The Third Intervention of the Kutloano Case Study: March-July 2008

Visual Mapping or the *Tshupatsela*[37]

This final intervention aimed to consolidate and test knowledge about HIV training and to conduct a resource-mapping exercise to assist the Kutloano group with their action plans. Because the team introduced a new visual strategy at this session, this process in effect became the pilot phase for the next two-year phase (July 2008-2010) of the continuation of the Ford Foundation-funded program*:* Cultural Action for Change.

Mphapho Hlasane, the researcher on the team, introduced the making of a map of the community, which the group then created on interfacing, an inter-leaving material used for papermaking. The mapping exercise began by using artist Marcus Neustetter's method of using masking tape as a marker of routes from and to work.[38] The point of the exercise was to locate participants within the project in relation to the broader community of Welkom. Each participant chose their own colours, which they then used to write resources and important places they pass to and from work, as well as other resources around their homes and the project (Figures 21a-d).

After the exercise, the women defined the map in their own words:

> This has been important to us. This is a *tshupatsela* [navigator], it's like *lesedi* [light]. In life I need to know or be aware of important places for me where I walk, also where my markets are along my way. It is also about how to direct our clients. Open your eyes and ears when you walk (Mamoeti).
>
> It can fill the whole wall! (Masechaba) (MC Hlasane report April 2008a).[39]

In July 2008, shortly after the mapping intervention, Jane Hassinger returned to South Africa to collaborate on a book project with me, which we had proposed as one of the academic outcomes of the New Partners/New Knowledge initiative. We have called this forthcoming book: *Women on Purpose: The Resilience of the Founding Women of Phumani Paper*. It will document the stories of 22 founding women of Phumani Paper who have been involved with their projects for eight to ten years. Interviews were conducted by Hassinger, her PhD

[37] The *tshupatsela* (or navigator), named by Mamoeti Mano in her description of the experience of mapping, is the term adopted by the research team for the subsequent visual mapping interventions.
[38] Marcus Neustetter, South African artist from the Trinity Session uses mapping as part of his interactive visual practice. See http://www.onair.co.za/ Neustetter was invited to train the intervention team on mapping as a practice to organize groups and projects.
[39] All site visit reports by facilitators are filed in an archive, KB Archives (FF Draw 6: File 6).

student Leah James from the University of Michigan and myself. Portraits of the women were taken by New York-based photographer Debbie Rasiel and the translation and transcription was done by my University of Johannesburg research assistants Keboni Ramasimong and Shonisani Maphangwa. The interviews are transcribed and housed in the archive.[40] They all have in common the women's belief in independence and the value and pride of work as an overriding reason for their resilience (Figure 22).

Summary of Findings from the Intervention: Cultural Action for Change

As previously mentioned, a summary document entitled the "Socio-Economic Indicators and Narratives of Living and Working Conditions for Phumani Paper Affiliated Organizations" has been compiled by the Program researcher Lilo Du Toit as part of the baseline and mid-term study for 2007. What follows is a summary of her findings linked to two Phumani groups:

> At the end of the two-year intervention at Kutloano, the findings table of the impact assessment describes the changes indicated by three members of the group. With reference to AIDS support referrals: Mamoeti Mano referred about seven people for VCT, Masechaba Molelekoa referred at least four people and Matshediso (Shidi) Sepagela referred two. Mamiki Manganyi was inspired to apply to do full-time nursing as a result of the intervention, and she has since been accepted with a full bursary into nursing college (Hlasane report, April 2008a).

Compared to Kutloano, the results from the Imboni group in KwaZulu-Natal, were less positive initially. As a rural KwaZulu-Natal group whose region is within a poverty node and is one of the highest indicators of unemployment (69%) and HIV infection (30-36%), the impact of loss, fear and trauma has been significant in the group.[41] Yet, after the second intervention the group members decided to go collectively for voluntary counselling and testing. Some of the observations by the trainers noted a marked improvement in the emotional health and physical demeanour of the members during the follow-up visit after the Photovoice intervention.[42] The impact of the intervention has been quite significant with all project

[40] Women on Purpose interviews, transcriptions KB Archives (UJ Draw 5: File 5).
[41] Imboni Paper and Wood Carving Studio is situated in Sodwana Bay, in the Saint Lucia Wetlands World Heritage Site in KwaZulu-Natal. The district municipality of Umkhanyakude is in a rural area identified by the South African government as suffering from extreme levels of poverty and deprivation, making it one of the focus IRSDP nodes. The Department of Social Development (DSD) measures the unemployment rate in Umkhanyakude specifically at 82%, and the poverty rate at 58%. According to Census 2001, 76% of households in this local municipality live on R800 or less per month, with an overwhelming 45% of them having no income at all. These rates are the highest of all the municipalities included in this report. These figures are coupled with a high rate of households headed by women (52%), who are more vulnerable to unemployment and underemployment than their male counterparts. Households headed by women are therefore more vulnerable to poverty and insecurity. Households in this municipality have very low levels of access to water and sanitation. (Figure 25: Table 1). (See: http://www.statssa.gov.za/).
[42] See Sue Sellschop report and observations from the field: Imboni workbook 2006-7 in which she describes the look as "looking positive, more confident and healthier" on the team's second visit (Figure 16b). KB Archives (FF Draw 6 File 4c).

leaders reporting up to five referrals and the station manager in Imboni project in KwaZulu-Natal reporting up to ten referrals for HIV help (Figure 26, Table 4: Knowledge of HIV organizations, referral and own testing since APS intervention: du Toit 2008b: 24).

Along with the common perception shared by the training team members, these results support the contention that visual and narrative materials when applied as a training intervention can systematically increase the achievement of social and behaviour change. Since the intervention, some of the members of the groups have participated in VCT, and some have initiated ARV treatment for themselves or others. The encouraging interim findings from the questionnaires conducted by the researchers on the project support the proposed objectives of the intervention. The extracts of two interviews (Figures 23 and 24) recorded fully in the archives, point to specific changes such as prolonging lives, improving confidence and optimism and increasing productivity in the groups.

The value of this methodology was reflected in the stakeholder interviews by the student and artist facilitators, HIV counsellors and academic partners.[43] Students were asked whether they feel as if they have made a difference in the lives of others since becoming involved with the interventions. Answers ranged from the personal (being able to help family members), to being able to engage more broadly with society in a positive way, to being able to provide support to and mentor others. Quite a few people in the student researcher group indicated the practical differences they could make to the lives of people close to them. As du Toit notes in her final summary of findings: “these opportunities have very positive effects on the individuals involved, and result in many instances in a paying forward of skills, resources and positivity into [additional] communities” (du Toit, Executive Summary 2008a: 4).

The research team also found that social transformation has the most potential when it integrates local cultural and ethnic practice with multi-disciplinary approaches and practices. The cultural contexts influenced the choice of strategies, methodologies, and the composition of team members. As described above, in conducting a second intervention in KwaZulu-Natal, the selected HIV/AIDS trainer-counsellor – an older, white male trainer – was more

[43] Thirty-four stakeholder interviews were conducted and are included in the archive, and the summary recording extracts are cited in the Mid-term and Final reports (du Toit 2007, 2008b), KB Archives (FF Draw 6: Files 1a-d). **Student/Graduate beneficiaries**: those stakeholders who benefited from the programs in terms of receiving employment or a chance to complete a qualification (17 interviews) **Managers/Coordinators**: those who are involved with the programs in a managerial capacity (8 interviews) **Other institutions** involved at a ***program*** level: those partners who are from other organizations/institutions involved with the implementation of the programs, such as Men as Partners and independent consultants (five interviews) **Other institutions** involved at an ***academic*** level: those partners who are involved via an academic institution (four interviews) KB Archives (FF Draw 6: Files 1a-e).

effective with the group of grandmothers in the Amagalong group in the village of Mmakau, North West Province, who had been extremely uncomfortable with the initial choice of a young black man from Engender Health to talk with them about sex. The different cultural practices and ethnicities within the groups required different approaches.

The self-reflexive process of reviewing the iterations of each phase of the intervention accommodated recommendations and evaluations from feedback obtained by participants, as well as site trainers and facilitators. This feedback proved to be significant in factoring in the cultural dimension of approaching the impact of HIV/AIDS in the groups.

Du Toit notes that all of the projects, without exception, described overwhelmingly difficult circumstances in their communities, with high levels of infection and unemployment, young people dying, children being orphaned and people unwilling to disclose or discuss the disease. By the end of the two-year intervention, participants indicated in general being more aware of issues associated with the disease, thinking differently about their own roles and responsibilities, thinking differently about how they relate to HIV-positive people and being more aware of the need to test and know their status. The majority of Phumani Paper organizations' station managers (nine or 65% in the mid-term report (2007) and 85% in the final report (2008)) indicated that they had personally recommended testing, counselling and treatment to individuals in their communities, and furthermore, these individuals knew where to go for such services. In terms of opening up discussions on the subject, this change has been quite significant. In the baseline report, only two organizations (Kutloano and Twanano) indicated having discussed HIV/AIDS within their groups.[44] In the mid-term survey, only two organizations indicated not having discussed it, that is twelve organizations that had not spoken about this issue within their groups before, indicated that discussions to this effect had taken place since having the interventions (Figure 26 Table 4).

The Phumani groups indicated that, apart from the information on HIV, the creative methods used in the APS interventions taught them skills that they can use in their papermaking and craft businesses. Du Toit notes that the ability of the methods used by Artist Proof Studio artists to access deep, emotional issues of the participants in a non-threatening and participatory way, was the main benefit cited by stakeholders. More than one stakeholder reflected on the methods' "therapeutic" effects, their ability to "bypass language", and ability

[44] These two projects, along with KwaZulu-Natal Papermaking and Imboni, participated in the pilot phase of Photovoice, which was done before the baseline survey was conducted. That accounts for why they are the only two groups that had engaged with the subject of HIV/AIDS.

to “inspire agency” in the participant,” and their accessibility to people “when language falls short.” [45]

The outcomes from the interventions are substantial. They include rich archives of data in the forms of workbooks that document and describe the trainings and site visits and record focus group discussions and identification of key challenges facing individuals and the groups. In addition, the photographs and photo-narratives, Paper Prayer prints and personal interpretations have been archived. These resources are grouped with training materials pertaining to each of the sixteen Phumani enterprises, with a second copy of the material at each site. As part of the ‘deliverables’ to the Ford Foundation these materials are available to the public in the form of published training manuals (Antonopolou and Sellschop and (eds) 2008), and an exhibition and catalogues of representative examples of Photovoice and Paper Prayers (Antonopolou et al. 2008), and the forthcoming book that documents the narratives of the founding women of Phumani Paper (Berman, Hassinger and Rasiel (forthcoming 2009). In addition, a compilation of articles by the participating academics and partners from each collaborating institution will provide a valuable analytical resource on multi-modal approaches to engaging the AIDS pandemic (Berman 2007a/b, 2008a/b).[46]

The baseline and mid-term impact assessments have also opened up a range of opportunities for continuing research. For example, four new Master’s research projects have been registered in 2008. These include Master’s project proposals: “The Child Support Grant and Economic Activity among the Phumani Women: a qualitative study of the link between social grants and economic capabilities for women” (Lilo du Toit, Development Studies 2008e); “The impact of the eco-fuel bricks on the environment: testing energy efficiency and reduced carbon emissions” (JT Pilusa, Chemical Engineering 2008); and two Master’s projects under the community-based arts activity area: “Visual Strategies as Mobilizing Tools for Social Change: Combining Photovoice, Mural Art and Mapping” (MC Hlasane, Visual Arts 2008b), and “The Role of Graphic Imagery in Social Action: a case study of an educational graphics campaign at the University of Johannesburg” (V Nanackchand, Visual Arts 2008).[47] The latter two projects expand on the research activity that investigates the roles of the visual arts in creating social change.

[45] See Stakeholder Summary Report, April 2008, and Indicators by District, March 2008, KB Archives (FF Draw 6: File 2g).
[46] Two articles and unpublished conference papers are filed in the KB Archives (UJ Draw 5: File 1a,b).
[47] See Master’s Research project proposals: KB Archives (UJ Draw 5: File 5).

PART THREE: CONCLUSIONS

Possibilities arising from the Intervention and Public Policy Implications

This project extended various methods to explore creative and passionate engagement with research that can contribute to the transformation of the self and the group. It is a research process that meets South Africa's developmental agendas as well as wider cultural, intellectual, and political concerns. The extensive impact assessment has been summarized in a format of a log-frame of indicators such as income, health, impact of disease and death in the community, productivity, environment, social grants and others (see footnote 49).

It is useful to return to a discussion of ways of addressing the dimension of cultural approaches to social action, as the considerations of cultural practice have been critical to how the intervention has been continually adjusted from the pilot strategy to the roll-out of the intervention.

A paper by Helen Gould of the Creative Exchange in partnership with UNESCO investigates how the cultural dimension can be effectively factored into HIV and AIDS communication programs. It reports the initial findings from HIV/AIDS: The Creative Challenge, a project that is developing discussions with field practitioners and policymakers on the value of cultural approaches to HIV and AIDS.[48] Gould's report is evidence that development thinking is shifting towards acknowledging the role of culture. Increasingly donors are investigating how they can work with other sectors within the cultural web to improve the impact of their work on the ground. "If culture is a factor in transmission and impact, it follows that prevention and care require a cultural approach" (Gould 2007: 2). Gould and Marsh's research acknowledges that creative and artistic activities "offer a way in to building relationships with local communities, of tapping into the cultural undercurrent, of gauging the thinking and experiences of different segments of the community in relation to HIV and AIDS, and of building skills, confidence and capacity to act" (Gould and Marsh 2004, Gould 2007: 3).

