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**The state of the performing arts in Buffalo City: Past, Present,
and Future. An analysis of the Guild Theatre and Steve Biko
Centre.**



**A dissertation submitted in fulfilment of the requirement for the Masters of
Social Science in the Department of Social Science and Humanities at the
University of Fort Hare.**

BY

Siyanda Vunukwa

201614455

Supervisor

Dr T Connor

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Declaration of originality

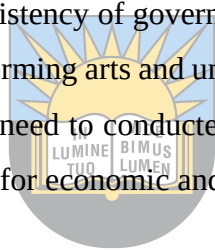
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ABSTRACT

South Africa has changed dramatically over the last 25 years. This study explores how these changes have affected the performing arts at the grassroots level. The Guild Theatre and Steve Biko Centre's theatre in Buffalo City Metropolitan Municipality are used as case studies to illustrate how performing arts institutes in small towns stay relevant and financially sound in the face of significant social and economic change. The hope is that other emerging performing art organisations can learn from the experiences of these two successful ones. The study made use of mixed methods in the form of in-depth interviews with key individuals within the theatres and questionnaires for patrons and performers. The results show that the performing arts play a substantial role in society. They do not just provide entertainment but social commentary, education and economic opportunities. Both theatres have social outreach programmes that help the youth by teaching them new skills and creating new opportunities for them to develop in character. Even though the performing arts play such an important role, they are still underfunded. The inconsistency of government and private funding is a threat to the financial sustainability of the performing arts and undermines their ability to play their role in community building. More studies need to be conducted on the topic of the role of the arts in small towns as there is great potential for economic and social development in these areas.



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I thank God for giving me the strength to finish my studies. Special thanks go to my supervisor Dr T. Connor for her constant encouragement, patience, and support. I also thank her for professionalism, advice, and mentorship throughout the process made my work more manageable as a student.



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DEDICATION

To my family, especially my mother Nokuzola Vunukwa and aunt Nosipho Rose Vunukwa, thank you for your patience and support. There were times when I wanted to give up, but you encouraged me every step of the way.



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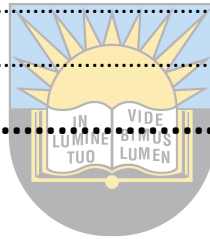
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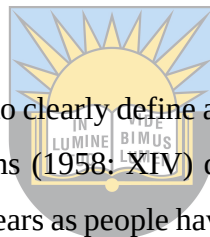
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Chapter 1: Overview of the Study

1.1 Introduction

Performing is a part of human nature, and there has never been a time when people were not expressing themselves through sound and movement. Sindoni (2016: 2) describes performing arts as ‘semiotic acts that co-deploy a range of semiotic resources to produce and construct meanings across different cultures and ages’. This description emphasises the fact that in a performance, different types of symbols are used to convey a message to an audience. Every performance, therefore, has three elements the artist, the audience and the symbols used to convey meaning. The audience is not passive in this process but participates by interpreting the symbols to find meaning and grappling with their feelings about the ideas, value and belief communicated through the symbolic expression of the artist (Sindoni et al. 2016: 3-4). The performing arts are an integral part of every culture - in fact; they are the most visible manifestation of culture.



Culture, on the other hand, is difficult to clearly define as it is subject to many different emotive meanings and interpretations. Williams (1958: XIV) defines culture by considering how the use of the word has evolved over the years as people have used it to express different meanings. He traces the development of the word from its initial use to denote the cultivating of farmland to its later use to represent the arts as a whole. Finally, he explains how social and political changes in Europe led to its modern interpretation as a way of life. He highlights how the class struggle that emerged from the social instability created by the development of the industrial revolution and democracy shaped how the word was interpreted (Williams 1958: 338-340). The elite used the word culture to denote what they deemed high art, such as ballet or classical music to exclude those of lower classes. Still, with the growth of democracy, this use came to be challenged, and more inclusive interpretations started to emerge. As the working class gained more political power the universal elements of humanity and the dignity of all humankind was recognised culture was than seen through a wider lens as a way of life (Williams 1958: 338-340). Williams (1961: 55) emphasises the dynamic nature of culture how it is continuously changing as people communicate “since our of seeing things is literally our way of living, the process of communication is, in fact, the process of community: the sharing of common meanings and thence common activities and purposes” In other words, it is the growth of a group identity fostered by social patterns unique to the group. Culture is about the

way people choose to live in the present, which is influenced by their past. Culture does not blindly follow old traditions, but it develops as people interact and learn from each other. This definition is in agreement with the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization UNESCO's definition of culture "A set of distinctive spiritual and material, intellectual and emotional features of a social group". And also "A complex web of meanings, relationships, beliefs, and values that frame peoples' relationship to the world" (UNESCO 2010: 2).

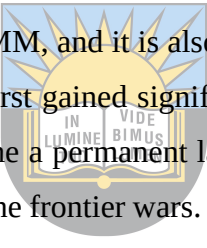
This definition is used by many nations when crafting their cultural policy. UNESCO believes that culture in all its dimensions is fundamental to sustainable development as a source of knowledge, meanings, and values that saturate all aspects of our lives. Therefore people should be encouraged to use their creativity to create wealth; making products that reflect their unique cultural creativity. The performing arts are expressly associated with UNESCO's vision of driving development by building the creative sector; as they have a compelling economic feature; they depend on an audience, and an audience is essentially a type of target market. In order to monetise performance, artists simply charge the audience for the privilege of watching the performance, or trade products such as food and drink while the performance is underway (UNESCO 2018: 1). Music and dance are treasured because they transcend language and background; musical acts; in South Africa groups like Mahlathini and Mahotella Queens are celebrated all over the world even though their music is considered traditional South African music (Ballantine 1989: 305). Therefore this sector can be very lucrative when the right policies are put in place to promote it properly. Music, dance and theatre are often key features of cultural promotion intended to attract tourists and regularly feature in the itineraries of tour operators (UNESCO 2018: 1).

This dissertation highlights the ways in which South African theatre has changed after the fall of Apartheid. How do local theatres manage to stay relevant to the struggle of modern-day South Africans while preserving our heritage? I have done this by comparing how two different theatres in Buffalo City Metropolitan Municipality (BCMM) conduct their business; the Guild Theatre situated in Selbourne, an affluent suburb in East London. Then there is the Steve Biko Centre in Ginsberg, King Williams Town, which is a relatively new complex, located in an urban township area, where people are considerably less well-off. Through this research, I explore how these theatres have managed to stay relevant, economically sound and entertaining in an industry that is very difficult to crack. By doing this research, I hope to contribute, in a

small way, to understanding how theatre in South Africa negotiates the complex identity, culture, and heritage of a dynamic and diverse society.

1.2 The Area of the Study

As stated before, this study is located in Buffalo City Metropolitan Municipality (BCMM), situated on the east coast of Eastern Cape Province. BCM comprises the towns of East London, Bhisho and King William's Town, as well as the large townships of Mdantsane and Zwelitsha. Established as a local municipality in 2000 after South Africa reorganised municipal areas, the authorities decided to name it after the Buffalo River, the only river port in the country (SAHO 2019: 1). The river port was the very source of the city of East London; the city grew because of the economic opportunities that came with the establishment of the port. On the 18 May 2011 that the region attained the status of a metropolitan municipality, and with this came more economical and political opportunities (SAHO 2019: 1).



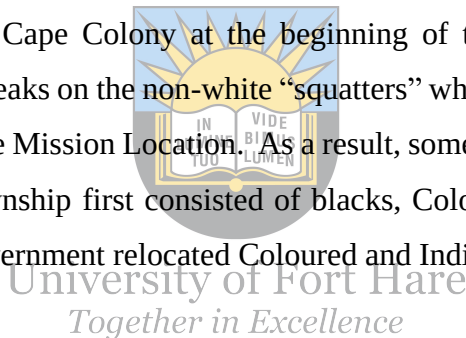
East London is the biggest city in BCMM, and it is also the second biggest city in the Eastern Cape after Port Elizabeth. The area first gained significance as a temporary British Military Post in 1836. East London later became a permanent landing base for military personnel and supplies to support the British during the frontier wars. Sir Harry Smith, governor of the Cape, named it East London in April 1848; he saw how important the port was to supporting British interests in the interior and thought it had the potential to rival the city of London (Bwalya 2001: 84). By 1857 the first groups of settlers had arrived under the Cape's George Grey's scheme to reinforce British control of the region by increasing the white population and settled on the west bank of the river. At the same time, the Xhosa were facing many crises caused by war and invasion of their land; the worst being the chaos that ensued after the cattle killings of 1856, many had no choice but to seek employment in towns. Racial segregation was an enshrined principle from the very start of the city's history. Due to continual wars, racial tensions were very high, and the presence of black people in the town made the white townsfolk very nervous (Bwalya 2001:84). In 1857, years before the Group Areas Act of 1950, East London already had regulations to confine blacks to native villages that were well clear of the town and also restricted their movements within the town. Most white settlers built their homes around the port and town centre, and the white population increased in the city centre grew and developed (Bwalya 2001: 88-89). Southernwood was the first suburb that developed in the late 19th century due to the outward expansion of the city from the West Bank, followed by

Cambridge location. It experienced rapid growth many of elegant houses in the area were built during the Anglo-Boer war. In the post-war period (after 1900) the population increased and was accompanied by white prosperity, which led to the development of other suburbs such as Berea, Selborne, and Vincent. The new suburbs exhibited the trappings of affluence, naturally white flight from Southernwood followed into these suburbs. The growth of suburbs changed the culture and layout of the city (Bwalya 2001:118). By the 1950s the compact colonial town had become a more open, the introduction of automobiles lead to areas like Cambridge (once an independent village town), being incorporated into the city. The city centre was still the economic heart of the city with most of the businesses, social clubs and hotels situated there. At the same time, the suburbs were places of residence in the centre of the white family and community. This move towards modernity led to the older generation of upper-middle-class white citizens to create spaces where they could preserve and celebrate the colonial heritage of the city (Bwalya 2001:116).

Thus the area between the suburbs and the city emerged as a white middle-class cultural region in the 1950s (Mnyaka and Bank 2014: 61). It was there that the Museum erected its building in 1949, shortly afterwards the Guild theatre was built next to the Museum. This cultural precinct was supported by the city council but would have never succeeded if it were not for the generosity and enthusiasm of the local community. Societies, schools, and businesses all came together to raise funds for the Guild Theatre. Many schools and clubs hosted the actors of the East London dramatic society while the building was under construction. The Guild was built to honour their colonial heritage and white culture (Mnyaka and Bank 2014: 62). The Guild officially opened its doors in October 1962 and enjoyed many years of popularity among the people who help build it. After years of community ownership in 1986, the theatre changed owners and was renovated, and was run by the Cape Performing Arts Board (CAPAB); an institute created to promote the performing arts in the Cape Province. In 1998 it was handed over to the Eastern Cape Provincial Government. In recent years the theatre has suffered from a lack of maintenance, both inside and out. The Department of Public Works did do their best to maintain the theatre, but in 2016 relinquished all responsibility for repairs and maintenance, and a new management board was established. All board members currently work voluntarily to serve the theatre (Showme.co.za 2017: 1).

King William's Town is very different from East London. The town is only a 40-minute drive away from East London but has its unique history. The first settlement in the present urban

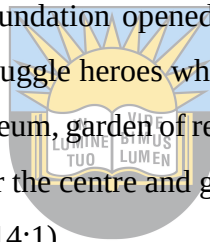
area was the Brownlee Mission station. It was established in 1826 by Reverend John Brownlee of the London Missionary Society. In 1834, during a territorial war between Xhosa and British forces, the Brownlee Mission Station was destroyed. The missionary and his family and congregation fled, and the mission was then used by the British as a military reserve (Zituta 1997: 44). As the war came to a close Sir Benjamin D'urban took possession of Xhosa-land and incorporated it in the Cape Colony in the name of King William IV - the ruling British monarch at that time. On 24 May 1835, the Governor set apart the military reserve as the starting point for the building of a town, named, King William's Town. The instability of war led to the territory being abandoned and then re-established in 1847 (Zituta 1997:48). The Brownlee mission was moved to a different location not far from the original site. Even though race relations were strained for many years after these conflicts, segregation was not strongly enforced. Xhosa congregants were permitted to build homes close to the Brownlee Mission, many Coloured and Indian workers also settled in the town building small communities (Zituta 1997: 55). Ginsberg location was established in 1906 in response to the Bubonic Plague outbreaks that ravaged the Cape Colony at the beginning of the 20th Century. The white population blamed the outbreaks on the non-white "squatters" who were living in the town and the residents of the Brownlee Mission Location. As a result, some residents were removed and moved to Ginsberg; the township first consisted of blacks, Coloureds and Indians. With the advent of Apartheid, the government relocated Coloured and Indians population to other areas (Zituta 1997: 56).



Ginsberg is mostly known for the role it played in the struggle against Apartheid as the home and birthplace of the founder of the Black Consciousness Movement: Bantu Steve Biko, one of the great martyrs of the anti-apartheid struggle (SAHO 2011: 1). The Black Consciousness Movement espouses the philosophical principles that underpinned the formation and policies of SASO (South African Students Organisation) a student organisation founded by Biko and fellow black students at the University of Natal in 1968. The organisation was formed in protest of the NUSAS (National Union of South African Students) a multiracial student organisation which was dominated by white liberals (Mangcu 2017: 130). SASO believed that the interests of the black students could not be fully met in an organisation whose leadership and membership was white. The Black Consciousness Movement believed that political freedom could only be achieved when black South Africans stopped feeling inferior to whites. The movement encouraged blacks to be self-sufficient and not to rely on the government or white

political allies; blacks had to be at the forefront of the struggle against Apartheid as they were the ones that suffered the most under Apartheid (Mangcu 2017: 144-145).

Although the movement gained a bad reputation in the white media, it focused less on outright activism and more on community projects, such as building clinics and other projects in Ginsberg itself. They focused on educating and uplifting the community to ignite the political will of the people (Mangcu 2017:222-224). Steve Biko spent years under banning orders preventing him from moving or speaking freely. Still, he remained defiant in his convictions until he died in police custody in Port Elizabeth in 1977. His death did not lead to the destruction of his political influence. Black Consciousness only grew in impact; however, as the years went by and the ANC came to dominate the liberation struggle and black consciousness lost its place in at the head of popular political philosophy. However, it remained as one of the cornerstones in the history of the struggle. It served explicitly as an inspiration to many students at the University of Fort Hare and residents of Buffalo City (Mangcu 2017:266). On 30 November 2012, the Biko Foundation opened the Steve Biko Centre to honour the legacy of Steve Biko and the many struggle heroes who fought alongside him in the region. It boasts a restaurant, public library, museum, garden of remembrance and performing arts centre. The Biko foundation is responsible for the centre and gets support from its sponsors as well as local government (Biography.com 2014:1).



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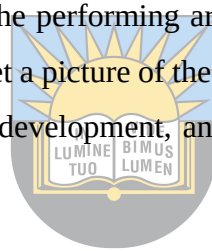
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These two organisations represent the history and heritage of BCMM each organisation grew from peoples need to express its pride in its culture. It is important to look at the history of these organisations because it explains not only how they came to be but also serves to explain the underlying values that each organisation embodies. It also explains the demographics, advantages and standing these institutions have. It is important to look back as it not only helps us understand the values of these organisation but also show the importance of BCMM in the history and development of the Eastern Cape as a whole. BCMM is still an economic hub for the small towns and villages that surround it and the surrounding towns also rely on the Guild and SBC as venues for cultural expression and centres of assistance in the development of their performing arts. In the Eastern Cape BCMM has a great deal of influence because of industry and education institutions in the municipality. The Guild and SBC also exercise a lot of power because of their reputations and histories. Their influence makes them good candidates for this study because many smaller organisations in even smaller municipalities can learn from their successes and failures.

1.3 Problem Statement

This dissertation intends to use the case studies of the Guild Theatre and Ginsberg complex to illustrate how the state of the performing arts in South Africa. Arts have gone through different stages as the country has changed, and hence how we express our creativity has changed. An international organisation like UNESCO has pushed for the arts to play a more prominent role in economic development. Many nations have started to evaluate their attitudes and policies, in order to take full advantage of the opportunities, this sector presents. Considering the many problems that South Africa faces as a nation it would serve us well to reflect on our arts and consider how they can assist with development.

South Africa has changed dramatically over the last 25 years, and this study explores how these changes have influenced the performing arts by focusing on theatre. By conducting interviews with some of the stakeholders at the Guild Theatre and Steve Biko Institute, I uncovered some of the common challenges that face the performing arts and theatres in post-apartheid South Africa. By doing this, I was able to get a picture of the current state of the performing arts and consider how they fit into the urban development, and specifically the economic and social development of youth.



1.4 Rationale and Aims of the Study

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Before this investigation, there have been no studies about the state of the performing arts or theatres in BCM, specifically about cultural integration, transformation, and economic development. The question of how the theatre attracts the youth, especially black youth, to its doors has not been observed from the perspective of a smaller town like East London or King Williams Town. This study fills this gap in the research, and I hope that the information I found can be to use smaller companies and community projects that can learn from the few success stories.

I set out to use the knowledge and expertise of these two established theatres to help other smaller theatres use similar strategies to build longevity and profits. I simply wanted to find out what makes the Steve Biko Centre and Guild Theatre sustainable. And understand how they manage the difficult task of protecting and promoting the cultural heritage of the Eastern Cape and fulfilling their mandate as an economic entity that must be financially sound.

The primary question is:

How can the performance art institutions in East London be more profitable while promoting unity and developing the rich cultural heritage in Buffalo City Metro?

Other questions include:

- How have the performing arts changed over the years?
- In terms of audience, what are the demographics of the average patron and how do performing arts centres compete with other forms of entertainment such as TV and cinema?
- How have the performing arts been used to reflect and accommodate the cultural identity of the city?
- What is local government doing to promote theatre in Buffalo City, and how does it fit into a regional development plan?
- What are the different funding options available to artists, and how much does the private sector contribute to these funds?
- Are the performing arts taken seriously as a career choice and a contributing economic sector in the economy of the city? Are artists, for instance, able to sustain a comfortable lifestyle working in the arts?

1.5 Significance of the Study

This study, as stated before, is all about understanding how the Guild Theatre and Steve Biko centre have managed to run successful theatre programs so that those who come after them can learn how to be successful in the arts in BCMM. Theatre offers many opportunities for talented young people to develop themselves both socially and economically. The study is of significance to academics because it helps us gain a better understanding of the challenges faced by theatres in post-apartheid South Africa; particularly issues of transformation and integration. It explores the role community theatre plays in the new South Africa and most importantly, what role will it play in the future. I will also draw on how arts contribute to development; here, UNESCO leads the call for the arts to function as an aid, helping vulnerable people take control of their lives. Considering how prevalent social problems are in South

Africa, which comes with poverty, but how rich our people are in creativity and heritage, it is wise to explore the many ways in which the arts can improve the lives of our people.