This project has approached the concept of 'research' in a multidisciplinary but highly structured fashion that included a parallel analysis and assessment. In designing a continuance of the next phases of the intervention, the information gleaned from the impact assessments as well as the stakeholders interviews have revealed various weaknesses and

[48] This paper was written by Helen Gould based on research prepared by Marsh and Judy El Bushra for the international research project HIV/AIDS: The Creative Challenge (http/ www.healthlink.org.uk).

strengths (Figure 26 Tables).[49] Some of the weaknesses relate to problems of access to resources such as health care facilities, local markets for craft sales, access to information about social services and grants available to community members from local government (these may include spatial/ environmental improvement funding, small business support, food grants for orphans and vulnerable children and others). The stakeholders questionnaires designed by myself and Lilo du Toit provide an insightful evaluation of the AIDS Action intervention. I extract from du Toit's findings of stakeholders responses below:

> Stakeholders in the positions of managers and coordinators and those involved at a program level were asked whether they think the program makes a difference. Answers seemed to coalesce around the belief that the most salient difference achieved related to opening up discussion, first of all, around HIV/AIDS within groups. It was generally felt that interventions would have to continue and be sustained in order to effect bigger changes: Opening up communication about highly personal, highly stigmatizing information among vulnerable populations without providing scrupulous follow-up efforts risks leaving people more vulnerable to community/relationship abuse and abandonment. AIDS is a problem of intimate, familial relationships, thus the complexities of those relationships and the needs of the people in them, need to be taken into account in the interventions. (du Toit 2007: 18).

This issue again links up with the need to have longer, more sustained interventions, or more broadly, more sustained contact and interaction with groups. Finally, 'diagnosing' group conflicts and needs, and effective collaboration with team members will dramatically improve the outcomes" (du Toit 2007: 18).

Significantly, being involved with a Phumani group furthermore provides some of the needed ongoing support to members which is often not available in communities, or in grant-funded projects: "One element of Phumani's success is the ability to create strong mutual support among the group. Work at Phumani distinguishes members from others in the community, because it is idealistic, educational, hopeful and affirming" (Phumani community manager: Stakeholder Interviews: du Toit 2007: 5).

The Phumani programs are therefore recognized by most of the stakeholders in the positions of coordinators and/or managers as encompassing more than merely skills development. It relates to the growth and actualization of individuals, through their income-generating activities, their access to training and skills and through their membership of a supportive group: "... we cannot make a difference in the lives of people if we have not attempted to change certain mindsets. All of the job creation in the world will not make a difference until

[49] An executive summary of findings against the log-frame of objectives for APS, University of Johannesburg and Phumani Paper are tabulated as part of the Final Report to the Ford Foundation. KB Archives (FF Draw 6: File 2j).

certain issues are addressed such as HIV and AIDS as well as self-discipline and responsibility" (Phumani community manager: Stakeholder Interviews: du Toit 2007: 5,6).

The success of the AIDS Action Intervention met the objectives of the Ford Foundation of reducing the fear and silence in each site, and I am aware of four HIV status disclosures that took place during the training interventions of members of groups who previously felt shame and had kept their HIV status private from the groups. Others in the groups who qualified for anti-retroviral treatment have initiated treatment since the intervention. An additional objective that was proposed to the Ford Foundation was to achieve an increase in productivity and income for the enterprises as a result of greater group trust, information, networking and agency. The increase in income however has not as yet proven to be consistent (du Toit 2007: 38) (Figure 26: Table 3).[50] This has led to the funding and program support for the next phase of the intervention, to improve market access and increased productivity for Phumani groups leading up to 2010.

The Use of Mapping for navigating a way out of Poverty: The way forward for Cultural Action for Social Change, 2008-2010

The identified weaknesses of the intervention have been valuable for developing a new visual strategy that I term 'visual mapping'. Visual mapping as discussed earlier in the chapter is an artistic practice used by a significant number of artists.[51] I propose that the combination of artistic expressions with social change objectives constitutes a rich new research methodology and development intervention.

In *The Art of Possibility* Ben Zander makes a profound observation when he asserts that "You name yourself as the instrument to make your relationships into effective partnerships" (Zander 2000: 158). This implies that the qualities needed for making a difference are both self-respect and, significantly, the ability to connect. In envisioning the next phase of the AIDS Action intervention, the collaborating team has started to experiment with the concept

[50] See table and graph of the sixteen Phumani paper sites' declared income at the time of the Mid-Term Review in November 2007. Objective: Access to markets to effectively promote and sell new and existing products. Refer to Mid-Term Review pp.62-64; pp.73-75; pp.76-79. Also earnings: p.38 Mid-Term Review; p.11 Final Review. Objective: Increase productivity affected negatively by the impact of HIV/AIDS: Refer to Mid-Term Review pp.80-91.

[51] Stephen Hobbs and Marcus Neustetter, Johannesburg-based artists affiliated to the Trinity Session, explored the concept of mapping in their own art practice and presented an investigation of perceptions of foreignness in their own city in their mapping intervention and exhibition at the University of Johannesburg Art Gallery in August 2007. Their exhibition entitled UrbaNET – Hilbrow/Dakar/Hilbrow reflects an interactive experience in Hillbrow that was extended into their trip to Dakar where they examined issues of "ownership in terms of space and territory, and also degrees of belonging" (www.onair.co.za).

of mapping, a technique introduced to us by our collaborators, Men as Partners. According to a report by the University of California Los Angeles Center for Health Policy “An asset map can help you identify community assets and concerns. The map results help determine new directions for your program or identify new programs that need to be developed” (2006: 12). At the beginning of this thesis, in Chapter One, I posed a number of questions. These included: “If the recipients of development interventions are not passive collective beneficiaries; then who are they? How can the facilitator assist people to fulfil their potential and act productively for themselves and the collective?” The premise underlying these questions is that if the development practitioner can help participants achieve agency, then development projects have a much better chance of working. My assertion was that the visual and creative arts are a means of acknowledging and developing potential in people, and of facilitating change (Chapter One: 4).

Visualizing the concept of drawing a map and plotting connections and actions onto that format, a new and exciting opportunity opened. The idea of mapping as a visual and creative activity carries enormous potential, as indicated by the significant interest that mapping has generated in contemporary art internationally. If the physical process of creating a map of aspirations can strengthen the articulation of voice, it then enacts a process of agency and empowerment. The importance of cultural voice is supported by both Appadurai and Sen’s understanding of development practice as more effective and inclusive when it fosters a greater equality of agency.

Appadurai’s notion of “the recovery of the future as a cultural capacity” (2004: 62) is valuable in considering the role of aspiration in fostering ‘capacity’ and ‘capability’, and in asking “How may the poor be helped to produce those forms of cultural consensus that may best advance their own collective long-term interests in matters of wealth, equality and dignity?” (Appadurai, 2004: 64). As has been discussed earlier in this chapter, Appadurai presents the need for the poor to exercise ‘voice’, which he argues “must be expressed in terms of actions and performances which have local cultural force” (Appadurai 2004: 67). I would like to suggest that the intervention described in this chapter provides examples of using Photovoice and Paper Prayers as cultural expressions that exercise “local cultural force”, and that the idea of Visual and Community Mapping can be a tool to navigate the concept of futurity. Mapping through the construction and plotting of actions and ways to imagine social and economic connectivity, provides a means for what Appadurai states for the poor “to mobilize themselves (internally) and in their efforts to change the dynamics of consensus in their larger social worlds” (2004: 67).

As I came to understand this genre as used by both visual artists and by activists, I concluded that the concept of mapping and interpreting the relationships between people and environments offers a way to link all the open ends emerging from the various interventions analysed in this thesis. The mapping process is a practical form that can value the past and permit it to coexist with the present, as well as provide a format to plot the possibilities of the future. Facts and realities can be seen as the platforms for new actions and outcomes. Art practice can initiate transformation, creating new approaches to current conditions. But how can this be applied to development practice that addresses the challenges of achieving economic participation, sustainability, growth and mobility facing the craft enterprises that are dependent on Phumani Paper to create markets? How can the prevalence of scarcity thinking in communities struggling in poverty in fact be overcome? (Figure 25: Reflections).

James Clifford in “Spatial Practices” (1997) and “Travelling Cultures” (1997) refers to concepts of travel, shifting locations, border crossing, self-location, a map of “unfinished paths and negotiations, leading in many directions” and “the inescapable task of translation” (Clifford 1997: 52-91). “A location is an itinerary rather than a bounded site – a series of encounters and translations” (Clifford 1997: 11). I interpret “multiplicity of practice” (Clifford 1997: 54) as the capacity to integrate many forms of knowledge. A further commitment to the “task of translation” is needed in the context of the project Cultural Action for Change in order to work towards a common language for the project team. Perhaps what the methodology of visual mapping can achieve is the imparting of group skills and the capacity to form purposeful relationships and networks; to sustain team members through inclusive planning processes; to negotiate difficulties; to reflect together on the goals and priorities of the project; and to assess its successes and failures. Community mapping can also develop group skills and the ability to organize and monitor multi-partner projects that may involve several sites and different types of organizations and groups, as well as multiple timelines, tasks, and products. Maps also provide a sense of the layered histories of places, including their simultaneously local and global meanings and their potential to become sites of growth and change. These group capacities, together with individual agency that emerges from self-creation through art-making, are the methodological contributions to the development field offered by the visual arts in the interventions I present and analyse.

“The capacity to aspire is thus a navigational capacity” (Appadurai 2004: 69) and so the intervention proposed to create visual and experiential mural maps that include images, creative expression, Photovoice, and may be realized in a public community mural, has the potential to materialize the concept of aspiration. The next intervention Cultural Action for

Change (2008-2010) aims to give a creative and visual voice to this notion of aspiration. “By bringing the future back in, by looking at aspirations as cultural capacities, we are surely in a better position to understand how people actually navigate their social spaces” (Appadurai 2004: 84).

I have argued that the value of the creative process lies in envisioning, or in aspiring; in the creating of the path to navigate a way out of poverty. Or in the words of Mamoeti Mano, a participant in the Kutloano enterprise: “This is a *tshupatsela* [navigator], it’s like *l*esedi [light]. In life I need to know or be aware of important places” (Hlasane report April 2008a). I argue that this statement is a practical integration of Appadurai’s theoretical conception of “a navigational capacity”. If a rural woman in one of the sites could plot her journey to work each day, record the places around her as potential assets, resources or markets, she would see herself in relationship to her environment. She would see her connectedness to her community and her world. For instance, the funeral home she passes each day could become a place to sell her handmade paper cards. She may see an opportunity to make paper flowers as wreaths for funerals, if fresh flowers are unavailable. She could also take a photograph and business cards to collage onto her map as new actions or leads to pursue. When the site she passes every day is seen as an asset to her business, that possibility could generate innovation or creative possibilities. Each day, coming into work, or mapping a possibility, a new opportunity is identified and plotted in terms of distance, colour, texture or shape, depending on what kind of relationship it could be for the group. This map, projected as a mural on the wall of the community enterprise site could become a resource for the whole community, providing knowledge and information about various opportunities or assets within a geographic framework. The scope of her map could extend to the village or to an international site of the home of a tourist who purchased products from the group. Aspiration could be mapped out or visualized as a long line with possibilities radiating from its pathway. The environment would enable positive social change.

When the individual transforms her experience and sees things differently other changes occur. Mapping could help her define herself in relationship to the context in which she wants change to happen. The relationships between people and their environments are highlighted, which could change the focus to imagine new possibilities in the world and not only remain focused on the day to day business of survival. Scarcity and victim thinking and a sense of entitlement (or ‘you owe me’) can be reversed into relationships of possibilities that can be created by making different kinds of connections both physically on the map, and actually in life, by engaging those opportunities. Amartya Sen has introduced a “capabilities approach” of placing matters of freedom, dignity, and moral well-being at the heart of economics and

welfare (Sen 1999a). The acquisition of renewed capabilities gained from creative expression and a visual interpretation of the surrounding environment would support Sen's theory in this example. Visual expressions are able to both image and imagine the world in ways that express aspirations.

The Cultural Action for Social Change initiative not only addresses one salient conclusion from the AIDS Action for Change impact assessment, and that is the need for ongoing communication and training, but will provide new creative challenges for all the participants involved. This requires a multi-disciplinary and multi-skilled team to facilitate and prioritize themes and actions that emerge from the Photovoice and Paper Prayers narratives. The methodology will continue to develop the educational and new knowledge generating potential of Participatory Action Research. Mapping as an activity and metaphor requires spatial mobility and border crossing.

The lessons the research team takes forward into the next phase of Cultural Action for Social Change is that, for cultural processes to be powerful, the use of visual arts approaches such as printmaking, photography and mapping are tools that have the capacities to create identities, narratives and practices. The AIDS Action Intervention has demonstrated that the kind of positive social change that takes place within the groups and their individual members as a result of the intervention is characterized by innovation, agency and restoration.

CHAPTER SEVEN: FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS

PART ONE: Navigating Possibilities Using Visual Voices

Reflections

Researching and writing this thesis has given me an opportunity to reflect on the value of both arts activism and the process of academic analysis. The process of intellectual interrogation has led me to collaborate, consult, read, reflect, clarify my theoretical approach and design a coherent methodology that addresses some of the challenges I have encountered as a practitioner. Working as a cultural activist, artist and educator, I have been motivated by an underlying belief system informed by the ethics of human rights and equality. Through writing this thesis I have learnt to analyse and articulate decisions that were originally motivated by a gut response to injustice, for the fundamental rationale for undertaking this academic research was to contribute to knowledge in such a way that my findings would enhance existing methodologies for achieving social justice. This concluding chapter constitutes a consolidation of some of the insights that recur throughout the case studies; it is a reflection of the significance of the values arising from engaged, collaborative learning as a viable method for creating new knowledge.

There are common elements running through each of the case studies that derive from the fact that each intervention was based on the democratic values of human rights and equity. Further, the methodology throughout is dialogical, consultative, and designed to facilitate participants recognizing their own voices. The idea is that practice leads to understanding, and stems from a fundamental ethical principle or ideal that all human beings have the capacity to realize their potential in their own way. Each intervention is also driven by a core belief in people's potential, to believe in themselves and to take steps towards self-actualization. This approach requires people to constantly address conflict and difficulty and to find ways to shift lethargy, despair and denial.