The performing arts have been a part of South Africa even before European settlement. All the indigenous people of the land used performance in their daily lives to entertain, educate and celebrate (Hauptfleisch 2007: 2). Their rock paintings and historical documents from early settlers that describe elaborate performances, some of which involved many dancers, singers, and actors. There is evidence that performance was entrenched in the everyday lives of the people. For example, the famous trance dance is still practised by some San communities as they believed to heal the body and purify the community (Lewis-Williams 2015: 86). Theatre, in particular, has demonstrated its ability to change peoples' lives, as seen in the popularity of protest theatre and the success of the plays that the government used to raise awareness around issues of HIV/AIDS (Low 2010: 115). Theatre is an effective tool to educate people as it speaks to them through music, dance, and eloquence these forms of expression transcends can sometimes transcend language and cultural barriers. Low (2010: 112) gives us some examples of such projects such as the arepp: Theatre of life program and DramaAidE both are long-standing organisations. They use the performing arts to equip the youth with the essential life-skills that will enable them to make informed decisions concerning their health. These two projects pioneered this formula of using theatre as a tool to have conversations about HIV/AIDS in the 1980s, and early 1990's a time when miscommunication and stigma were preventing people from discussing the topic honestly. The Guild and SBC play similar roles in their community being places of not just expression and creativity but education and social cohesion. All performing art organisation have to fulfil these roles in their society. Considering the importance of these organisations to promoting culture, heritage and social cohesion not to mention the financial opportunities they create. Their economic sustainability is of great importance to the health and development of our communities.

1.6 Review of the Chapters

Chapter 1: Overview of the study, it covers Introduction, gives a background to the study, the research problem, research question, objectives and the significance of the study.

Chapter 2: Literature review Chapter two explores some of the relevant literature on the topic; to showcase the different approaches that scholars and professionals take when dealing with the economic side performing arts. It also highlights the various studies on the topic.

Chapter 3: Theoretical framework and Research methodology this chapter looks at the theories that are relevant to the study and also outlines the research methodology used; concerns relating to validity and reliability are address as well as the ethical considerations

Chapter 4: Presentation of research findings; this chapter focuses on how the data that we have collected answers to the research questions.

Chapter 5: Summary, conclusion, and recommendation; this chapter summaries our findings and lays out the conclusions.

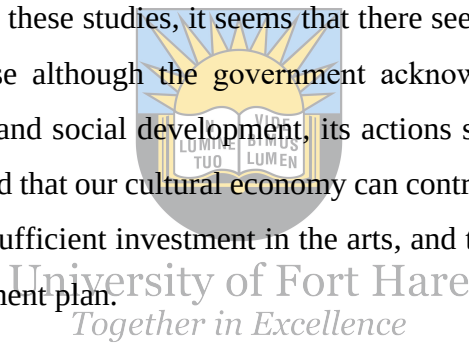


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Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to review the contributions of related research studies and to apply their findings and conclusions in directing this study. Both in cultivating objectives and in the interpretation of the results. As stated before, this study is about the economic and social contribution of the performing arts to the development of the Buffalo Metropolitan Municipality. There is little literature on theatre in BCM, but considerably more on the general economic contribution of the arts, and in particular, the literature on the broad funding landscape of the arts in South Africa. However finding literature that focused on funding for the performing arts, particularly theatre, was challenging. In South African, there seems to be a focus on funding festivals and dance companies but not individual theatres or theatre productions. However, I was still able to get a picture of the state of the performing arts from the studies that I read. From these studies, it seems that there seems to be a problem with arts and culture funding because although the government acknowledges UNESCO's call for culturally driven economic and social development, its actions show that on some level as a country we are not convinced that our cultural economy can contribute significantly to growth. There does not seem to be sufficient investment in the arts, and there is very little integration of the arts into our development plan.



2.2 Cultural Industries vs Creative Industries

When reading the policy around arts and culture in South Africa, one notices that terms cultural industries and creative industries are often used interchangeably, especially in newer policy documents. However, the terms are distinct and have different origins. The term cultural industry originates from the academic sector, particularly a group of Marxist scholars that became known as the Frankfurt School whose ideas around the industrialisation of art were very influential. Adorno and Horkheimer were most influential in this school, but they, in turn, were influenced by Walter Benjamin's on the industrialisation of culture. Benjamin (1936: 22) argued that the mass reproduction of art through modern technology like film, print and recording was stripping art of its authenticity. Art, therefore, became another product mass-produced in factories like cars or clothes, losing some of its value in the process (Benjamin 1936: 22-23). It is also interesting to note that some of the technology used in mass production

can polish the original work remove natural faults to create an idealised version that could not be achieved without the technology. Industry priorities' sameness and perfect over uniqueness; Benjamin (1936: 23-24) believed that this was a threat to the integrity of the art and the artist who created the original. Horkheimer and Adorno expanded these ideas by exploring how profit-making and exploitation of workers had overtime become key components of the arts because of its industrialisation (Blunden 2005: 1). Art was no longer claim to fully transcend the trappings of mainstream capitalism as it was a part of capitalism. They also criticised the media for manipulating its audience in encouraging groupthink and conformity instead of critical thinking (Blunden 2005: 1). The aim was to promote mindless consumption which would help to reinforce the ideas of capitalism. No part of the arts was left untouched by industrialisation as technology shifts our ability to produce and share creative output changes in old days it was hard for laypeople to mass-produce the works of musical artists because the technology needed to do so was not readily available. Now it is so easily available that piracy is a threat to the music and film industries (Kiria 2020: 1).

The term creative industries, on the other hand, is a political concept that came into wide use when the New Labour Party in the United Kingdom used it to explain the economic decline that was evident in at the end of the 20th century. There was a definite shift in the structure of the economies in the west at this time. They was a decline in industrial production as changes in technology and knowledge changed the needs of the economy. Politicians explained these changes as the result of the economy becoming more creative (Kiria 2020: 1). There was then a greater emphasis on creativity and ideas as driving forces behind the economy, and policymakers started focusing on developing arts as a way to drive economic growth. However, many criticise the term creative industries for its vague definitions and the fact that there are not set industries that universally agreed to encompass it (Kiria 2020: 1). Instead, every country decides what should be included in the term and making uniformity for comparison purposes nearly impossible. Kiria (2020: 1) argues that the term is a political buzz word that is simply used to justify government economic policy. This ambiguity has resulted in the two terms been used interchangeably.

Nawa (2012: 25) agrees that the terms are often used interchangeably, but observes that in South Africa, the preferred term is cultural industries. For instance, The Cultural Strategy Groups report (1998: 7-8) does not use the term creative industry but refers to the cultural industry; the document does not offer a comprehensive definition but rather lists all the

industries included in the term ‘cultural industries’. This list is quite extensive, containing music, visual arts, literature, the performing arts, crafts, cultural heritage, audiovisual and media sector. It also includes sectors like design, fashion and graphic arts which have not traditionally been thought of as part of art and culture. The Gauteng Province’s creative industries framework (2005: 7) on the other hand, uses the term ‘creative industries’ and includes the same industries as the Cultural Study Groups in their discussion. These definitions, however, do not take into account the problems associated with these terms. Galloway and Dunlop (2007: 28) note that the ambiguity of these terms can cause problems in the arts, especially in terms of funding for visual and performing arts in its more traditional form. There is an emphasis on the creative industries. As in the case in our policy, older, less tech-heavy art forms like theatre, traditional dance and classical music are seen as part of creative industries. They argue that by making these art forms a part of the creative industries alongside advertising; fashion design and film, we underestimate the higher value that these cultural goods often have over goods that are produced to generate income more proficiently. Cultural creativity is distinct from other types of creativity as it makes goods that can generate positive externalities (Galloway and Dunlop 2007: 29).

It is thus true that the market can never accurately calculate the value of the arts. Therefore, viewing culture as part of the wider creative economy simply incorporates it within an economic program to which it is ill-suited. The main criticism of the UK’s understanding of cultural goods is that it clashes with UNESCO’s definitions of cultural goods and services. UNESCO’s definition is different because it combines the concepts of creativity and intellectual property with a strong emphasis on the importance of symbolic meaning, unlike the UK, which uses economic calculations to determine the value of the arts using profits and costs as the only measure of value. The UNESCO definition highlights the fact that the visual arts and performing arts often produce cultural expressions with a value that transcends their commercial value. In their policy documents, UNESCO acknowledges culture’s unique ability to create symbolic meaning “Culture is a complex web of meanings, relationships, beliefs, and values that frames people’s relationship to the world” while also highlighting it as a tool for economic growth: “culture is a powerful global economic engine generating jobs and income with a value of US\$1.3 trillion in 2005”. Both these qualities are given equal consideration (UNESCO 2010:1).

When policymakers lose sight of this, they are liable only to fund art programs they feel can be marketable and ignore those that are not, disregarding the non-market value that they possess. Galloway and Dunlop (2007: 28) highlight the danger of clumping cultural industries together with mainline industries, which are able to operate effectively and usually independently in the market economy. If market calculations alone are considered the justification for the support of the arts we risk losing important cultural goods and services that do not pass the 'marketability test' (Galloway and Dunlop 2007: 28).

Galloway and Dunlop's observations can be extended to the South African arts landscape. Snowball (2017: 8) recognises that creative industries such as theatre and visual arts produce two different types of value, these being intrinsic and instrumental values. Intrinsic values relate to the symbolic and creative nature of the product; in other words, it's about how the product is received or what it represents to its audience. Instrumental values include economic and social values on the economic side the emphasis is placed on prices and supply chain impacts of the arts on the social side emphasis is placed on how the arts contribute to education and social cohesion (Snowball 2016: 9).

The South African government has always focused on instrumental value when it comes to theatre and the supporting arts. They understand that the performing arts are a powerful tool to shape people's thinking and have used it to educate people on social issues such as the plight of those affected by HIV/Aids, gender-based violence and xenophobic attacks (van Heerden 2008: 177-187). The government is seemingly, therefore, more willing to provide financial support to those art projects that promote the same agenda of social and economic development. That is why productions that do not address the financial and social needs of the population are usually not government-funded and are generally privately funded. Therefore; it seems that we have fallen into the trap that Galloway and Dunlop warned against; focusing too heavily on instrumental value at the expense of intrinsic value. This emphasis on instrumental value is understandable when one considers the economic potential of the arts.

2.3 Economic Value of the Performing Arts?

After 1994 the government gave the Department of Arts, Culture, Science, and Technology the task of formulating a strategy for realising the potential of the cultural industries. This strategy had to contribute to the government's Growth, Employment and Redistribution strategy (GEAR) through initiatives that would increase the economic benefits of art and culture. This

led to the appointment of the Cultural Strategy Group; a multi-disciplinary consortium to conduct comprehensive research on the cultural industries and make recommendations on how future policy on the sector should be formulated (Cultural Strategy Group 1998: 4).

The work of the group resulted in the publication of a report in 1998 entitled ‘Creative South Africa: A strategy for realising the potential of the cultural industries’. The primary purpose of the document was to show policymakers how the arts were contributing to the economy. If the government put a concrete plan in place to realise and develop existing opportunities while creating new ones, then cultural industries would thrive. The main recommendation the report made was for the establishment of the Cultural Industries Development Agency, a partnership between the public and private sectors that would focus on developing the cultural industries (Cultural Strategy Group 1998: 7). The agency would be modelled along the lines of similar organisations in the United Kingdom and Europe. For it to be successful, it would have needed to be independent, flexible and responsive (Cultural Strategy Group 1998: 51).

Even though such an agency was never established the document did have the desired effect, as it emphasised the importance of the arts for economic growth. One of the most convincing arguments found in this document is that cultural industries are the future; as the world becomes smaller thanks to technology, the nature of economics is changing as well. In the past, the economy was driven by fossil fuels and other non-renewable resources, but now new industries are dominating; technology and social media are critical industries and innovation is now the fuel that moves the economy (Cultural Strategy Group 1998: 9).

In this climate ideas and information are the keys to success; the cultural industries are rich in information and at its very core culture is about ideas, symbols and meanings. Creativity and innovation are vital to unlocking the potential of the economy, and they are the central ingredient in the arts (Cultural Strategy Group 1998: 9-10). This point is further driven home by the statement that:

“Over the past thirty years, there has been a worldwide decline in the job-creating potential of “traditional” sectors of the economy. This is especially true of primary sectors such as mining and agriculture, but it is also increasingly applicable to manufacturing” (Cultural Strategy Group 1998: 12).

The report then goes on to explain that modern industry that is based on the production and distribution of information-based products. And the service sector has the greatest potential for creating employment opportunities; the retail, technical support and financial sectors are best examples of sectors that fit these criteria. Developing countries stand to benefit significantly from developing arts and culture because of two advantages that this industry has. The first is that there are fewer barriers to entry and lower capital investment requirements allowing for technological “leapfrogging” meaning developing countries could develop new technologies sooner than developed countries. The second is that Information based products enable developing countries to exploit their cultural and geographical uniqueness in response to the global demand for more and more differentiated, information-based, products (Cultural Strategy Group 1998: 12). This is excellent news because, in developed countries, cultural industries have the potential to increase employment by on average between 3-5%. Worldwide the cultural industries are considered the fifth-largest economic sector in terms of turnover (Cultural Strategy Group 1998: 12). So South Africa has a lot to gain from focusing on developing the arts with our unemployment problem, which is reaching record highs. In the second quarter of 2017, youth unemployment reached 55.90% a terrible milestone by the fourth quarter it had dropped to 51.10% which is still very high although it is an improvement (Trading Economics 2018: 1).



Although worldwide, the trends in the arts focus on urban areas there is still something that South Africa can learn from the way the international community deals with cultural policy, especially in semi-rural areas and small towns. According to Connor and Nawa (2017: 16-17), South African policymakers need to consider how urban and rural life are connected. Very often, products like traditional beadwork or crafts are made in rural areas but sold in urban areas to tourists or city dwellers (Connor and Nawa 2007: 80). They recommended an audit of cultural policies at the sub-national level and local levels so that existing policy could be consolidated and any problem areas within the policy can be addressed. It was also recommended that the existing government funding agencies and private funders should create a national budget for cultural development that is linked to the UNESCO Convention on cultural diversity (Connor and Nawa 2007: 82).

Ndhlovu (2018: 1) also considers the economic impact that cultural and creative industries can have outside the urban setting. It provides a potential guideline for the development of regional cultural policy in small towns. This author focused on Makhanda (formerly Grahamstown)

where the National Arts Festival is held and is part of the Creative City Project. Ndhlovu (2018: 2) observed that most studies on the economic potential of the arts are clustered around urban renewal and development. However, cultural and creative industries are ideal for small towns because as stated above, they do not rely on long supply chains or high-technology inputs. Ndhlovu agrees with Connor and Nawa's (2007: 80) statement about the strong link small towns have to rural areas; therefore, they are potential engines for driving growth in rural and isolated areas.

For a successful cultural policy, more information would need to be collected. It must be focused on identifying what resources are present in small towns and what cultural industries are already thriving in such areas (Ndhlovu 2018: 102). After these studies, a cultural policy should be drafted in collaboration with the practitioners themselves; this will ensure that any policy drafted shall address the challenges and capitalise on the opportunities that face in their trade. The policy should include a monitoring and evaluation tool that will track the performance of the policy in satisfying its stated aims and objectives (Ndhlovu 2018: 103).

However, what is also clear from Ndhlovu's study is that in policy formulation, often instrumental values take president over intrinsic values. Policymakers are concerned with the economic and social impact of the arts, not its abstract or symbolic meanings. However, when building a policy, it is important to remember that heritage, history, and culture all contribute to the quality of the arts. They are essential elements, and although they are not monetary and hard to calculate, they do influence the economic value of the arts (Lehman 2013: 1). At the end of the day for a performance to be marketable, it has to be able to connect to the audience, and this connection is directly linked to culture, history, and heritage. The language, symbols, and music in said performance must be familiar to the audience so it can understand what is being depicted by the performance. The audience simply must be reflected in the performance (Lehman 2013: 1).

Questions of history and heritage are very contentious in South Africa, as it is a diverse society with a divided history. As noted before there is debate about whether South Africa has a united culture, history, and heritage or whether each ethnic group has its own, and there is also the question of addressing racism and discrimination in the arts. When thinking of the intrinsic value of the arts, policy-makers grapple with the complicated topic of identity. In short, identity and heritage issues are challenging to measure, unlike economic indicators that have objective

formulae and economic reasoning attached to them. That has not stopped scholars from trying to discover the actual value of the arts. In the next section, we look at some of the theories around the calculation of value in the arts.

2.4 Calculating the Social Value of the Arts: Cultural Capital

Most studies that examine the economic value of the performing are focused not on individual theatre productions or dance companies. Festivals have become very popular over the years as they provide a collaborative platform to support the arts and draw large audiences. Antrobus (2009: 8) conducted a study on how festivals help promote performing arts by making them accessible and relatable to new audiences. Antrobus's observations are particularly relevant to this study because his main focus is theatre. His main argument is that because of the decline in both government and consumer support and the contradictory disparity between valuing the arts and the funding of performing arts, theatre companies can no longer rely on the comfort of external sponsorships and government grants (Antrobus 2009: 7). To be economically viable and sustainable, they must look to novel ways of increasing audience demand for theatre. Therefore he advocates for the development and propagation of festivals as a means of generating new theatre audiences and encouraging a love for the performing arts.

Antrobus (2009:17) used social capital theory to explain how culture and history shape a person's preferences. The social capital theory was developed by the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu and has been very influential in many different fields of study. The theory states that capital can come in three forms economic, social and cultural (Bourdieu 1986: 16). In society at large, there is an emphasis on economic capital as it can easily be calculated and converted into money. Bourdieu argues that the social and cultural capital are just as they contribute to an individual's ability to build and store wealth in indirect but valuable ways. Social capital is made of social obligations (networks), which allow individuals to maximise their opportunities for economic and social growth (Bourdieu 1986: 16). Cultural capital can be defined as the tangible and intangible assets and skills that enable individuals to be socially mobile. Social and cultural capital helps people to gain and maintain social standing without necessarily having wealth or financial capital. Cultural capital falls into three categories: institutionalised (education or specialised knowledge), embodied (personality, speech, skills), and objectified (clothes or other belongings) (Bourdieu 1986: 17). Using these indicators, people make value judgments about others. Bourdieu (1973: 257-258) discusses how the education system is

functions to reinforce the class divisions and hierarchies by privileging the dominate culture and values ignoring the culture and values of those who fall outside of this dominating culture. Those who belong to the dominant culture can thrive in the education system, and their parents can pass their social capital to their children while excluding those who do not fit in their social circles. For example; it is well-known that privately educated children often use their social networks to ensure employment after graduation (Thompson 2016: 1). The system is, therefore, designed to reproduce society maintaining the status quo by raising a new generation that will continue to uphold the values, prejudices and social dysfunctions as the generations that came before it (Bourdieu 1973: 258).