The findings of this research process have shown that art can change lives, and can be used to catalyse social transformation. Furthermore, in successful interventions, success is often non-economic: it achieves personal empowerment, and there is an acknowledgement of a breadth of different kinds of wealth and poverty. The successes of the projects discussed reveal that they increase resilience, and that art-making provides a method. Further, these case studies suggest that success is dependent on three interconnected attributes demonstrated by the members of viable projects: self-reliance, creativity and self-creation. The resilience and the belief that "I can do" leads to self-reliance. Apart from the traumas

and tragic deaths suffered through fire, AIDS and suicide; loss has also been felt through constant disappointment regarding funding and change of government policies. However, many participants refused to become victims of their circumstances and gained remarkable strength and resilience through these experiences. Artists are able to facilitate the capacity of dreaming and imagination in others. If there is a belief in the capacity to dream, goals can be achieved. Creative practice and art-making provide a methodology for transforming aspirations into real and practical goals. The idea that people are not passive beneficiaries but active participants in an ongoing process of self-creation is part of the hidden strength of survival and can be offered as a valuable objective for development practice. In this context, empowerment can be redefined as the ability to become an agent of one's own life and to achieve self-actualization. Agency cannot be given; the concept of "I can do" has to be internalized and expressed by each individual.

Such insights reveal a number of implications for development policy. First there is a need to redefine the way poverty is understood, and to clarify the steps required to navigate new possibilities arising from this new understanding. These case studies suggest that the use of visual voices (expressed through Photovoice, Paper Prayers and visual mapping) together with personal narratives is a tool to assist that process[1] Second, participatory, collaborative and multi-modal research practice is effective as a methodology for action, assessment, and generating new knowledge. Further, the interventions offer a range of insights that emerged out of this thesis for participatory practice and the co-creation of knowledge with participants. The overall challenge that confronts any project is that of finding ways to listen and to integrate this knowledge in a non-prescriptive way. It is necessary to evolve fluid, creative, dialogical and reflective intervention tools. In addition, there is a need to discover ways of re-claiming such terms as 'empowerment' and 'agency' that have been over-used and jargonized in the academy, in the practice of development, and in government and international NGO rhetoric. It is essential to recognize that beneficiaries are not inert units within a collective and that this misconception is one of the primary reasons why development projects fail. An important antidote for this is the notion of dreaming and making what is not there appear and become possible. Dreaming is fundamental to the activity of art-making and I would argue, also to development projects.

Art-making is fundamental in the process of integrating life skills. The Phumani Paper intervention analysed in Chapter Four reveals the failure of the neo-liberal ideology adopted

[1] Visual Voices is a term that refers to the three methodologies: Photovoice, Paper Prayers and visual mapping (described in Chapter Six). The term refers to visual expressions that are linked to personal narratives.

from the West. This approach calls for the development of small and micro-enterprises with a primary focus on improving economic indicators; it has imposed an entrepreneurial model across the project interventions. Yet participants, through reclaiming their own voices, have found other ways to adapt and re-interpret business practice. Phumani Paper groups, for example, were forced to shift from a socialist to a neo-liberal model, and convert their community cooperatives into creative and profit-driven enterprises. Various economic shocks resulting from changing government policies and funding requirements have resulted in loss of membership; yet the members who survived have assumed leadership roles and demonstrate a new sense of responsibility to themselves and the group.

The Phumani Paper groups were initiated as part of government's promise for "a better life" for the poor. Ironically, participants demonstrated that any success achieved from their groups occurred in spite of government funding, not because of it. Prior to the business-development model, the earlier paternalistic poverty relief approach of government funding did little to encourage self-reliance. It appears that this situation is not unique to South Africa. For instance Arjun Appadurai describes "waiting for" government to deliver in India:

> We may say that hope in this context is the force that converts the passive condition of "waiting for" to the active condition of "waiting to": waiting to move, waiting to claim full rights, waiting to make the next move in the process that will assure that the queue keeps moving and that the end of rainbow is not a broken promise (Appadurai 2008).

I propose that art-making has inspired methodologies that were developed and tested in the various projects discussed here, and are able to convert this passive condition of "waiting for," into the agency of doing for oneself.

Capacities for Building Resilience

In reflecting on the various themes in this thesis such as resilience, agency and purpose, dreaming and imagination, it is helpful to consider what Pieterse calls "sensibilities for practice". Pieterse advocates five different sensibilities in the approach to development that are required to achieve "human flourishing". He proposes that it is the "way of being that counts." The development practitioner must be able to practice "code-switching" between knowledge systems; adopt a "multi-focal perspective" in reading the political situation; employ "self-reflexivity" and "empirically informed and symbolically attuned" knowledge. Last, he emphasizes the importance of having "curiosity" about what is going on (Pieterse 2004: 351-352). I agree with Pieterse that the practice in pursuit of human flourishing must be constructed as a meaningful dialogue that is not about finding truths but can "construct a new grammar of thinking and doing development" (2004: 352). The sensibilities (that Pieterse

identifies are capacities familiar to art-making practice, and the case studies analysed here endorse his recognition of the value of complexity. The methods that this research study explores include: participatory practice and dialogue; creative and art practice as alternative modes of knowledge-making; assessment methods that use interactive and multi-modal processes to engage and mobilize communities rather than measuring business efficiency; and the value of dreaming and imagination in transforming aspirations into goals for change. These methods support the argument that social transformation requires creativity to enhance agency, and that artists can add an important dimension to a development practice that focuses on building resilience.

Other capacities that Pieterse asserts are required for effective community engagement include passion, trust, inspiring confidence, being present, and practising humility (Pieterse 2004: 350). These qualities reinforce the values of developing human relationships as well as enhancing interactions with wider networks. In South Africa, community development cannot be separated from a past history marked by trauma and the presently unfolding need for reconciliation and healing. Projects and processes should therefore be geared toward restoring and enhancing capacities that support people in confronting the painful past and the troubled present and that address distortions of race, gender and power imbalances. This should be done by offering convincing experiences of transforming aspirations into practical and creative possibilities, to celebrate commonalities and differences. The sensibilities of development practice that have been explored in the range of case studies presented here have succeeded in nurturing and supporting individuals and communities. One of the fundamental purposes of the engagements was to give expression to the dreams and aspirations of participants who had been silenced or excluded from social empowerment. The process of discovering voice through creative and narrative expression deepens the work of democracy in that people engage the civic and public arena through exhibitions and markets, and are able to create their own economic and social participation. The type of learning experience advocated here is multi-modal and multi-dimensional and not only enhances the quality of skills training, but deepens an understanding of each participant's own strengths and agency in ways that expand each individual's sense of possibilities.

The value of the arts in enhancing democratic practice

It is important to note that this research has drawn on the pioneering work in cultural activism from the United States. There is compelling literature that makes a case for the arts in development and community-driven arts (Goldbard 2006; Sommer 2006; Cleveland 2005, 2008). For instance *New Creative Community* by Arlene Goldbard (2006), outlines the

successes of community cultural development in the United States, and argues that arts organizations need to develop the language and skills to make a case for their existence in a funding and policy landscape that increasingly devalues the arts. In the academy, non-governmental sector and in the craft sector, visual arts programs in particular struggle for survival. In South Africa the role that art can play in community development is also undervalued.

The revolutionary contribution by social economists and anthropologists such as Sen, Appadurai, Pieterse and Rao and Walton discussed in previous chapters, has since introduced creative and expressive concepts into the language of development, such as aspiration, imagination, creativity, freedom of expression. They have extended the understanding of economic poverty to the importance of the alleviation of poverty of the spirit (Rao and Walton 2004; Pieterse 2004).

The position I present in this thesis is that creative practice is a core component of self-actualization, and one of the fundamental purposes and outcomes of freedom and democracy. South Africa is a young democracy going through an adolescent process of exploring and rebelling against its hard-won freedoms. It is pushing the limits and is experiencing moments of chaos and threat. According to systems theory, this is an optimal time for change and adaptability, as long as communication and networks remain open and porous. Introducing creative practice as part of education for rebellious teenagers has been proved in many pedagogical texts as helpful for instilling a sense of identity, confidence and purpose in the youth. There are numerous case studies of youth who have become involved in arts activities and who derive a sense of pride of place and self as a result. For example the activist mural artist Judy Baca in her great wall of Los Angeles project invited youth who were in street gangs to participate in painting murals during their summer break from school. The resulting claims of higher pass rates among youth and the reduction in crime are well documented.[2]

I propose that the ability of arts education to provide a holistic and affirming learning experience can be applied to the nation conceptualized as a rebellious and indigent teenager. The American examples of activist projects by Judy Baca and Tim Rollins (Raven 1989) make a strong case for enhancing citizenship through the arts. South Africans are still learning to become citizens of a new democracy. An important question that must be

[2] The outcomes of the Judy Baca project are discussed in Neumaier and Kahn (eds) (1985: 68). Other examples of remedial activist art with youth include Tim Rollins cited by Arlene Raven (1989), and others by Lucy Lippard (1984; 329) and Grant Kester (2004).

raised is what is required to become a civic agent. A shift must occur from being passive receivers in an unjust apartheid system to being active participants in a neo-liberal ANC-led regime. Democracy demands individual agency for citizens, which is the capacity to participate and make choices.

I propose that creative practice can function as a means to deepen agency and therefore enhance democratic citizenship. Various methods for internalizing and owning that agency as part of a sense of self have been explored in different case studies presented here. The suggestion is that if meaningful change is to be sustained to achieve full expression of human rights and freedom, members of our society require complete participation in that freedom of expression.

The idea of 'developing the poor' is likely to fail because it starts with the wrong premise. While applying theoretical and mechanical developmental tools may introduce programs and opportunities, these are seldom sustained when the funding runs out, and many initiatives and organizations collapse. The Government's indicators of success are job creation, good business practice, efficiency and profitability. I suggest that present definitions of successful development initiatives should be re-evaluated. Rather, success should be measured in terms of survival and resilience.[3] Specifically I propose a change of the hierarchy of the goals of development; that the focus on economic achievement as the primary or sole goal of a development intervention be replaced by the facilitation of empowerment through self-reliance, agency and resilience. While an important part of achieving empowerment and resilience is through skills development, I would argue that being able to embark on creative practice and aspiring towards change constitute more fundamental and long-lasting goals. Artist Proof Studio, Paper Prayers and Phumani Paper can offer the development world lessons from their relative organizational longevity. Artist Proof Studio has survived and adapted itself since 1991, and Phumani Paper and Paper Prayers have existed for a decade. In spite of inconsistency and instability in funding, and in many cases having the odds of survival stacked against them, these organizations have refused to collapse. This I believe is because they achieved significant levels of resilience and creative adaptability.[4]

[3] Public Service Commission, October 2005, Report on the Evaluation of Government's Poverty Reduction Programme (http://www.info.gov.za/otherdocs/2007/poverty_reduction_eval.pdf).
[4] It would be interesting to compare other post-apartheid community arts organizations that have survived since the 1980s such as CAP (Community Arts Project), FUNDA Community Art Centre in Soweto, Windybrow Theatre, Market Theatre Laboratory and many others to understand an analysis of their own resilience. However, this would be the subject of further study.

The Challenges of transformative citizenship

The question must be addressed as to how development practitioners could arrive at a renewed approach to enhance democratic practice and renew a sense of civic agency. Transformative leadership is largely about shifting the frame of reference from old ways to a new assessment. According to Dr Mamphela Ramphele, South Africans must deal with stubborn ghosts that still haunt us and undermine the attainment of our envisaged self: "to transform a racist, sexist and authoritarian culture into one that is aligned to the ideals of our national constitution entails a radical shift" (Ramphele 2008: 296). She identifies the need to re-mobilize ordinary citizens to participate actively in transformation: "People have to become agents of their own development" (Ramphele 2008: 299). Moreover, she asserts that government has a responsibility to create an enabling environment for citizens to contribute to their own development. Ramphele asks how it is possible to address the deep psycho-social dissonances in our society. In Chapter Two I explore ubuntu as a guiding philosophy on which to build a society that recognizes the benefits of mutually empowering relationships. I am in agreement with Ramphele when she asserts that if we do not bridge these divides, the lack of voice among the poorest people is going to extract huge cost from the rest of the society, as has been the case in Khutsong,[5] as well as the xenophobic attacks, where destructive protests create social instability that comes from a sense of betrayal.[6] I further concur that as citizens of a new democracy in South Africa, we all have the responsibility of stewardship. Educating for democracy is essential to help us towards a shared understanding of our Constitution. We can become agents of our own making. According to Ramphele, a key factor for mobilizing energies to promote the kinds of value systems that will work towards the common good, is the need for transformative leaders who are able to transcend divisive categories. Ramphele asks if we have the courage to elect such transformative leadership (2008: 308). I fear that the conflation of liberation movement politics with democratic practice poses a serious risk to our democracy. South Africans seem to lack that courage at present; the culture of fear seems to dominate the political and social fabric of our society. The fears of many South Africans are dominated by HIV/AIDS, poverty, crime, corruption, the Zimbabwean crisis, xenophobia, the credibility of a Zuma-led government and the Mbeki legacy, although there are many other vital issues that need to be dealt with in our society. In this neo-liberal phase of an economic growth in South Africa,

[5] The service delivery protests, as they were known, comprised violent protests since May 2006 and a boycott of the local elections. Khutsong, a township of 170 000, 90 kilometres from Johannesburg, was involved in some of the worst trouble. The plan is to incorporate Khutsong back into Gauteng from the North West Province (http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2006/feb/22/southafrica.rorycarroll).

[6] References to the violence and protests can be accessed in the online Mail and Guardian: www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2008/may/19/southafricashardthruths (Accessed 20 December 2008).

many South Africans seem to operate from a place of emptiness or scarcity rather than abundance. The case studies in this thesis have analysed how the visual arts have facilitated change in individuals to overcome their fear (for example of HIV/AIDS) and make positive choices (such as seeking VCT). The question that needs to be asked is how can South Africa remain on the path of transformation as a primary goal toward enhancing democracy in the conditions of heightening inequalities and uncertainty that will promote an ethos of inclusiveness, humanity and freedom of expression?

This is Ramphele's challenge:

> The question each one of us must ask every day is whether we are giving the best we can to enable our society to transcend the present and become its envisaged self (2008: 311).

A response to this requires imagination, aspiration and resilience, and the process of self-creation. The question I am asking in a political climate of intolerance and fear, is how can the arts be integrated to creatively and productively engage citizens in dreaming and participating in realizing a better future?

Linking democratic citizenship with self-creation and social transformation

The mandate of reconciliation and redress was the cornerstone of the first major post-apartheid arts policy document, the 1996 White Paper on Arts, Culture and Heritage, suggesting that "arts and culture may play a leading role through promoting reconciliation." This important document underscores the "potential of arts and culture in a period of national regeneration and restoration" (Department of Arts Culture Science and Technology (DACST) White Paper 1996).

However, under President Mbeki's neo-liberal economic policy in South Africa, there grew an increasing intolerance of multi-party democracy. Citizens who criticized the government were labelled as unpatriotic. The policies of neo-liberalism seem to have eroded rather than strengthened the agency of citizens. In fact, as David Bunn observes, political subjects are seen more as stakeholders and less and less as active citizens, naturally rooted in the country by reason of their ethnicity and birth (Bunn 2008: 8). The failure of present economic policies to sufficiently address the plight of the poor, unemployment, AIDS and lack of social security has produced a pattern of violence and increased ethnic hatred, so that in May 2008 over 62 people were killed and thousands displaced and temporarily and inadequately housed in centres for displaced non-South African nationals and refugees. These shelters,

with little or no sanitation, were then dismantled with promises by the authorities of reintegration and reparation.[7] Nothing was done. A recent book, *Go Home or Die Here: Violence, xenophobia and the reinvention of difference in South Africa,* considers the consequences of how xenophobia affects the ideal of an equal, non-racial society as symbolized by a democratic South Africa. The contributors to this collection of essays further address the question of the ANC government's economic and political choices and whether they are the cause of new forms of exclusion that fuel such anger and distrust (Hassim, Kupe and Worby (eds) 2008).[8] A fundamental question asked is:

> Wasn't the most fundamental ethic underpinning the transition from authoritarianism to democratic governance one of *inclusion* – not merely the demand to tolerate difference but to actively celebrate it? Isn't that what the globally admired 'rainbow nation' was intended to signify? In the wake of the violence, this cheery multicoloured metaphor seems at best shallow and incomplete, at worst hollow and insincere" (Hassim et al. 2008: 7).

A question that may be asked is what the arts have to do with these problems. Many would say nothing, and, because arts organizations are so preoccupied with the business of survival and competing for the thinner and thinner slices of cake distributed by the National Arts Council, the politics and the rights of democratic citizenship have become a struggle of past history. During the liberation struggle the South African cultural sector comprised politically active 'cultural workers,' but in the climate of reconstruction "the visibility of artists as public intellectuals active in the making of culture and citizenship declined sharply" (Bunn 2008: 2). However, I argue that the arts still have a potentially fundamental role to play in addressing the social dysfunctionality outlined above.

Applying Theory to Practice to chart a way forward

Throughout this thesis I have proposed a central role for the visual arts in deepening democracy. I have addressed the work of scholars who have started to acknowledge the value of culture in the process of development. Rao and Walton (2004) for example, link the relationship of culture to poverty and economic growth, while, more specifically, theorists like Amartya Sen (1999, 2004) and Arjun Appadurai (2004) have discussed culture as the expression of attitudes and beliefs, which directly applies to my inquiry into the use of visual arts as an effective strategy to deepen democratic practice. Sen presents a range of cultural

[7] UNHCR rejects criticism over refugee crisis, Cape Town South Africa 19 September 2008 (http://www.mg.co.za/article/2008-09-19-unhcr-rejects-criticism-over-refugee-crisis).

[8] *Go Home or Die Here: Violence, xenophobia and the reinvention of difference in South Africa* is a collection of twenty academic essays responding to the questions arising out of the xenophobic attacks that started in Alexandra, Johannesburg in May 2008 and went on for three weeks. Another one of the questions the book responds to is "Of what profound social malaise is xenophobia – and the violence that it inspires – a symptom?" (Hassim et al. (eds) 2008).

connections as a constitutive part of development (Sen 2004: 39-43). His key point is that what is needed is not the privileging of culture as something that works on its own, but the integration of culture into society at large (Sen 2004: 56). So, too, Appadurai, in response to the question: Why does culture matter? argues persuasively for strengthening "the capacity to aspire" as a navigational capacity and argues for "deep democracy: self governance/ self-mobilization and self articulation." He states that development should define what actors can do together to shift something in favour of particular aspirations in a community (2004: 84). While Appadurai does not deny the broad humanistic implications of cultural form, freedom and expression, his focus is on "just one dimension of culture – its orientation to the future" (Appadurai 2004: 60). I draw on his idea of "futurity as a cultural capacity" in a general way throughout the interventions, and with a very specific application in the activity of visual mapping described below.

Similarly, Edgar Pieterse argues that meaningful engagement towards social transformation cannot be de-linked from individual work to achieve 'self-creation' and proposes the cross-fertilization of cultural practice and creative expression with economic development practice.[9] He states that dimensions of engagement and transformation are constitutively intertwined (Pieterse 2004: 341). Alan Kaplan further proposes that development contexts should be treated as a "living process", which means that it is important to anticipate non-linearity, surprise, multi-dimensionality and especially pre-existing agency, and to "facilitate processes that are already in motion" (Kaplan 2000: 33).

I have built on the ideas of these scholars and have interpreted their arguments in relation to my specific inquiry by applying their discussions of culture to the particular expression of visual arts practice as a cultural form: I suggest how practically and experientially these theoretical positions can be interpreted and applied. This is because it appears that there is still a significant gap between the promise of these theories and their practical implementation. As discussed in Chapter One, I agree with Taylor's comment that "theory without practice is empty, practice without theory is blind" (Taylor 2003: 233). The relationship between the two is particularly important in the arts: thinking and doing come together in complex ways that are not predictable, but the practical dimensions of engaging challenges on a day-to-day basis are what compel creative responses.

[9] The term "self creation" originates from Wayne Gabardi (2001) who builds on a Foucauldian understanding of politics as creative struggle that cannot be separated from personal self-creation (Pieterse 2004: 341).

In this analysis I attempt to address the challenge of making the practical links between "deep democracy" (Appadurai 2004) and the "journey of self-creation" (Pieterse 2004), and I make the case for creative practice as a means to forge such a link. In concluding this thesis I now analyse three specific examples that link actual activities to existing theories. The purpose is not only to use theory as a tool to deepen learning and skills development; and to re-formulate practice to achieve agency and substantive social participation, but to enhance the production of new knowledge on the ground and transfer this to the academy. The intention is that these practical, interactive and visual methods of applying theories of development will be useful to development practitioners and educators and contribute to academic theoretical understanding.

Visual mapping: a process of navigating possibilities

In Chapter Six I describe Cultural Action for Change interventions as a direct interrogation of the goals of my research project. The interventions are a result of seeking processes to achieve meaningful social change through the arts. Visual mapping is the first example intended as a practical methodological application of Appadurai's concept of aspiration as a navigational capacity and its orientation to the future:

> This set of connected arguments about the capacity to aspire rested on the view that for any durable change to occur in the distribution of resources, the poor needed to be empowered to gain and exercise 'voice', a fact that has been widely recognized by development scholars and practitioners. What has not been adequately recognized is that for 'voice' to be regularly and effectively exercised by the poor, in conditions of radical inequalities in power and dignity, required permanent enhancements of their collective capacity to aspire (Appadurai 2008).

The accepted methodology of community resource mapping is a strategy to give visual expression to Appadurai's theory of navigating the group's aspirations; or, in his words: "the map of aspirations … is seen to consist of a dense combination of nodes and pathways" (Appadurai 2004: 69).[10]

As discussed in Chapter Six, the team of artists and art students and researchers involved in the intervention designed a process that links the art of mural painting with an artistic, geographical and developmental application of mapping. The team developed a hybrid

[10] Community resource mapping is sometimes referred to as asset mapping or environmental scanning, and is best noted as a system-building process used by different groups at many stages in order to align resources and policies in relation to specific system goals, strategies, and expected outcomes. (See additional websites listed in Chapter Six, footnote 17). Available: http://www.ncset.org/publications/essentialtools/mapping/overview.asp (Accessed 17 December 2008).

activity that is interactive and exciting to engage collaboratively with a community group.[11] What follows is a more detailed description of how the team applied visual mapping to explore and give practical form to Appadurai's concept of "futurity as a cultural capacity".

Using a logic model of resources, assets, needs, actions and goals, the participating group members in the intervention identify and compile lists and then add them onto a mural map through the use of different colours, lines, textures, photographs and collage.[12] The Cultural Action Intervention team is the multi-skilled and multi-disciplinary team from APS and the University of Johannesburg who facilitate the process with community-based groups (in particular the Phumani Paper enterprises) to assist participants to develop their action lists and plot each activity and goal onto a physical format of a map. They then plot navigational routes and connections according to their goals. For example, if group members want to take their product to a particular market, or develop public signage for the group, the actions are plotted geographically in relation to where that activity happens. That activity is also identified with a colour and key as to when it happens and which member of the group is responsible. Goals that are planned but not yet implemented are plotted on a transparent sheet that is layered over the physical map. The transparent sheet is a visual metaphor for aspirations. When those aspirations have been achieved, they are included permanently in colour on the map to represent accomplishments and physical evidence of growth. The map is a physical part of the workplace. When each member walks into their space, they see a physical expression of their hopes, dreams and aspirations as well as a dense network of their connectivity to their environment and the world (See Figure 21 in Chapter Six). As a result group members are able to operate from a place of possibility that radiates outward, and not the scarcity of poverty and despair that surrounds them in their community.

Cultural Sites: influencing the formation of values

A second methodological example applies Amartya Sen's discussion of culture as "a constitutive part of development, cultural factors influencing economic behaviour, culture and political participation, social solidarity and association, cultural sites and recollection of past heritage and cultural influences on value formation and evolution" (Sen 2004: 39). A project

[11] The Artist Proof Studio research and training team has since written about the process of Visual Mapping as a method for training interventions. The processes will involve creative activities that may combine mural painting, collage and Photovoice methods to construct a community resource map. Master's student M.C. Hlasane will analyse this project as an extended case study for his research project. *Handbook/PAR Workshops: Cultural Action for Change 2008* KB Archives (FF Draw 6: File 7a).

[12] In its simplest form, the logic model analyses work into four categories or steps: inputs, activities, outputs, and outcomes. See W.K. Kellogg Foundation Logic Model Development Guide. Available: http://www.wkkf.org/Pubs/Tools/Evaluation/Pub3669.pdf (accessed 17 December 2008).

at Artist Proof Studio that addresses a range of these possibilities is 'Men as Partners: reframing gender stereotypes' that can be seen as a public expression of "cultural influences on value formation and evolution" (Sen 2004: 39). A mural on the Baragwanath Hospital wall facing Diepkloof in Soweto, painted in 2006 by a class of young Artist Proof Studio male students after attending an intensive gender equity workshop by Men as Partners, offers a colourful articulation of men nursing, caretaking, ironing, cooking and carrying children on their backs. In making the mural, a change in individual perception and personal enlightenment became a political gesture and a creative representation of gender equity advocacy. The project reflects "social solidarity and association" and the wall has become a "cultural site" (Sen 2004) for additional expressive painted murals on other issues such as HIV and gender violence (See Figure 33 Chapter Two).

Transforming Leaders in Practice

The third example of an activity that links method to theory is illustrated in Ramphele's call for leadership in South Africa that will take us "beyond aspirations towards a positive lived experience of our democracy" (2008: 297). One of the critical elements for the process of transformation that she identifies is to ensure implementation of our policies through a "cultural change toward teamwork" and "lifting the gaze of those mired in competing for power at the expense of the common good". Transformative leadership, she asserts, is needed to lead a change in culture, "replacing destructive competition with greater collaborative approaches" (Ramphele 2008: 297). Paulo Freire calls this kind of learning "conscientization," which means breaking down mythologies to reach new levels of awareness.[13] A recent example of how this can be translated into practice is a project conducted at Artist Proof Studio as part of a spontaneous response to the devastating violence that gripped many South African communities through the xenophobic attacks in May 2008. This project describes a journey from passive observer to concerned citizen to activist. The students responded to the stories told by members of Artist Proof Studio who are non-South African nationals and were personally affected by the wave of xenophobia. The students collaboratively developed drawings and painted murals, attended a protest march in the inner city, and volunteered to provide support to affected children with art activities in the sites set up to shelter fleeing refugees and African émigrés (See John and Gadi's stories, Chapter Seven, Part 2).

[13] The process of concientization involves identifying contradictions in experience through dialogue, thereby becoming part of the process of changing the world (Goldbard 2006: 243).

These examples of mural painting, also discussed in Chapter Two, make a case for organizations to be continually responsive to changing conditions and open enough to revise old patterns. The ability to adapt to changing conditions is analogous to the underlying premises of open systems theory described by Capra (1996), Taylor (2001), Kaplan (2000) and others, and is discussed in Chapter Four, suggesting that development contexts should be treated as a living process to anticipate non-linearity, surprise and multi-dimensionality. The community arts approach to understanding 'culture' as Sen employs the term, stresses participatory, self-directed strategies where members of communities determine their own paths to reach their aims.

This philosophy finds its methodological approach in Participatory Action Research (PAR), which challenges the way knowledge is produced through conventional social science methods and disseminated by higher education institutions, and puts the gathering and creation of knowledge into the hands of the people being studied. This thesis has argued for the practical implementation of PAR through the practice of multi-modal and multi-disciplinary networks, described in Chapter Six.