Their many variations of social capital theory; one of these is the Homology argument. The premise of this argument is that “cultural taste patterns are part of a class struggle for dominance and social markers or signals of class or status” (Antrobus 2009: 13). Therefore people who classify themselves as the upper or upper-middle class will show their status and superiority by consuming high art. In his study Antrobus (2009: 13) examined three popular viewpoints about consumer consumption of the arts, namely Homology, Individualisation and Omnivore-Univore arguments. The study is very critical of the Homology argument claiming that it is out-dated as modern life often bridges the divide between the classes. Instead, he elevates the omnivore-univore argument of cultural consumption that was developed in the early 1990s. This argument states that tastes are either very diverse or limited, and the more education one is exposed to the more diverse their cultural tastes. It magnifies the role of education in the development of tastes and highlights that many different social and economic forces influence cultural tastes there are not as immovable as the Homology argument suggests (Antrobus 2009: 17). In the United States, for instance, there has been a revival of theatre in poorer communities; provide plays deal with social issues that affect those communities (UNESCO 1969: 29). Consider the popularity of the plays of Tyler Perry, a black American Playwright and movie maker who caters to this demographic.

The Individualisation argument introduces the concept of cultural mobility the ability to move between social groups which enable individuals to choose which types of social capital are of value for their personal development. Although people still form their identity by learning the social conventions of the social groups’ into which they are born, individuals can belong to many different social groups. Individuals have the ability to integrate the values they learn from each social group into one concise value system and identity. Education, social media,

immigration, and the internet have made it easier for people to share ideas. Individuals are exposed to many different influences these influences shape their tastes in unexpected ways. The two arguments complement each other as the omnivore-univore argument refines the individualist argument by highlighting the role of education in developing tastes. However, the study did not consider how to measure social capital and how one might use it to access the economic value of the festival. In truth, most similar studies elevate the economic indicators over social ones. However, there are some notable exceptions.

Snowball has written two comprehensive studies on the economic impact of the National Arts Festival on Grahamstown and surrounding areas. The first (Snowball 2000: 123) motivates the inclusion of willingness to pay analysis in economic impact analysis because economic impact analyses do not traditionally take the positive externalities which, the study argues, are generated by the arts into account. This thesis argues these positive externalities should be the basis of public funding and that financial and market benefits should be secondary to them. A willingness to pay (WTP) study was conducted to quantify these positive externalities in the Grahamstown region. The results of the study showed that those with an economically disadvantaged background valued the festival very highly and generally had a favourable opinion on its contribution to the prestige of the town and short-term job opportunities. These results dispelled the commonly held belief that the festival only really benefitted the middle class and wealthy (Snowball 2000: 127). (Snowball 2005: 1) adds to the argument by examining the value of cultural events by considering the historical significance of such events. Adding these considerations would entail adding another type of analysis when calculating the economic value of festivals. The role that the National Arts Festival has had on the history of Grahamstown adds to its economic value.

2.5 The Economic Approach to the Performing Arts

Cultural capital has been applied to many different fields, and more recently, it has been used in the emerging field of cultural economics. Throsby (2001: 27) was the first to use cultural capital in an economic sense; and used it as a tool that could explain the value of culture in a way that economists could understand. He challenges the way policymakers use economic indicators and concepts to value arts and culture projects. Throsby (2001: 27) introduces the notion of cultural value and promotes it as a more appropriate tool for policymakers to use when crafting economic policy. Throsby deconstructs his definition of cultural value by

identifying six characteristics that help artists and art enthusiasts identify cultural value. These characteristics include aesthetic value, spiritual (or religious) value, social value, historical value, symbolic value, and authenticity value (Throsby 2001: 28–29):

“Cultural capital, in an economic sense, can provide a means of representing culture which enables both tangible and intangible manifestation of culture to be articulated as long-lasting stores of value and providers of benefits for individuals and groups”(Throsby 2001:44).

Value is significant in economics, but the complexity of the arts has made it very difficult to measure its value. Economists measure value because it is the driving force of the market; consumers demand products that add value to their lives, and producers supply these products at a price; in economics, price represents value. It is what the consumer is willing to part with to have access to the product (Throsby 2001: 21-22). The many positive externalities produced by the arts as well as the subjectivity of artistic expression, make it practically impossible to price it accurately. That is why the arts are associated with market failure and constant need for state funding.

Gordon and Ritenour (2003: 104) points out that calculating cultural value can be subjective. They argue that this can lead to confusion because, in every art form, there are always varying beliefs about what represents quality. Individuals can belong to many different social groups, and individuals are exposed to many different influences these influences shape their tastes in unexpected ways. Within a group of theatre lovers, you can find people who have very diverse backgrounds. Within the theatre, they will all have their ideas about what makes a piece valuable or worthless. These observations prompted Gordan and Ritenour (2003: 104) to ask “Who decides when the context of an object indicates that it definitely possesses cultural value? Whose analysis of content matters?”

DiMaggio (2003: 73) believes that Throsby’s theories lay an intellectual foundation for a new approach to cultural policymaking and as a consequence challenges the application of economic reasoning to the study of culture. Throsby did not give all the answers but instead opens a new avenue of questioning that could lead to new creative solutions (DiMaggio 2003: 73). Cultural value is not impossible to convert into financial variables; if they apply their minds, cultural economists can find a way to build a model around the concept. (DiMaggio 2003: 74)

Pereira de Oliveira (2017: 6) takes a unique look at the relationship between economics and the performing arts. The study found that economic researchers have always had an interest in the business side of staging a performance. This field of economics was new but very lively, with many interesting theories about the nature of art and its contribution to the economy, unlike our previous studies, whose analysis focuses the arts within the lens of social science. This study focused on the arts as a field of study within the discipline of Economics. He referred to this field as Ofan Economics. However, de Oliveira feels that the field is overly theoretical and most of the theories that are prevalent in the field are not applicable in the real world. De Oliveira criticised Ofan economic researchers for focusing on the use of traditional economic model into the realm of arts and culture. Thus economic theories cannot be used to solve the specific economic problems that performing artists have to overcome (de Oliveira 2017: 7).

An interesting point raised is that economic theory is often used to justify government funding of the arts. However, until recently, many opinions about economics and arts all contain an underlining assumption that the arts will always be in a state of financial crisis (De Oliveira 2017: 20). Discussions around theatre and dance companies in literature almost always focus on how these entities are in crisis. There are really two schools of thought here: the first advocates for government subsidies in the performing arts because the enjoyment of the arts can be seen as a merit good (De Oliveira 2017: 53). The performing arts produce positive externalities that cannot be compared to their market price. The other stance argues against subsidies because of the tendency of these organisations to be a drain on the government's financial assets (De Oliveira 2017: 91).

In light of these revelations, de Oliveira (2017: 164) recommends that economists reform their perspective of the performing arts. Instead of trying to fit cultural data into the rigid framework of mainstream economic models, they should focus on using economic thinking to understand the nature of the arts. This approach could lead to the creation of new models, and maybe it will encourage economists to look into the overlooked or neglected aspects of the performing arts. De Oliveira (2017: 168) drives this point home by suggesting that instead of looking for an economic side in culture economists must recognise that culture is infused with economics. De Oliveira (2017: 166) makes a very compelling argument about the nature of the performing arts:

“So it is important to acknowledge that there might be two parallel exchanges going on in the performing arts: one that is economically formal and that consists in buying a

ticket, and another which is quite independent of that act of buying the ticket and that consists in giving and taking in an artistic realm.”

2.6 Calculating the Economic Value of the Arts: UNESCO

UNESCO has developed a framework to measure the cultural market and is based on an older framework in 2009 from the UNESCO Institute for statistics. This framework for Cultural Statistics (FCS) is used to collect and organise cultural statistics on a national and international level. The executive summary states that it “enables the measurement of a wide range of cultural expressions irrespective of the particular economic and social model of its production” (UNESCO 2009: 9). In other words; it measures the value of art products produced within any country regardless of the economic system it uses.

This system makes it possible to compare and contrast results from different nations. It is designed in such a way that even though it is uniform, it still allows for flexibility and adaptability at the national level. (UNESCO 2009: 11). However, for the framework to reflect the broadest range of activities related to the production, distribution, and consumption of culture, the definition of culture had to be narrowed. UNESCO’s original definition emphasised the symbolic elements of culture, like traditions, beliefs, and lifestyles. It is difficult to measure these elements, but it is possible to measure the behaviours and practices associated with them. UNESCO’s (FCS) narrowed focus included a conception of culture through the identification and measurement of the behaviours and practices emanating from the beliefs and values of a society (UNESCO 2009: 9). This approach recognises that culture is not removed or separated from society and the economy. Many elements of culture that seem to be outside the market can be measured by tracking the utility they produce; the time they use or the social capital they induce.

The framework is built on the concept of the Cultural Cycle; a model that illustrates all the practices, activities and resources that are needed to transform ideas into cultural goods and services; it is the production cycle for cultural goods and services (UNESCO 2009: 10). The cycle consists of five stages creation, production, dissemination, exhibition/reception/transmission, and consumption/participation; presented in a cyclical model to show the interconnections across these stages as they don’t always work in chronological order instead they constantly influence each other (see figure below).

Creation refers to the original creator using their creativity to originate the product or idea; for example, a writer working on a manuscript or a craftsman making a sculpture. Production involves the mass reproduction of cultural goods, and dissemination refers to the process of bringing these mass-produced cultural products to consumers and exhibitors. Exhibition and reception refer to the place of consumption and the provision of live or unmediated cultural experiences to audiences by allowing them to buy access to consume in a cultural activity like a festival or theatres. Transmission, on the other hand, is the transfer of knowledge and skills that may not involve any commercial transaction; this includes the transmitting of cultural heritage from generation to generation (UNESCO 2009: 19-20).

The model is an abstract analytical aid for thinking about the processes involved in producing cultural goods and services in practice; some of the stages may be conjoined or unnecessary. Musicians may compose (create) and perform (produce/disseminate), but playwrights write (create) but hardly perform (produce/disseminate). Digital technologies have resulted in spaces where people can create and consume simultaneously, for example, YouTube and Twitter (UNESCO 2009: 20-21). The cycle is beneficial in simplifying the complex processes that make up the creative industries. The emphasis of the framework is relationships, connects and exchanges that cut across all divisions in the cultural sector.

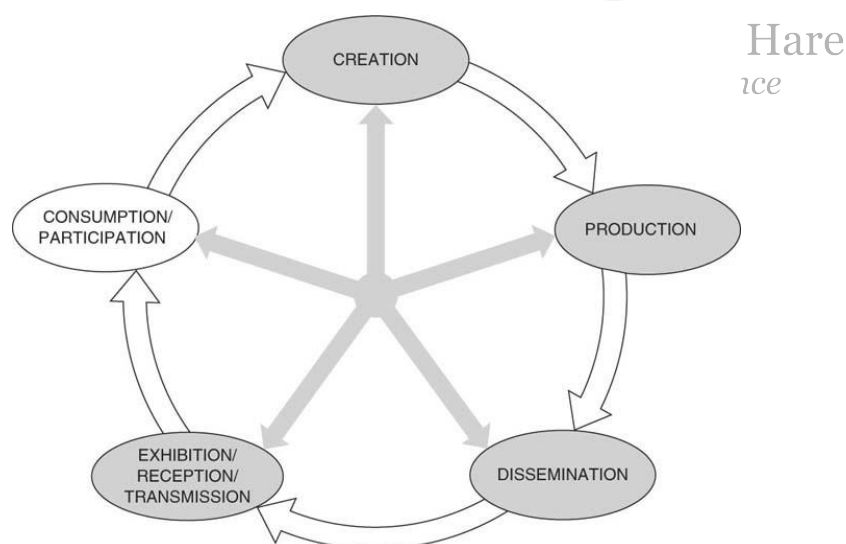
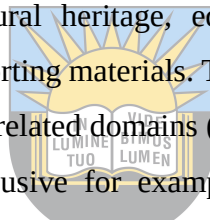


Figure 1: The Cultural Cycle

The cultural cycle provides a framework in which we can track the development and consumption of cultural goods. However, it provides very little detail about the intricacies of the different segments that make up the cultural industries. The FCS definition of the cultural

industry combined with the cultural cycle framework allows the grouping of activities within the cultural sector into subdivisions known as domains (UNESCO 2009: 22). These domains allow nations to measure cultural activities, goods, and services that are generated by industrial and non-industrial processes. This approach takes into account the fact that cultural goods and services possess an intrinsic value that is hard to calculate because it is subjective, symbolic and spiritual (UNESCO 2009: 22). The cultural statistics domains are organised into a hierarchical model that is comprised of cultural domains and related domains. The cultural domains include all the activities, goods and services that are involved in the different phases of the cultural cycle model. The related domains represent activities that have a cultural quality, but their main component is not cultural (UNESCO 2009: 10).

The six cultural domains are cultural and natural heritage, performance and celebration, visual arts and crafts, books and press, audio-visual and interactive media; and design and creative services. The two related domains are tourism and sports and recreation. Finally, there are four transversal domains Intangible cultural heritage, education and training, archiving and preservation and equipment and supporting materials. They are called transversal because they can be applied to all the domains and related domains (UNESCO 2009: 23). To avoid double-counting domains are mutually exclusive for example music may come in many forms performance, recordings, digital downloads you name it but all music regardless of the format is calculated under performance and celebration (UNESCO 2009: 23).



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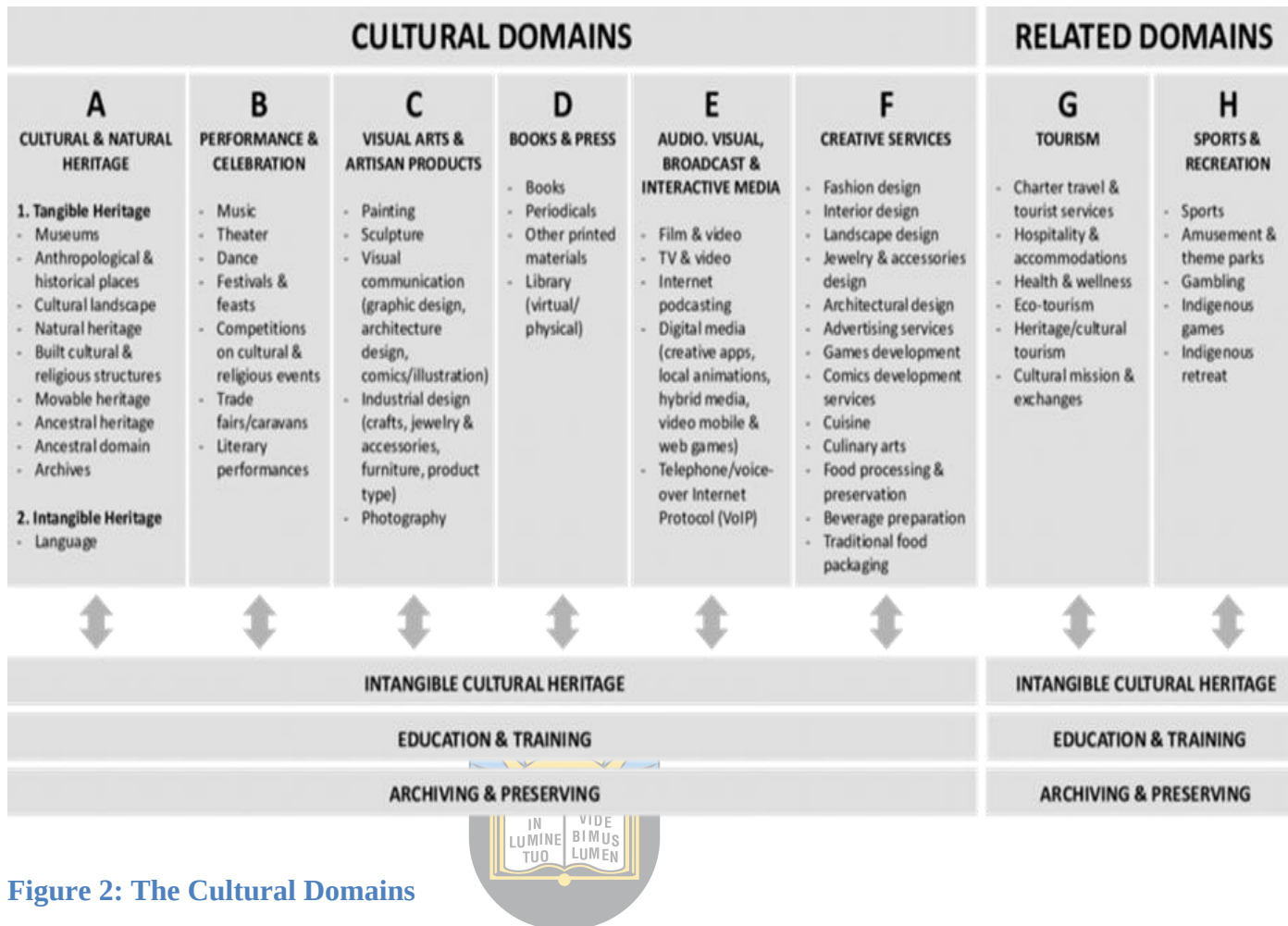