These three examples can assist the development practitioner to extend the "cultural lens" (Rao and Walton 2004: 361) of development from a way of seeing, to a methodological approach of facilitating action that is integrated, engaged and fully participative.

Assesing Cultural Action: Beyond the Cultural Lens

Vijayendra Rao and Michael Walton acknowledge in their conclusion to the anthology of essays in *Culture and Public Action* that a "cultural lens" has many implications for the world of action, especially when addressing problems of inequality and empowerment. This implies that interventions need to be shaped according to an understanding of the context for inequalities and the "need to design public action in ways that foster greater 'equality of agency'". They acknowledge that a diagnostic process could involve a range of mechanisms including socio-economic assessments and participatory engagements. To understand local conceptions of well-being and to incorporate 'common sense' and 'voice', the recipients of public action need to be engaged as central agents in the formation and implementation of policy (Rao and Walton 2004: 361).

Another conclusion reached by Rao and Walton is that culturally informed public action is not easy. The process argues against the idea of "best practice" – the notion that an intervention that worked wonders in one context will do the same in another. A cultural lens thus teaches

us that public action, particularly when it is participatory, aspiration-building, and aware of common sense, requires an element of experimentation and learning. Ironically the best practice may be the recognition of "the absence of best practice" (Rao and Walton 2004: 362).

In this view development at its core is a social and cultural activity that requires a slow process of learning from the ground up in order to be effective and sustainable. A development culture that forces projects to be completed in two or three years, which usually results in their being either rapidly and meaninglessly scaled up, or abandoned, is not conducive to meaningful social change or learning by doing. As the Cultural Action for Change, the multi-modal case study described in Chapter Six has shown, four years would be the minimum period required for donor support. Because of the value of multiple and culturally diverse engagements, a short-term project would make it impossible to incorporate what Rao and Walton refer to as "a cultural lens". Most interventions that attempt to build 'the capacity to aspire' require sustained efforts spread over many years. This will require a change in the cultures of donor organizations. For example the pilot project with the Ford Foundation's South Africa office, discussed in Chapter Six, has initiated a cross-disciplinary approach within their own local office. Funding and support for this project is divided across three representatives in three divisions (economic development, reproductive health and higher education). The project has been extended from two years of support to four years, in part because it is linked to a rigorous research study that can prove the value of sustained creative interventions to enhance sustainability. This example of an engaged donor approach can serve as a practical application of the change in the culture of donor organizations called for by Rao and Walton.

In trying to implement such insights, I have extracted key concepts from the various contributions in the anthology *Culture and Public Action* (Sen, Appadurai, Arizpe, Alkire and Rao and Walton (eds) 2004) that support the use of an integrated approach for framing development policy, and present them as possible criteria for assessing development interventions. These include: design for 'equality of agency'; multidisciplinary and multi-modal assessment tools; participatory approaches (bottom-up, and not best practice); long-term intervention; futuristic or forward-looking in the 'capacity to aspire'; and training of project facilitators to be context-sensitive leaders, trainers and researchers. More specifically the anthology emphasises the value of anthropologists and sociologists to collaborate with a practice-based research agenda that is focused on participatory action, shared knowledge-making and creative engagement. Similarly, in the intervention described in the case study, the education and research component includes multi-cultural and multi-linguistic design;

product development of existing cultural products that has enhanced market access and income opportunities; inclusion of partnerships with influential institutions and agencies and progressively-orientated research considerations. The case studies further suggest that the use of these diverse approaches would support the goal of making development and public action policies more effective and inclusive.

These kinds of recommendations are vital to shifting the paradigm and the language of development and research. While it is commendable that a concept of 'culture' has infused the discourse and widened the dimensions of the economic development debate, the authors of the anthology of *Culture and Public Action* state very tentatively what cultural activists and feminist practitioners and educators have been proposing for decades. A participatory paradigm that foregrounds voice and agency has made significant inroads into areas of multi-disciplinarity, multi-modality, participatory action research and development. Cultural activists have understood these principles profoundly, but it is only recently that the concepts cited in *Culture and Public Action* (2004) (edited by authors who are also economists at the World Bank) of "relationality, equality of agency and development*",* have opened the door to potential collaboration with cultural practitioners. The World Bank has been seen by some critics (Escobar 1995) as one of the culprits of neo-colonial dominance that has led to a system of control that creates and extends existing inequalities between rich and poor countries (Rao and Walton 2004: 10). This book therefore is significant in reflecting on ways for institutions like the World Bank to integrate notions of cultural and economic change to design more effective public action. I have concluded from the findings of Rao and Walton, who advocate for a group-based principle that they term "equality of agency", and agree that cultural processes "can be harnessed for positive social and economic transformation" (2004: 4); that some of the forward looking economists and social anthropologists would concur that the visual arts have a valuable role to play in giving practical expression to this "cultural lens".

Furthermore, the Cultural Action for Change case study analysed in Chapter Six demonstrates the volatile dynamism and creativity that emerges when a team of academics, donors, health professionals, sociology and anthropology researchers, community activists, rural project members, visual artists, crafters and art educators collaborate in a complex development intervention. It links research and creative practice to the task of assessing developmental effectiveness, and directs scholarship to a better informed, more contextualized public action.

The key concepts that form an integrated approach for framing development policy, presented as possible criteria for assessing development interventions and outlined in this

chapter, have been adapted in large part over the course of the case studies analysed in this thesis. These concepts have helped to provide alternative ways of responding to the key questions asked by funding agencies and development institutions: What can be considered a successful development intervention? How can one measure agency and empowerment? How do we measure significant change? [14] The 'measuring of impact' still remains a challenge. Agencies continue to fund short-term projects requiring measurable results. The Academy continues to judge the quality of research on the basis that verifiable and scientific research procedures are being followed. It is the exclusive focus on quantifiable results that leaves little room for the recognition of the qualitative findings that include the capacities of agency, imagination and resilience. I argue that, for these values to become priorities in community development practice; radical changes in assessment criteria are needed.

The change in assessment of scholarship is only part of the larger change vital in academic institutions. Jonathan Jansen, a radical and forward-thinking South African educator has written recently on "bitter knowledge" a concept he borrows from Eva Hoffman's *After Such Knowledge* (2005). Hoffman writes about the indirect inter-generational transmission of spoken and unspoken knowledge from the parents who lived through the horrors of the Holocaust, to the children who were not there. He uses this explanation to try and understand the racist attacks by white youth throughout the country. He asks what this means for transformation, and asserts that we have failed white youth by not "interrupting their troubled knowledge." The question Jansen asks is core to my profession as an educator: young students, born around the time of Mandela's release from prison in 1990, still hold firm views about the past, and "fatalistic views about the future" (Jansen 2008: 1). Chapter Five explores a radical paradigm shift in the academy that proposes a transformation of what should count as research and knowledge.

The stories that follow are testimonies of people who believe in change and express hope and optimism about the future. Each story resonates with different themes throughout this thesis providing yet another argument for using the arts to facilitate the imagination, to shift oppression and despair and function as a pedagogical intervention to interrupt "troubled" or "bitter knowledge".

[14] Arlene Goldbard and William Cleveland, as discussed in Chapter Six, have proposed useful assessment criteria that have also been integrated to measure the change in the Cultural Action for Change initiative from 2008-2010.

Shifting the Paradigm

This thesis intentionally concludes with open ends: possibilities that reach outwards. One of the core themes of this rsearch is complexity, and the value of chaos and complexity that provides a new language and an unfamiliar paradigm to approach development engagement. Art is a mode of knowledge that welcomes diversity and the unexpected. It allows for the interpretation of elements that do not fit into dominant theories or codes or a positivist perspective of the world. In most chapters the argument positions art, creative participation and dialogue as generative processes that are self-creating. It is surprise, uncertainty and discovery rather than authority and definition that are the sensibilities associated with dialogue and art-making. The complexity is in the multiple voices, the multi-modal approaches and the collaborative multi-disciplinary partnerships. These networks of visual and narrative voices provide the texture and colour to the circle of knowledge that is being generated.

Futurity has been described as an explicit concern about the impact of current activity on future generations (Dobson 1999: 26). In Appadurai's words: "by bringing the future back in, by looking at aspirations as cultural capacities, we are surely in a better position to understand how people actually navigate their social spaces" (2004: 84). To understand creative expression of self, we need to be able to aspire and dream different possibilities for our future. Futurity means the ability to continually grow and change; essentially it is about sustainability. This is a concrete practical outcome of dreaming.

Given the argument for the importance of voice, and the need for the ownership of the navigational process to reside with the participants, it is appropriate that the final words be uttered by the people in the projects discussed in this thesis. Although I still retain authorial control in the selection and editing of these narratives, the substantive contribution is, I believe, best expressed by the participants. The following stories reflect the impact on lives that have intersected with and been catalysed by art in different ways. Each of those embarked on a journey to make a difference, experienced creative interaction with the visual arts and have found ways to imagine their dreams as aspirations for a positive and generative relationship within their worlds.

PART TWO: Voices from the Field

> *Stories are one of the highest and most invisible forms of human creativity … Like water, stories are much taken for granted. They are seemingly ordinary and neutral, but are one of humanity's most powerful weapons for good or evil* (Okri 1997: 120).

From this story to many stories

Eve Annecke and Mark Swilling highlight the value of storytelling and have found, as I have, "the dialogical infrastructure" may be more reliable than "ticks in the logframe report" (2004:293)

> There are few countries in the world where the conditions for innovation and creativity are more favourable than those that exist in South Africa. It is easy to blame the inaction of others on the worsening plight of the poor, but as realism about the limits of state action sets in there are more local initiatives that are grabbing the space and making it happen … Over time, these local initiatives will incubate new visions, new leaders, new networks and eventually new multi-class social movements that will simultaneously challenge and complement state action and articulate the linkages to similar processes elsewhere in the world ….
>
> At the centre of this activity will be our ability to tell and hear the stories of our changing times …. An extraordinary and surprising South Africa is becoming increasingly visible as the vast array of stories are being told. The challenge will be to defend the space for these stories, or live with the consequence of codifying a single official story (Anneke and Swilling 2004: 302).

By re-telling and recording the stories of the members of Artist Proof Studio, Paper Prayers, Phumani Paper and the community engagement projects of the University of Johannesburg, my hope is that their visibility will generate spaces for many other stories and voices to emerge. The purpose of this concluding section is to reflect on stories of change as they articulate the most compelling reasons for undertaking these interventions and writing this thesis. I have tried to choose stories, extracts or anecdotes to link with some of the multiple themes that pulse through the journey that this research traces. These are just a selection of hundreds of voices. Many more interviews and personal statements are collated and filed in the archive at the University of Johannesburg, with the hope that there may be opportunities in the future to share many more of these narratives more publicly. For this final section, I am retelling the stories as filtered through my own interaction with each individual, as their achievements have provided sustenance and ongoing inspiration for me, as well as for the groups of which they are a part.

Pieterse describes self-reflexivity as a sensibility "of being able to recognise yourself and your own (projected) desires in the process" (Pieterse 2004: 351). My selections of the stories are therefore of individuals that reflect my own projected desires of change, and who I believe have achieved agency as a result of being receptive participants in the various arenas of creative community engagement.

Themes

Agency: Thabang's story



At the beginning of 2008 I received a phone call from a former student Thabang Lehoybe, he said:

> Kim, I just received a job offer from Jupiter Drawing Room, [a well-known advertising agency]. They offered me a package as Art Director that I could not refuse. I would like to invite you out for lunch with me.

Why is the invitation to lunch from a former student my choice example to illustrate agency? On the face of it, it is not an unusual phenomenon for a teacher to meet up with former students to celebrate their achievements. This story however is not common; the content of the invitation symbolized a testament of economic, social and spiritual empowerment, and the phone-call invitation to me encapsulated agency.

I met Thabang Lehoybe as a fifteen year old. He arrived at Artist Proof Studio in 2001, with some drawings on the back of an old calendar. He came with Bafana Ndlovu, a slightly older school friend, both from the informal settlement in Orange Farm. They wanted to apply to attend the Saturday youth class at Artist Proof Studio while they completed high school, as there were no art teachers in Orange Farm. Nhlanhla Xaba, my former APS partner and teacher of the youth program, was insistent that we accept them even though they were the youngest students ever to be registered. Thabang's drawings were extraordinary, and Nhlanhla and I agreed that we had never encountered such raw talent. Artist Proof Studio subsidized Thabang and Bafana's weekly transport to attend the Saturday youth program for three years, until they completed their matric. On 9 March 2003, Artist Proof Studio burnt down in a fire that also took Nhlanhla's life. Thabang stayed away for months.. He had lost Nhlanhla, his mentor and role model, and his studio-home, the place that held all his dreams.

It took him six months before he was able to come back to the temporary venue in the Bus Factory.[15]

However, Thabang subsequently passed his high school matric and shared his dream with me: to go to university and study Fine Arts. During that period I met Patty Suzman, the daughter of anti-apartheid veteran Helen Suzman. Patty lives in Boston and visits her mother in Johannesburg regularly. A friend brought Patty to Artist Proof Studio. I showed her Thabang's artwork, and asked her if she would be willing to be his patron and sponsor him for three years to study Fine Art at the (former) Technikon Witwatersrand. After meeting Thabang and encountering this eighteen year old's passion and determination, even though he was painfully shy and could not make eye contact with her, Patty readily agreed to give him a scholarship for three years. Thabang was able to register for his National Diploma in Fine Art in 2004. Further, through a friend, I received an offer from a United States Arts Education Youth Leadership Camp that was offering a place to a young South African artist to attend for three weeks, fully paid. The candidate had to be under eighteen years old and exceptionally talented. One of the Artist Proof Studio Board members agreed to assist with some travel expenses and Thabang was chosen to go to Wyoming. This adventure took place during the July holidays in his first year at university. Part of his neighbourhood and extended family showed up at the airport to see him off. This was the first time he and his family had ever been to the airport. He did not know anyone who had flown in a plane and was exceptionally nervous. Yet, once there, Thabang had a wonderful time. The experience with international youth at an American camp helped him to find his voice, stand up with confidence and look into the eyes of another person when in conversation, despite the discomfort of breaking a convention of cultural respect, central in his home culture.

Nevertheless, as he entered his second year, Thabang found the university's academic structure to be daunting. He struggled with travelling two hours from Orange Farm each day to be at class by 8 am. When he was late, some lecturers did not admit him into the lectures. They accused him of laziness. At the end of the year he was failing his theory subjects. I was extremely hard on him and warned him not to mess up on his one chance. As he struggled with money, Artist Proof Studio employed him as teaching assistant for the Saturday classes, so that he could earn extra funds for his daily travel. Despite the financial and academic obstacles, Thabang survived his second year. In his third year, Thabang became interested in animation. Inspired by William Kentridge, he made hundreds of drawings for a Kentridge-

[15] After the Fire, in 2004 Brandeis University intern Darnisa Amante conducted an interview with Thabang in which he describes in his own words the sense of loss that he felt at the time. This interview and 30 others by Brandeis University interns are available in KB Archives (APS Draw 2: File 1a-c).

style animation about moral and environmental degradation in his Orange Farm neighbourhood, where Thabang and his family lived in a shack with no electricity. Each drawing frame had to be photographed with a hand-held camera. He had a friend who occasionally lent him a laptop computer and digital camera that he could work on overnight at home until the batteries ran out. These challenges notwithstanding, the resulting video animation piece was powerful. He achieved the highest mark in his year for this extraordinary work and, although he continued to struggle with theory subjects, with extra tuition (and with the fear of letting me down), he passed his three-year Fine Art Diploma with a distinction in art practice.

I once picked Thabang up at his home in Orange Farm. It took me an hour-and-a-half to drive there. He did not want me to go inside as he was ashamed. The outside yard had a half-built foundation and wall. His mother, a single parent, had started building a house for herself and her three sons six years previously, and could not afford to develop it further. She has a menial job in a factory. His brother pointed out a small corner of their shack to me where Thabang worked every night, and sometimes through the night. Thabang told me the first thing he will do when he gets a job is build the house for his mother.

For Thabang's graduation present, Patty Suzman gave him a state-of-the-art laptop computer of his own, and I took him to meet William Kentridge, the artist who inspired his work. After seeing Thabang's animation and recognizing his remarkable talent, William Kentridge wrote a cheque to Artist Proof Studio for R20 000 to enable Thabang to further his studies. Thabang wanted to go to Vega College, and was accepted to do his honours in multi-media with a tuition bursary. Vega is an exclusive, private advertising and multi-media school for 'rich kids'. Fees are up to R40 000 per year and normally out of range for poor black students. I quote Thabang's words in his letter of thanks to William Kentridge:

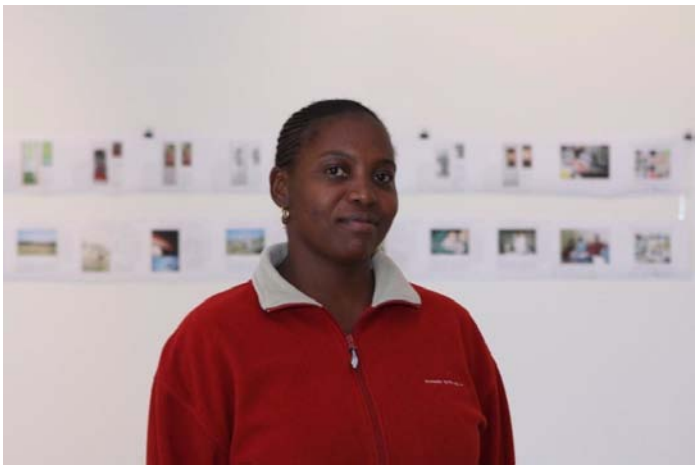
> One of the greatest abilities we have at our disposal as human is to dream. Dreams afford us wildest fantasies beyond present circumstances, but the most powerful thing about dreams is that they can come true. The best thing that can ever happen to an aspiring young artist is to be acknowledged by your greatest inspiration. THANK YOU MR KENTRIDGE for seeing my work.

Artist Proof Studio disbursed the Kentridge grant as a monthly allowance for Thabang to travel to the college, which is located in the suburb of Sandton. Travel sometimes took up to three hours one way. He often needed help with extra money just to do his assignments. However, mid-year 2007, he phoned me, beside himself with excitement. His work, a short animation piece adapted from the work he made in his third year of Fine Arts, had won a gold award in the student category at the Loerie Awards, the most prestigious advertising

competition in South Africa. This would open up all manner of doors to his future. On hearing his exciting news, I invited Thabang out for lunch. I picked him up in town, and we went to a restaurant. Over lunch, he told me of his embarrassment when his Vega classmates all went out to McDonald's. Thabang was too ashamed to tell them he could not afford it, so he used his transport money to pay toward his meal, his first at a restaurant, and walked two hours to a friend's house in the city that night to ask for a loan to get home.

Two months after completing his honours at Vega College, Thabang's appointment at the Jupiter Drawing Room was a sign that he had reached his goal against all odds. He saw himself as a dreamer and he made his dreams material. Moreover, an art gallery in Johannesburg has offered him a solo exhibition for 2009.

The power of dreaming: Felicia's story



About a year ago, I received a text message on my cell phone:

> Kim, remember when you came to our village in Elim and we all dreamt where we will be in five years time. Some of us said we wanted a car and everyone laughed. You said what colour will your car be? Well today I got my car, and it is blue.

Felicia Vukeya comes from a small village in the region formerly known as Venda in northern Limpopo Province. Felicia joined the Phumani Papermaking group in Elim, because although she had qualified as a teacher, there were no available jobs. She had been unemployed for three years when Phumani Paper opened a small papermaking project near to where she lived. Hearing the project advertised on the radio, she came to the Pfuxanani Youth Centre to apply in 2000. Felicia was elected chair-person for the first two years, and Phumani Paper subsequently employed her as a project leader. She attended a leadership training course and learnt how to use a computer. Four years later she was promoted to regional manager of three Limpopo-based Phumani Paper projects. She achieved her driving licence and saved each month for a second-hand car. Seven years after she joined the project she had acquired a car and got married. She has a new baby, a stable home, and mobility.

Felicia's ability to work towards her dreams and leadership within her community has been an inspiration to many. She still talks about the value of that dreaming exercise I did with her Khomenani group in 2001 using drawings to envision a better future out of poverty.

Artistic curiosity and creative adaptability: Aletta's story



"…picking up drawing papers and wanting to learn how to draw, saved my life."

Aletta

Aletta Legae worked sporadically as a model for life-drawing class at the University of Johannesburg from 2001. At the end of each class, Shannin Antonopolou who was a Master's student and drawing teacher observed Aletta collecting the waste papers and discarded art materials. After inquiring what she did with the paper, Aletta admitted to trying to teach herself to draw and using the paper to make patterns to sew clothes. She was inspired by the art classes. Shannin, who also taught drawing to the Paper Prayers group at Artist Proof Studio, invited Aletta to assist her to teach sewing to a group that was starting at CICI (Community Inner City Initiative), an inner-city poverty alleviation project for craft skills development in Joubert Park. Aletta had taught herself to sew and had been putting weekly down-payments on a second-hand sewing machine, as she saw sewing as a way to help herself.

However, Aletta was in an abusive relationship at home and occasionally stayed away from Artist Proof Studio when her beatings were so bad that the results were visible. The Artist Proof Studio facilitators helped her to find counselling to give her the strength to temporarily move out of her home when the violence threatened her three children. She had grown up with an alcoholic father who beat his children. However, through support from her colleagues and counselling, Aletta learnt that she had a choice, and became determined to become

financially independent from her husband so that she could care for herself and children with her own income.

Today Aletta is employed part-time by Artist Proof Studio as project leader and trainer for the Paper Prayers craft groups; she also has her own small sewing business that she runs from home. She also counsels battered and HIV-positive women in her church group in Everton and has given two HIV-positive women, also in abusive relationships, her occasional modelling job for life-drawing at the University of Johannesburg. The women embroiderers who were graduates of the CICI training have formed the Ikageng group and meet weekly at Artist Proof Studio to produce felt animals. The proceeds from the sale of these felt toys now supports nine women.

Aletta is a highly skilled product designer and trainer; she has improved her qualifications and skills, and has more power in her relationship at home. She also supports a large extended community of vulnerable women.

Resilience and Agency: Roselina



There is a Sotho saying: “a mother holds a knife at the sharp end.”
I have learned to live with my challenges. Even if I don’t have salt in my house, I can cook without salt.
As women, we should get up and do things for ourselves. I am a Tsonga woman and Tsonga women are oppressed, so they don’t have a say in whatever. Their ideas are not taken into consideration. A Tsonga woman cannot work, so I grew up knowing that a woman is nothing. I thank God that I achieved so much and I believe that women can move forward and women are powerful. I know now what is good and what is bad. I didn’t know how to speak before in front of people because we are brought up that way. Now I can speak.

Roselina Molefe, Women on Purpose Interview, J Hassinger, translation by S Maphangwa 2 July 2008

Roselina Molefe was rescued from dire circumstances. She had been chased out of her husband’s village in Mpumalanga because she was accused of bewitching him when he died as a result of AIDS. Her husband’s family burnt her belongings, and starved and beat her. A visiting doctor, Dr Carpenter, brought her and her child to the Sisters of Mercy convent in Winterveld. They were not sure whether she would live. Filled with shame, Roselina rarely spoke, and survived extreme poverty by collecting a weekly food parcel from the church.

When Sister Sheila Flynn, a Fine Art honours student of mine, brought Roselina to a Papermaking workshop at the former Technikon, as part of the outreach program we had with the Winterveld group, Roselina expressed (through a translator) to the group that she was inspired and amazed that she could make paper from rubbish, turning waste into something beautiful. That workshop took place in 1997. She is now the longest-standing member of the Tswaraganang group. She has since expressed to me in an interview that papermaking has kept her alive because it has given her life some worth. She is somebody now, and before, "her life was like waste." [16] She is one of the few hundred people in the country who can make paper and support her family.

Roselina's story suggests that the creative process was the catalyst that alleviated her spiritual poverty and provided the hope and dignity and that have kept her alive for ten years. The AIDS Action intervention however, was the catalyst to support her ability to make a purposive choice to seek treatment, overcome her fear of rejection and to stay alive for her children, herself and her group. Roselina's resilience and survival against all odds is a remarkable story, but her ability to finally choose treatment will ensure that she can share her story of hope and inspiration with others for many years into her future.

Artist as democratic citizen: "One man can" – an Artist Proof Story





During the 16 Days of Activism Against Women and Child Abuse in December of 2007, I was driving in Newtown on my way to Artist Proof Studio. Someone came up to my window And I recognized him as Thabo Motseki, a student from the Artist Proof Studio third-year class. He was wearing a T-shirt that said "one-man-can". I then recognized eight or ten other young

[16] Interviews with Grace Sicwebo and Kim Berman, April 2006, and Women on Purpose interview with Jane Hassinger and Shonisani Maphangwa, July 2008. Available in KB Archives (FF Draw 6: File 1a and d).

men stopping cars and handing out brochures to support the campaign of men against women abuse. I grinned as I took my brochure, and Thabo pointed to a colourful painted mural outside the taxi rank that the student volunteers had painted to advertise the campaign in one of the busiest commuter intersections of Bree Street in downtown Johannesburg.

Not knowing anything about this activity, as classes were over for the year, I asked the administrative staff at the studio who had arranged this project. Thabo later told me that Sonke Gender Justice, a project that is linked to Engender Health and Men as Partners, and an organizational partner with Artist Proof Studio, was looking for volunteers. They had no money to pay the students, but had invited interested people to sign up. Almost the whole class independently volunteered as activists in the week-long campaign. They were the graduating class of 2007. I felt very proud of these young men, and felt that Artist Proof Studio had succeeded in training young people to be “artist citizens”. This is becoming an annual event, as it was repeated in 2008.

Economic agency and Aspiration: The Bosele Papermakers, Lehurutse



Here in our community, we are the role models. Every time when people open their new projects, they bring them here to encourage them. They see how we survive as older women in the project … Maybe we don’t get enough money; but we motivate them that if you do something, do it. Don’t hesitate. Even if there is a challenge, go on. One day you will see. You will reap. I am proud about this project. I don’t want to leave this project.

I make people comfortable and I listen to people and I care about them. I want to help young kids that are not doing anything at home. At my church I teach Sunday school. I am interested in building an orphanage. I have been looking after a young boy. If I didn’t take care of him he would have become a street kid.

Jacobeth Lepedi, Women on Purpose interview by J Hassinger 8 July 2008

During a visit in April 2007 I asked the women at the Bosele Papermaking project in North West Province about their goals for the future. Their leader, Jacobeth Lepedi, had just won the provincial prize for the community builder of the year, and their group had won the Best Project award for the second year running. The women saw themselves as proud businesswomen, who are recognized as role models in the surrounding villages. They have created jobs and earned prestige for their community. The Bosele papermakers also support the local orphans and teach papermaking in schools.

Jacobeth said to me that what she would really like would be to be able to go out one day and order a cappuccino just because she felt like it! Everybody laughed because it seemed to be an outrageous and self-indulgent wish. Each rand Jacobeth makes is accounted for as a single parent raising children who want to go to university. The idea of a rural woman, who struggles to make ends meet, ordering a cappuccino was for me a sure indicator of empowerment and aspiration out of poverty. A cappuccino is seen as a luxury item available only to women of status and social position.

With the increasing successes of Bosele Papermakers, which was awarded a large government tender by the North West Development Agency in August 2008, I would like to believe that it will not be long before these businesswomen have the economic agency to drive their own car to the Mmabana Mall for a cappuccino!

Self-creation: Nelson's story





"If one person is willing to spend money on my work, it gives me courage and energy to continue expressing myself freely."