Figure 2: The Cultural Domains

2.7 The history and importance of the arts

Hauptfleisch (2007: 1) looks at the history of theatre in South Africa. He recognises that our history is not complete because the contributions of indigenous people were often overlooked by the colonial and Apartheid governments. Our documented history starts in 1652 with the creation of the Dutch outpost in the Cape of Good Hope. Most historical sources refer to several western-style performances by white explorers and sailors before the formal settlement of the Cape Peninsula as the first theatre in South Africa; ignoring the rich performance history of the indigenous groups that were already settled in the country. The oldest known performances in the region are the shamanic dances among the San, recorded in certain San rock art paintings some of them up to 25 000 years old (Mhiripiri 2008: 220). Later the Zulu, Xhosa, Sotho and other peoples brought a rich heritage of social, religious and military performance and ritual to the region. These were often linked events such as wedding ceremonies, initiation ceremonies, harvest festivals. Still, there is also proof that elements of dance, singing, and music were integrated into everyday social activities (Mhiripiri 2008: 132). Some of these traditional

performances are still practised today, but most were lost as the European influence led to the erosion of indigenous practices and westernisation (Mhiripiri 2008: 8). However, the military marches, bands and songs that the early settlers brought with them from their native land are part of our history and influenced South African culture as did the Shakespeare performances that early British settlers performed amongst themselves. Every ethnic group used performance as a way to express their identity and history, but for most of our history we were segregated as stated before racism existed before Apartheid; Europeans, for the most part, associated African culture with backwardness and savagery (Hauptfleisch 2007: 1). Yet there is no denying that traditional African performance styles helped South African theatre develop its unique character. In his study on the development of workshop theatre in South Africa Fleishman (1991: 45) discusses how the Nguni oral narrative tradition influenced performing arts in the country by comparing it to the European carnival style of performance pointing out all the similarities between the styles. This practice of families gathering after a long day to listen to fables and myths was once a fundamental part of family life for the Nguni groups in Southern Africa. Fleishman (1991: 43) describes how these performances were often interactive involving vocal dramatics, mime, dance, and song. The stories were passed from generation to generation, but each telling was different as each narrator brings their unique style to the story often improvising and encouraging audience participation. Often the story would change based on the audience with narrators focusing more on the actions of the characters; narrators would mimic their physical gestures and the sounds that characters would make to keep the interest of the children (Fleishman 1991: 42). Where the audience was mostly adult, the emphasis would be on the detail of the story, and character motivation and development are central to good narration. A mixed audience would challenge the narrator to use all these techniques in the correct combination to produce a good show for all (Fleishman 1991: 42). Elements of this style of storytelling have been incorporated into modern South African performance, particularly the workshop theatre style which gained popularity in the 1980s. During the days of colonialism, the powers that be tried to keep the urban mainstream theatre as free of African influence as possible; however with the emergence of the missionary educated black elite who after being exposed to the written form of plays began to seek access to the world of theatre (Fleishman 1991: 49). Another factor that contributed to Africans taking a greater interest in theatre was the migrant labour system created to provide cheap labour for the cities which were experiencing rapid industrialisation from the late nineteenth century. The system accelerated the urbanisation of Africans, leading to the development of townships with their cultural rhythm that was distinct from rural African culture. As urban Africans were

exposed to different art forms, they embraced and fused this new art with their traditional art forms (Fleishman 1991: 51). Even with these developments theatre still managed to keep its reputation as a white-only establishment managing to deny the black majority access for many years until in the 1930's white liberal 'culture brokers' began to organise theatre workshops and the first black musical shows. However, the few Africans who were given this opportunity were the elite missionary educated Africans who were not at first looking to change theatre (Fleishman 1991: 52). Instead, they sought to assimilate for the most part to the western style. To achieve this, some early African playwrights often wrote plays in proper formal English. These plays did not have mass appeal even if many did discuss the struggles of the urban African. The musicals developed during this era resonated more with the African public (Fleishman 1991: 53).

2.8 Theatre under Apartheid

With the formal introduction of Apartheid laws in the 40's the subjugation black culture continued and mainstream theatre continued to be dominated by white creative and as a result generated a large white following. It is interesting to note that it was during this time that township theatre emerged and grew in quality and quantity; spurred on the growing urban black population's demand for entertainment and creative expression. In 1959 a new group of white 'culture brokers' headed by Ian Bernhardt under the production company Union Artists, produced *King Kong* the first township musical in collaboration with black playwright Gibson Kente (Fleishman 1991: 51). *King Kong* stood out because of its ability to attract and impress an interracial audience. *King Kong* was very successful in touring all over the country and gaining a great deal of media exposure. Its success resulted in many white playwrights and directors seeing the value in township theatre and investing in productions with mostly black casts. The production also encouraged young black artists to take the theatre seriously as a career. Black acting troupes and production teams spawned in the nation's urban centres, such as Cape Town, Durban, Port Elizabeth (Fleishman 1991: 319). Encouraged by the success of *King Kong* Gibson Kente continued to create other musicals; under Union Artists he produced *Manana*, *The Jazz Prophet* and *Sikalo*, and in 1967 he formed his own company becoming the first independent black theatre producer based solely in the townships (Fleishman 1991: 56). As popular as this musical style was, it was criticised for romanticising black people's lives under Apartheid. The story of *King Kong* does not discuss politics. Instead, it focuses on the struggles and triumph of its main character (Fleming 2009: 200). Some musicals of this era like

have been accused of promoting negative stereotypes of black Africans portraying them as simple child-like clowns that love to sing and dance. The fact that the producers and directors of that show were all whites using the talents of an all-black cast to make money and gain prestige has always been cited as a reason why it failed to connect with black audiences. Being that it was based on an idealised idea of traditional rural life, it had no relation to the black experience in South Africa (Fleishman 1991: 58). However, some productions of this area did honestly portray the plight of black South Africans, but these did not have the mainstream success of their cheerful white friendly counterparts.

The political climate of the country changed dramatically with the rise of the Black Consciousness Movement in the 1970s which helped revive the spirit of activism in South Africa; which had taken a knock following the exile and detention of many prominent anti-apartheid activists of the late 1950s and early 1960s (Fleishman 1991: 58). This social unrest led to the rise of protest theatre, by 1976 the political the country was economically and culturally isolated because of the momentum that the anti-apartheid movement was gaining overseas; leading to many nations boycotting South African products, sports, and arts (Hauptfleisch 2007: 16). This era heralded the first genuine attempts at transcending the racial, linguistic and other barriers at understanding through the process of theatre both through the workshop format and through the conscious employment of a polyglot linguistic form plays started making use of South African urban lingo such as Tsotsitaal (Gangster Language). There was a shift in the theatrical paradigm, away from the institutionalised and imported European forms towards the more informal yet pervasive indigenous performance tradition. There was a growing awareness of the need for a broader interpretation of what constituted theatre in South Africa. After, the Soweto uprisings theatre practitioners discovered the power of performance as a socio-political weapon. The plays written during this period are often described as angry and confrontational. The productions of this era were often uncomfortable to watch as they portrayed painful realities in a very raw way. Theatre was no longer a joyous affair filled with beauty, dance, and energy but playwrights felt that they had a moral obligation to help to conscientise and mobilise the people (Hauptfleisch 2007: 17). In the 1980s the style and content of protest theatre broadened to encompass numerous additional issues such as homosexuality, feminism (notably at the Market, where several women's play festivals were hosted), as well as a variety of environmental matters. This style of protest theatre was no doubt influenced by the growth of student protest theatre, which in turn was encouraged by the growth in the popularity of art festivals. Often students from liberal white universities could perform

anti-apartheid productions at the Grahamstown Arts Festival. During this time, South African playwriting turned into something unique, a blend of the many traditions inherited from Africa, Europe, and America (Hauptfleisch 2007: 18). However, the late 1980s was a time of great distress; the worsening economic recession, unending state of emergency and mounting violence was turning the whole social structure into jeopardy. A debilitating sense of insecurity affected everything, including the theatre; many performers left the industry. As the 1990s approached the future of theatre was unclear, there was concern about the declining quality of productions which was in part influenced by the insecurity in funding. (Hauptfleisch 2007: 18).

2.9 Theatre after Democracy

The 1990's though proved to be an era of possibilities as the apartheid government fell and democracy rose. As the new South Africa sought a cultural identity, the notion culture, including art and theatre was redefined to allow for the full spectrum of cultural endeavour by all the citizens (Hauptfleisch 2007: 20). Protest theatre rapidly fell out of favour as audiences sought entertainment, celebration, and laughter; after years of struggle, the people were tired of crying. Within a year, as the boycotts fell away, funding started streaming in, and theatre became more of the commercial entertainment industry. Not that there weren't attempts at addressing new and socially relevant issues; for example, *Poison* by David Kramer and Taliep Petersen offered a modern take of Othello set in the Cape Flats focussing on the drug and gangster scene. Other popular themes include sexism and health issues (HIV/AIDS in particular) these were to become dominant issues in the community and politically conscious theatre. Plays with themes of reconciliation and forgiveness were also very popular at this time especially during the Truth and Reconciliation Commission which some scholars argue was a dramatic display and form of performance art in its own right (Hauptfleisch 2007: 21). However, finances and the realities of a changing, shifting and to some crumbling industry began to intrude on the excitement surrounding the new South Africa. Crucially, as the decade progressed the debate surrounding the role and funding of the arts became a critical matter for arts administrators leading to disintegration of the Performing Arts Boards the formation of the National Arts Council as central funding body for all arts practitioners in 1997 with less funding than before and with the funding spread over a much wider field to include the fine arts, crafts, and heritage. Many independent co-ops were being formed in an attempt to provide to balance off the shortfall; there was also an increase in busking and independent theatre and venues

(Hauptfleisch 2007: 21). Privatisation, rationalisation, equity, downsizing, and job creation became some of the buzzwords in the industry - as it was in all other sectors of public and private life in the new, South Africa. Amid this uncertainty, the theatre and performing arts remained dynamic, though the straitened economy and the altered attitudes about the importance of the arts certainly impacted heavily on the industry as a whole, altering the actual form that the performances take and the way they are presented and framed. The theatre has stood the test of time; however, the shape and functional processes of the industry have changed dramatically. (Hauptfleisch 2007:22)

2.10 Conclusion

In the twenty-first century governments all over the world have come to recognise the importance of arts and culture for economic growth and social cohesion. This shift led to an increased focus on cultural and creative industries policymakers are looking for the best strategies to harness the power of art to create economic and social change significantly in the developing world where issues of poverty are an overwhelming concern. As a result, there is now an emphasis on the economic value of the arts, and many artists feel that the intrinsic value of art is being overlooked. At the same time, this shift has encouraged a debate around the value of the arts. Scholars, often don't agree on the best way to measure the value of art. A new field in economics known as Ofan economics some people believe that economics and the arts inherently don't mix and that it is impossible to value the arts using economic measurements believe that art and economics are already mixed and work for hand in hand. One thing is clear people's attitudes towards the arts are changing their more respected an industry as people start to understand their potential to aid economic growth. Although it may be difficult to measure the value of the arts, it's clear that they are very valuable. Every country is different and as long as the policy developed is tailor-made for the cultural fingerprint of that country and is implemented with clear goals and the tools to measure the attainment of those goals the arts will continue to grow but for this to happen the debate around the value of the arts must continue. More voices need to join the chorus. South Africa's creative industries have great potential to create growth in our economy. We have a unique country with a unique history and cultural footprint. UNESCO's framework has allowed us to be able to measure and track the growth of our cultural industry; as a result, we were able as a nation to build policies and plans around the growth of these industries. The robust nature of the urban renewal projects in big cities like Johannesburg proves that the government is taking art seriously. However,

having an acceptable policy is not the same as successfully implementing them and often that is where government falls short.