Nelson Makamo
Portrait of My Mother 2008
Monotype 2008

Nelson Makamo, a talented young artist who graduated from Artist Proof Studio in 2005, and works in the Studio Gallery as an intern Gallery Manager, was returning home to say goodbye to a family member who was dying of AIDS in the rural Limpopo province town of Modimolle (previously Nylstroom). Nelson was devastated and I suggested that he talk to the AIDS counsellor who works with Artist Proof Studio. The Studio had just completed a four-month AIDS Action project called Reclaiming Lives, and Nelson as a recent graduate had assumed the role of encouraging the younger students to participate in the voluntary counselling and testing program (VCT). The counsellor informed Nelson of all the options and possibilities of anti-retroviral medication and gave him the contact number of a doctor who specializes in HIV and works in the region. Nelson went home armed with a little hope and new knowledge about options for treatment. He also had just received a major public art commission through his Artist Proof Studio patron, and had taken out health insurance for

himself and his dependents. He was supporting his mother and younger siblings from the income he earned from the sales of his artwork. Nelson was able to convince his family about the importance of VCT and anti-retroviral drugs. His family member qualified for treatment due to her minimal CD4 count and has since made an excellent recovery: she is alive on treatment and living a productive and healthy life.

This success was the result of a long journey that started in 2002 when Nelson's art teacher recognized his talent in his rural high school and drove him into Johannesburg to apply for a bursary to study at Artist Proof Studio. When he arrived at APS, he was very shy and intimidated by the bustle of Johannesburg, as he had grown up in an impoverished rural family.

Nelson has since become a role model and epitomises an APS success story. He is driven and highly motivated. At 25 years old, he is the breadwinner for his family. He had a dream of success when he arrived in the 'big city', worked extremely hard and modelled himself on successful black artists such as Sam Nthlengethwa. Nelson is an example of "self-creation" in which "the two dimensions of engagement and transformation are constitutively intertwined" (Pieterse 2004: 340). With his talent, dreams and a vivid imagination, he created an image of himself as a successful artist and then fulfilled it. He has a corporate patron who believes in his talent and offered him a solo exhibition in 2006 in Melrose Arch, an exclusive enclave of Johannesburg's affluent. The exhibition sold out.

Nelson sells his artwork steadily, and has bought himself a small townhouse in Pretoria with his savings and a commission he received from the Limpopo local government worth R100 000. In September 2007 he accompanied a group exhibition to Italy, and in July 2008, had a solo exhibition in Amsterdam. Nelson is employed by Artist Proof Studio and earns an incentive-based income from sales of artworks. He was listed in the *Art South Africa* journal as the seventh "bright young artist to look out for" (Sassen 2007: 78). His career as a young printmaker is flourishing. Nelson claims his dream came true because of the inspiration and opportunities offered by Artist Proof Studio, and his commitment to his belief that he can succeed.

Narrative as an agent for citizen-activism and healing: Gadi: Creating hope for the hopeless



Gadi and Artist Proof Studio volunteers at the Rifle-Range refugee centre, Boksburg, August 2008



Hi,

Kim is me, Gadi Selemani. I would like to greet you and every one at APS.
I wish to talk to you, but to call international from this side is too expensive.

I am in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania with my family. I have met up with my mother. I would like to say that I will never forget APS as my greatest honour.

Please send my thanks to everyone for their support.

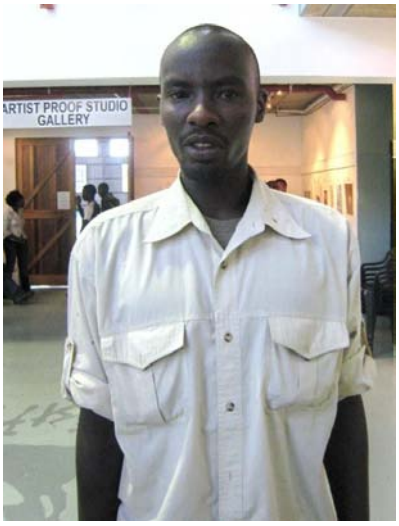
Email message received:
15 December 2008

The xenophobic attacks in May 2008 engaged Artist Proof Studio students for months. The students participated in discussions and workshops facilitated by the NGO Sonke Gender Justice Network. The views among students reflected the South African spectrum of prejudice, discrimination, fear, compassion and tolerance. I invited APS members John Taouss from Rwanda, Gadi Selemani, a refugee from Congo and Jemmiro Jemussi from Mozambique to tell their stories and share their experience of xenophobic prejudice. Gadi's story brought tears and compassion to all who heard it. Separated from his family in the chaos of fleeing their homes in the Congo, Gadi found himself as a street child in Kenya. He survived on the streets for seven years, until an aid worker for refugees discovered his talent for drawing and began the search for his mother. He was brought to Johannesburg as an eighteen year old and re-united with his mother and two siblings he did not know.

An international aid worker brought Gadi to Artist Proof Studio where we accepted him into our Saturday youth program. In his second year, Gadi disappeared for five months. Later he told us that he been searching for his mother who had disappeared. She had left him with two young children to care for. He was using his studio transport money to buy food for the children, and he walked to classes. His mother has not yet been found; Gadi continues to take care of one brother and has placed the little girl in an orphanage. He has found some work with the CICI project as a technical assistant in silk-screening, and has an Artist Proof Studio patron who provides him with a monthly allowance. He is working towards an exhibition at Artist Proof Studio of his life story as a street child and 'parent' to his siblings.

During the period that the refugee centres for displaced victims of violence were set up, APS partner organizations, The Art Therapy Centre and the Curriculum Development Project (CDP) were offering support programs for the children in the settlements. I asked for volunteers who may be interested in working in two to three different camps outside of class time. When I arrived the next day at Artist Proof Studio, 42 students had signed up to volunteer to do art activities with the displaced children. I was amazed and pleased, and convinced that it was the power of the narratives that catalysed this response among the young APS artists who had seized an opportunity to make a difference. Gadi was one of those volunteers. Months later Gadi disappeared. As I edit the conclusion to this thesis I received an email dated 15 December 2008 that Gadi is in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, with his family.

Resilience and the power of the visual voice: John's story






Inner-city mural shows suffering of the violated

One man's story of terror – and hope – after xenophobic attacks

12 NEWS

LIFE GOES ON A woman sweeps the street in front of the mural in the Joburg inner city. PICTURES: BONILI BAM

John Taouss survived the genocide in Rwanda. He and his sister managed to escape by stepping over the dead bodies of his family and others in the killing fields. His sister went to stay in Uganda with her husband and John crossed through the countries of Tanzania, Malawi, and Mozambique and trekked through the Kruger National Park into Mpumalanga. His dangerous journey took him over six months. He was working on a building crew in White River, building the new Artist Press Print workshop, when he met the artist Judith Mason. One day John found the courage to show Judy his sketches. She offered to help him with his drawing, and every day after work, John worked with her. When the building contract was complete Judy called me to let me know she wanted to sponsor John to study at Artist Proof Studio. We admitted him into a bridging class on a Saturday to develop his printmaking skills and Judy paid him a monthly allowance for his accommodation and food. John completed his

third year at Artist Proof Studio in 2007 with much of his work sold from his final-year exhibition. He bought himself a car and operated a second-hand clothing business to support his studies. John is also a story-teller; he tells the story of his struggle in his artwork. He is deeply participative and presents his success as examples for others for overcoming adversity through art. In an interview he asserted that art saved him and gave him life. He readily shared his optimistic vision for his future in his chosen career of art with strength and confidence.

Four months after this interview John became a victim of xenophobic attacks on his home in Mamelodi in May 2008. He had just qualified from APS and bought himself new furniture, as well as a computer and television set. All his belongings along with his stock for his clothing business were destroyed in a fire that targeted foreign nationals. A local church housed the refugees for two weeks before they were asked to leave. John was deeply shaken. Artist Proof Studio assisted him to find other temporary accommodation. He came into the studio each day in a daze and deeply fearful for his life. The newspapers were filled with images of violent attacks on people like John. His dream was shattered. I invited John to share his story with the incoming Artist Proof Studio students. As he narrated his journey, the students were deeply shaken and moved. For the next two weeks I asked John to facilitate the making of a communal visual narrative of his story. He worked with groups of students to produce eight drawn panels that narrated his journey from Rwanda to Mamelodi. The plan was to realize these powerful drawings as murals in the inner city. The day the drawing project was complete, John fled Johannesburg back to White River where Judy Mason welcomed him, and the Artist Press agreed to give him an internship as a lithographic printer. He stayed in the safety of the country studio for four months.

With renewed strength and resilience, he came back to Artist Proof Studio in September to resume his internship as a postgraduate printing assistant. On 10 December 2008, Human Rights Day, the visual expression of John's story was launched on a 40m long public mural outside the Johannesburg Art Gallery in the busy Noord Street taxi rank. The mural paid tribute to John and provided a visual honouring of the African nationals and refugees whose rights were violated by the South African citizens who attacked them so brutally during the months of May and June 2008 (See *The Star* article: Ho 2008: 12).[17] John plans to visit his

[17] In the article that appeared in *The Star* newspaper: "Inner-city mural shows suffering of the violated: One man's story of terror – and hope – after xenophobic attack", Molefe Thwala, a recent graduate of APS and training facilitator who spoke at the mural's launch is quoted as saying: "We have always encouraged students to use their art for social consciousness. After all, a picture can say a thousand words". This young artist who assisted in the facilitation of this project sees his role as an activist-artist making a difference. John Taouss attests to this

sister in Uganda in 2009 and is considering relocation in order to start a new chapter of his life story.

A paradigm shift: Lilo



I am interested in how involvement in the AIDS Action program (described in Chapter Six) led to personal change for the many collaborators, trainers and stakeholders. The paradigm shift among collaborators previously unfamiliar with working with the arts and artists is a powerful indicator of the role of art in activating change.
Lilo du Toit

Lilo du Toit, a sociologist who was commissioned to conduct the Impact Assessment for the Ford Foundation intervention, has reflected on how she has re-thought the value of art in her own life and practice. Her career as a social science researcher has undergone a paradigm shift as a result of her encounter with the arts as creative practice and as a tool for enriching the depth of qualitative data. She speaks of the impact that the program has had on her own methodological approach and within her Department of Development Studies and Anthropology at the University of Johannesburg, and has registered to do her Master's research on economic agency and participation among the women of Phumani Paper. She observes:

> With regard to the changes in the people involved in the programme for students and facilitators, the stakeholder interviews as well as the APS Aids project, polls contain comments to the effect that young artists get a chance to exhibit their work, that they gain confidence in showing their work to others, that they gain a sense of being "professional artists", that it doesn't matter whether they are HIV-positive or not, they can still produce their art, that they can contribute to the incomes of their families by getting income from their art. Furthermore, many of the stakeholder interviews among students and beneficiaries indicate that skills have been gained (from things that seem simple, like getting a driver's licence, using computers, to advanced degrees and a chance to be professional artists) that enables greater choice among these students in terms of their lives and career (this *is* development ... greater choice to live a life that one deems to be "the good").

difference that the artists have contributed: "I did lose my faith in South Africa, but when I see this mural I also see that there are South Africans who are one with me are here to support me" (*The Star* 15 December 2008: 12).

> *My* art is to come up with ways of measuring things that are immeasurable, and to search for truth. It denotes a devotion and a skill which engages *and* expresses the highest of human faculties: *creating*. Using what has come before and making it better, by innovating and experimenting. *This* is what drives the *decent* society. A society must be decent, for it to be able to produce and protect that which is fragile: life, beauty, truth ... the good. Aesthetics, and therefore visual and performing arts, is the "soul" of a society, if a society doesn't have art, doesn't produce beauty, its soul is dead. Nietzsche said that we have art so as not to die of life (Kim Berman email interview with L du Toit 25 January 2008c [her emphasis]).

Through Lilo's involvement in the program, another outcome has been a new Honours course for Development studies students introduced in 2008, designed by Dr Naude Malan to engage with the arts and institutional democracy in collaboration with Phumani Paper.[18] This interdisciplinary course is an interesting example of how personal change has led to institutional change, which in turn can lead to social change.

Deep democracy: David

Appadurai identifies self governance, self-mobilization and self-articulation as vital to achieve 'deep democracy', which is a concept emphasised throughout the thesis as a central theme. There are numerous attempts at articulating the practice of ubuntu, such as the quest for an ubuntu culture at Artist Proof Studio, capacity building for empowered and shared leadership, as well as participative and dialogical practice. The concluding story leaves the door open for new possibilities to self-create in the ongoing quest to apply the creative arts to deepen democracy.

[18] Malan course outline: "Economic participation and democracy" for development studies honours module, 2008. This collaboration with the Department of Anthropology and Development Studies and FADA has interestingly developed into the appointment of Dr Malan to teach Research methods to postgraduate Art and Design students for 2009.



Phumani Paper (or Phumani, as it is commonly known), a national organisation that works with 17 hand-papermaking groups in seven provinces, has just appointed a new National Programme Manager, David Tshabalala. We share the story of David's rise through the ranks in one of the most well-developed organisations participating in the Legends Programme.

David expands on what motivated him to work in the area of paper making: "Besides research activities, what attracted me most to Phumani Paper is its way of engaging poor communities to higher learning through art and craft, as well as utilization of waste paper and plant fibres to create sustainable jobs and income".

Extract from *Legends News*, Edition 5: October 2008

The concluding narrative is a sequel to the story of David Tshabalala. His story is described in a case study in Chapter Five to illustrate the struggle to introduce participatory action research as a practice-based methodology in the Faculty of Art Design and Architecture. After numerous rejections and institutional battles, David received his Master's in Technology and paved the way for a community-based arts Master's degree option in Visual Arts.

After graduating, David continued working for Phumani Paper, co-developing the learning materials and training program for the SETA-accredited qualification in papermaking. When Frikkie Meintjes, the (relatively) highly paid Executive Director of Phumani Paper, left for a new position in mid-2008, his resignation was followed by that of his secretary and weeks later the finance administrator. There was insufficient funding to fully replace Meintje's salaried position, and as one of the two remaining Directors on the Phumani Board, I invited David Tshabalala to step in as Program Manager. Together with Mandy Coppes, the Creative Director who had also indicated her need to move on from Phumani within three months, I offered to mentor David in his new position. The national community facilitator, Grace Sicebo, was offered a modest promotion and invited to sit on a weekly management team. The organization was experiencing extreme instability; moreover, these staff losses came two weeks before the National Annual General Meeting (AGM), with representatives from all fifteen sites ready to converge in Johannesburg for a week-long strategic planning workshop. My own capacity was extremely limited at the time. I had two new Master's students to supervise, a report to write for the end of the two-year Ford Foundation program and a new funding proposal due, no full-time manager at Artist Proof Studio (due to a personal tragedy), a funding crisis in both organizations, and my doctorate to complete. Phumani Paper was extremely vulnerable.

This situation provided yet another instance of the relevance of chaos theory and the need to have faith in the adaptability and creative resilience of Phumani Paper. This situation provided an extraordinary moment for the organization to re-invent itself. The concepts of "self-governance, self-mobilization and self-articulation" (Appadurai 2004: 81) acquired momentous significance.

Since this crisis in June 2008, Phumani Paper has since landed two funding contracts and a number of high profile strategic opportunities, although delivery is yet to play itself out. Furthermore, Lilo du Toit, a highly competent researcher, has joined the team to monitor and report on contracts and manage strategic relations. Approximately five months into the re-structured organization, growth and sales are at their highest peak, and delivery has never been healthier. Agency, mobility, passion, empowerment – in fact, all of the key words of this thesis – seem to bubble up from the bottom in the form of David Tshabalala; the small village-artist, come-university student, come-trainer, come-community leader and now National Programme Manager who has risen effectively to assume the challenge of transformative leadership. Art as agency seems to have made its own case!

APPENDIX 1: MASTER OF TECHNOLOGY IN FINE ART

(M.Tech: Fine Art)

RESEARCH MODE: COMMUNITY-BASED RESEARCH (CBR) BY DISSERTATION

ASSESSMENT CRITERIA FOR DISSERTATION (To be issued to the examiner)

In evaluating the candidate, please comment specifically on the following criteria including what weighting/importance ascribed to each of the criteria as listed: (Explanatory notes are appended).

	ASSESSMENT CRITERIA
1	**Field of study**
1.1	**Significance of research project to public good**
	Higher education claims three missions: research, teaching, and public engagement. Excellent public scholarship may integrate all three within the economy of the collaborative project or program. The public good is best served when knowledge is collaboratively made. This criterion is particularly relevant to participatory action research.
	Does this project make a useful contribution to the public good? Is it significant to contributing to change in the lives of the participants it engages with? (see endnotes)
1.2.	**Relevance of Themes/Focus**
	Are these themes relevant to the social, economic and environmental objectives of development in South Africa?
	Are the purposes of the research project clearly stated?
	Are the organizations, policies, programs, and collaborating partners affecting the issue in the local context presented to establish the local context? (see endnotes)
2	**Research design and methodology**
2.1	**Research methodology and its relationship to literature**
	Does the research project demonstrate an adequate understanding of the current literature/research methodology in the field?
	Does it describe the research paradigm and give details of research processes?
	Does the report provide readers with details of the way the study was carried out, the role of the research facilitator, the number and type of people who participate in the investigation and data collection techniques and so on? (see endnote)
2.2.	**Research Design**
	Have the research methods, or equivalent intellectual work upon which the project is based, been well considered to take into account values and ethics of community based engagement?

	Does the research project demonstrate adequate use of evidence, informational input or other intellectual raw materials in support of its case?
	Does it describe the type of information required and how it was recorded (e.g. interviews, observations, documents, artefacts, recording information etc.) (see endnote)
2.3.	**Use of Information/evidence/ findings** Has the information been used effectively to advance the objectives that the project sets out to address?
	Had credibility been established by participants checking and verifying the information recorded.
	Has there been peer discussion to enable research facilitators to reflect on and share findings?
	Have the limitations that arose from the pragmatic realities of investigation been noted? (see endnote)
2.4.	**Clarity of results of the projects**
	Results could also reveal the ways participants describe and interpret their own experience of the objectives of the project?
	Are events, activities and contexts described from the perspective of the participants? (see endnote)
3.	**Literature Review/Use of Theory**
3.1.	Does the project yield efforts to build new theory, with theory understood as the critique of the conditions of knowledge production?
3.2	Theory is a critique of the conditions of one's own knowledge production. Is there a relation of theory to other professional practices and to other dimensions of cultural work such as the local, the everyday, and the material? (see endnote)
4.	**Presentation**
4.1	Is there a logical structure and sequencing to the dissertation
4.2	Is the technical presentation (language, referencing, footnoting etc) acceptable
4.3	**Clarity of Conclusions/contextualization**
	Are the conclusions of the project clearly stated and the outcomes summarized?
	Are the stakeholders viewpoints in the broader social context represented?
	Are the implications for policies programs, services and practices relating to the people and the issue investigated presented?
	Are there suggested actions that may be initiated that will improve existing programs or services? (see endnote)
4.4	**Quality of Communication**
	Does the report clearly express its case, measured against the technical language of the field?
	Does the voice of the research facilitator and participants remain in the forefront and present the perspectives of the principal stakeholders?
	Is the language accessible and user friendly to the community it collaborated with?
	What is the standard of the writing, including spelling and grammar? (If English is a second language, was there access to editorial support?) (see endnote)

5	**Contribution to technology or knowledge**
5.1	**Focus on values of human dignity, care justice and interpersonal respect**
	Does the project demonstrate a critical self-awareness of the author's own perspectives and interests?
	Does it show awareness of the possibility of alternative or competing perspectives: such as other cultural, social, political, theoretical or intellectual perspectives?
	Does it show an awareness and sensitivity of the practical implications of the ideas it is advancing?
	Are participants' personal voices and stories honoured? (see endnote)
5.2	**Are those in the study active participants in collaborative research with claims over any research material produced?**
	Have ethical steps been taken by the research facilitator to maintain the rights and privacy of research participants, including procedures that guard against unwarranted intrusion, and establish appropriate ownership and use of the products of investigation? (see endnote)
5.3	**Does the project use reflective or critical analysis of the production of artistic work that leads to diverse outcomes or products?**
	These may include new technologies, the creation of new programs within the university and in community settings; research into community cultural practices and scholarly writing that conveys that research so that it has an impact on an academic readers and on other constituencies beyond an academic readership. (see endnote)
5.4	**Does the research endeavour provide the student with the knowledge skills and values required for cultural, societal and economic development**
	Community based research recognizes that any research process has multiple outcomes and takes into account the need to enact ways of working that protect or enhance the dignity and identities of all people involved. It is orientated towards ways of organizing and acting professional and community life that are democratic, equitable, liberating and life enhancing. The following questions are indicators to the question above. (see endnote)Are the processes collaborative?
	Do they generate a sense of purpose and energy?
	Do they provide the means for the accomplishment of goals to produce conditions that enhance participant's personal social and professional lives?
5.5	**Community practice**
	Are the recommendations useful to community practice?

Endnotes:

ADDITIONAL NOTES FOR EVALUATION CRITERIA

The NOTES on each explanation are direct extracts from Marcia Hills and Jennifer Mullett, from the Community Health Promotion Coalition in Canada; Community-Based Research: Creating Evidence-Based Practice for Health and Social Change, Paper presented at the Qualitative Evidence-based Practice Conference, Coventry University, 2000.[1]

NOTE to 1.1

Community-Based Research Focuses on Societal Change.
Unlike conventional orthodox research which focuses on prediction or understanding alone, community-based research seeks to bring about change. It is premised on the fact that engaging in a participatory, collaborative research process, and being involved the decision-making about that process is empowering and transforming. Engagement in the process allows people to develop new ways of thinking, behaving and practising

NOTE to 1.2

Community-based research must have a high degree of relevance to the community. Community-based research focuses the research endeavour in the context of daily work activities in order to solve problems and help make those activities more effective and ultimately more satisfying. The research should result in decision-making by the community (i.e. individuals, community agencies, health units, program managers, etc.) or provide information which is in some other way directly useful to the community in which it is initiated**.**

It involves asking questions such as:
What are the practical problems we are facing in our work in the community?
What are some questions and concerns regarding the community and health-related activities within that community?
What issues are the focus of community attention?
Questions such as these guide the selection of meaningful research topics and provide for the development of appropriate research questions for community-based research (Hills and Mullet 2000a).

NOTE to 2.1:

[1] For reference to this full document Available: http://www.leeds.ac.uk/educol/documents/00001388.htm (Accessed 12/12/2008).

The terms ‘methodology’ and ‘methods’ are often confused. For our purposes, we define methodology as a conceptual framework for doing research that is grounded in theory. Methods are the techniques and procedures we use for collecting data.

One methodology that is particularly well suited to community-based research is co-operative inquiry (Heron 1996, Reason 1994). Co-operative inquiry is a participatory action methodology that does research with people not on to or about them. This methodology engages people in a transformative process of change by cycling through several iterations of action and reflection. Co-operative inquiry consists of a series of logical steps including: identifying the issues/questions to be researched, developing an explicit model/framework for practice, putting the model into practice and recording what happens, reflecting on the experience and making sense out of the whole venture (Reason 1994). Therefore, evidence about what constitutes ‘best practice’ is generated by people examining their practices in practice and reflecting on these practices. Community-based research is not and cannot be method-driven. The methods used to collect information about people and the human condition derive from and are contained by the principles of community-based research, the preferred methodology (co-operative inquiry), and the research question.

NOTE to 2.2:

In community-based research, whichever method is chosen, it needs to accommodate the notion of full participation of those involved. As a result, qualitative methods such as interviewing, journal writing, taped interactions, critical incidents, narrative accounts and focus groups are likely to be used.

NOTE to 2.3:

To provide evidence for practice that involves people, those people themselves must be involved in deciding what the appropriate methods are for collecting evidence and how the evidence can be interpreted. “To generate knowledge about persons without their full participation in deciding how to generate it, is to misrepresent their personhood and to abuse by neglect their capacity for autonomous intentionally. It is fundamentally unethical” (Heron 1996: 21, Hills and Mullet 2000a).

NOTE to 2.4:

By engaging all stakeholders in the research process it does not leave to chance the usefulness of the outcomes of the research. By full involvement of community groups and policymakers, decisions can be made throughout the process about how to use the information to bring about change.

NOTE to 3:

In contrast to orthodox science, community-based research does not see theory as something that is known and that ‘informs’ practice. As van Manen (1990) suggests “practice (or life) comes first and theory comes later as a result of reflection.” In community-based research, it is the cycling through the

iterations of action and reflection in which experiential knowing and propositional knowing are considered in relation to practical knowing that creates praxis and that generates evidence for future practice. This process grounds practice in theory rather than applying theory to practice. It is through this emancipatory dialogue that people are liberated to act in ways that enhance society. Conceptualizing the relationship between theory and practice this way reorients our thinking about research from searching for understanding and explanation to ethical action toward societal good

NOTE to 4.4:

Community-based research acknowledges the value of multiple ways of knowing but, even more significantly, it recognizes the value of the knowledge that community members contribute to the co-creation of new knowledge. Its focus on practical issues, problem-solving and change provides evidence for practice that is immediately useful and relevant to communities.

NOTE to 4.5:

Stringer (1999) addresses the issue of clarity of writing style: “The objective is to provide ways of reporting that focus on the central objective of a report” – the perspective of the stakeholder. The intent is to provide “clear and adequate representation of people’s experience”(1999: 184). “The principal purpose of the research is to extend people’s understanding of an issue by providing detailed, richly described accounts that reveal the problematic, lived experience of stakeholders and their interpretations of the issue investigated” (1999: 168). “The researcher-writer takes a different stance in the writing process. No longer ‘experts’ capable of defining, describing, and interpreting the ‘facts’ or ‘truth’, the researcher-writers position themselves quite differently. They move toward writing processes that assist others in describing and interpreting their own experience”(Stringer 1999: 208). The products of the research include ‘practice scripts’ which are the plans, procedures, and models derived from the final stages of action research that enable people to take direct action on the problems they have investigated (Stringer 1999: 211).

NOTE to 5.1:

Rather than viewing participants as making ‘equal’ contributions, in the sense of doing the same thing, community-based research emphasizes the unique strengths and contributions of the participants. It goes beyond respect and trust for the person and includes valuing the work and perspectives of each participant. It is a synergistic alliance that maximizes the contributions of each participant and it focuses on shared responsibility for the research and research process.

NOTE to 5.2:

In community-based research, the community is actively involved in and understands the research process. The research is driven by a partnership between the community and researchers, and tends

to be multi-disciplinary in nature. It is a collaborative effort involving the community at all stages of the research process. The level of community and/or researcher involvement may vary at each stage of the research, but community-based research involves joint responsibility and decision-making during every step. It requires the researcher(s) and the community stakeholders to share power and control of decision-making throughout the process. In a community-based research process, the distinction between the researcher and the researched may be minimized or eliminated

NOTE to 5.3:

Community-Based Research is About Sustainability.
With orthodox research and many forms of qualitative research, as the research ends, so too does the project. Community-based research makes a lasting contribution to the community. This may be in the form of a new program that is ongoing, or a new service that is delivered. At times products such as manuals or workbooks may be created. One of the most significant contributions is the enhanced capacity of the community to continue to engage in future research or evaluation. The acquisition of new skills and knowledge related to research and evaluation is an essential component of community-based research.

NOTE to 5.4:

Human flourishing is viewed as a “process of social participation in which there is a mutually enabling balance, within and between people, of autonomy, co-operation and hierarchy” (Hills and Mullet 2000a). In this way, human flourishing is tied to practical knowing, knowing how to choose, how to be, and how to practice in ways that are not only personally fulfilling but that also enhance and transform the human condition. It means that in community-based research what is of interest is more than the usual research outcome. The utility of the outcome is judged based on the difference it makes to transforming the health and well-being of the community.

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