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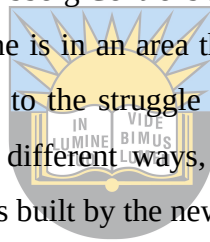
Chapter 3: Methodology

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I discuss how the research was conducted. What research philosophies were utilised and what methods were used. This chapter explores how the research design was chosen and how the methods used were the most appropriate to answer the research question. It also highlights how the history and demographics of each of the theatres influence the type of approach the researcher took with this research.

3.2 Methodology

This study has focused on data collection in two areas: Selborne is an affluent suburb in the heart of East London; and Ginsberg, a township in King Williams Town. These two sites are very different from each other. The Ginsberg Centre is a new cultural complex, while the Guild Theatre is a theatre building. Also, one is in an area that is associated with a strong colonial history and the other with strong ties to the struggle against apartheid. However, they both represent history, culture and art in different ways, although the Guild was built by the government of old while Ginsberg was built by the new democratic government.



3.2.1 Research Design

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This study follows a mixed-method research design; this type of research design makes use of both qualitative and quantitative research methods. The data collected using these methods are then merged to create a final product. Mixed methods are used when the researcher feels that one research design is not enough to answer the research question fully. Quantitative research is useful for finding the statics behind phenomena and tracking patterns, but it cannot examine the physiological and social factors that drive these patterns. Therefore certain types of research projects need to make use of mixed methods to be able to be effective.

Mixed methods were first being developed in the 1930s. First researchers used quantitative multiple data sets to answer research questions and test the reliability of their results. The results were so well received that researchers started using qualitative data methods to tackle complexities in their research by not being afraid to look at their research problem from a different perspective. There are four main types of mixed methods: convergent parallel,

explanatory sequential, and exploratory sequential and embedded. In the convergent parallel, both types of data are collected at the same time the data is then merged to address the research question. With explanatory, you start with quantitative data, then used qualitative data to enhance or explain your quantitative results. Exploratory sequential is when you start with qualitative data then use quantitative data to enhance and your qualitative results. In embedded mixed research, one data set is given priority over the other. For example, your qualitative data set can be your primary data set, and the quantitative data is used to support the results from the qualitative data set.

This study made use of the exploratory sequential mixed method; here, the study started with in-depth interviews with the managers of the theatre complexes, followed by questionnaires. These consisted of both open-ended and closed-ended questions that were given to the patrons of the theatre complexes. The in-depth interview enabled an understanding of how the management of the theatre companies saw their role in the community. At the same time, the questionnaires gave demographic information about the patrons of the theatre as well as their views about the role of the theatre. Their demographics were helpful in not only understanding the dominant culture at the theatre, but the attitudes about identity, creativity, and transformation. In-depth depth interviews were conducted with key role players of each of the theatres: one gentleman was a choreographer, who has worked with many different theatres in Buffalo City and other areas in the Eastern Cape. These interviews proved to be very insightful; and they were able to cultivate an understanding of the pressures of production and design, as well as some of the politics around the performing arts.

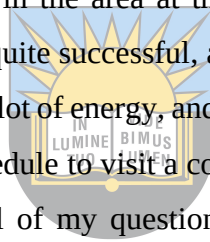
3.2.2 Research Methods

It would have been ideal for interviewing a performer, an administrator and a manager from each theatre so that each type of worker was represented. However, this was not possible, as not all the relevant people could avail themselves to be interviewed. Those that were available for interviews were interviewed extensively and all were very knowledgeable about the topic at hand. Most of the interviewees were involved in management and administration. Only one active artist was interviewed at length; as mentioned, he was a dancer and choreographer at the Performing Arts Foundation: an organisation that teaches dance to children from underprivileged communities.

Each interview was about 40 minutes long; they all had a semi-formal structure, and although there was an interview guide, the structure was not too strict. Adhering to ethical practise the principles of full disclosure were adhered to before commencement of the interview.

The interview guide contained four main topics, the first being about access to funding and economic sustainability. The second group of questions centred around artists and their livelihoods; the third section considered the demographics of the theatre audience. Then the final section addressed the history of the theatres and how they changed. The researcher covered all the interview guide topics. However, when the respondent introduced interesting discussion points during the interview, the process was flexible enough to explore these new topics instead of dismissing them in favour of the interview guide. The interviews were conducted onsite at the respective two theatres, in East London and Kin Williams Town

The respondents all spoke openly and without embarrassment. One respondent, the founder of a dance studio in Ginsberg, was not in the area at the time but agreed to an interview via Whatsapp. This change proved to be quite successful, although a face to face interview would have been ideal. The respondent had a lot of energy, and his enthusiasm for the arts came across as he took out time from his busy schedule to visit a coffee shop and take part in a 40 minutes long Whatsapp call. He answered all of my questions with the passion of a man that has dedicated his life to the performing arts.



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While interviewing with the head facilitator at the Steve Biko centre, for instance, the researcher asked for permission to have some of their regular patrons participate in the project by answering questionnaires. The respondent suggested that an online questionnaire be created that he could e-mail to the Centres database of loyal theatre patrons. Therefore an online questionnaire was created, using a free online survey website that helps users create their questionnaires and organises the data collected.

In addition to these online questionnaires, 30 hard copy questionnaires were printed and distributed to patrons before the start of a show. These were a little harder to administer but were important to lessen reliance on the online questionnaires. The hardcopy questionnaires were slightly different from the internet questionnaires because the website I used to make the online questionnaires had a standard length, of 20 questions and had a fixed format that had to be worked around.

However, both questionnaires had three distinct parts; demographic questions, respondent's connection to the theatre and the theatres' impact on the community. The hard was longer as it included a section where respondents were asked how much they willing to pay to watch a live show and how much they are willing to pay to go to a festival. I left these questions in this questionnaire as would have been interesting to see how much people would be willing to pay for entertainment, especially in an economically disadvantaged area like Ginsberg.

Planning this research, I believed that I would be able to get a sample of 25 participants from the Steve Biko Arts Centre. I read about their arts development program '*Ababelusi*' (SBF 2019: 1) and saw its state of the art theatre facilities and thought that I would have more than enough willing participants. However, the sample did not meet my expectations. I was only able to complete 12 questionnaires due to circumstances that I did not foresee.

Respondent 3 suggested that I make use of Steve Biko Centre's Facebook page and the centre's database of patrons. However, it was not possible because the managers of the centre as a whole would not allow it. As an outsider, they ruled that I could not have access to their database or Facebook page. I respected their decision and resolved to administer the questionnaires manually during one of their busy days or when their programs were underway. This strategy has its problems; for instance, the *Abelusi* program was suspended because of lack of funds in 2019. And the theatre was not as busy with productions as it has been in the past. As a result, the indoor theatre was converted into a movie theatre. I was able to speak to some of the students that use the library facility at the theatre, but most were underage, and it would have been unethical to interview them without their parents' consent. The ones that were of age were not willing to help when I asked about theatre: they said that they did not consider themselves patrons of the theatre as they did not care for these shows.

I was able to reach my sample with the assistance of Respondent 3, who invited me to open auditions for a production that were held at the theatre by some officials from the Department of Arts and Culture. I was able to interview most of the people who were at the audition, although some refused to participate. My sample, therefore, may be small but I believe that it is still valid as most of those who answered the questionnaire were artists that have had a great deal of experience with the Steve Biko Centre. This sample also represents a stark contrast to the Guild's sample, being made up of mostly youth under 31 and being almost 100% male. When I discussed my sample demographics with Respondent 3, he confirmed that many of the

young men in the surrounding communities were indeed involved in dance and drama. The demographics were surprising as the arts are often stereotyped as a female-dominated field.

Only one woman was willing to participate in the questionnaire in King Williams Town, while the rest of the participants were males. There were a few other women present, but these refused to participate. The questionnaires were administered and filled in during an audition at the theatre. The majority of the people at the audition were also male. It was also the men more who were forthcoming and friendly. It was interesting to see how the men dominated this space, especially since the arts have been traditionally believed to be a feminine career choice.

3.2.3 Sampling

Non-probability sampling was used to conduct this study. The researcher had particular people that were targeted to be respondents. The manager of the Guild Theatre and co-ordinator of the theatre programme at the Steve Biko Centre were considered key informants. Still, the staff at both theatres and the patrons also targeted. The theatres themselves are relatively small and don't have a huge staff component; therefore, only three in-depth interviews were conducted in total. The third person interviewed was the founder of a performing arts foundation whose mandate it is to improve the lives of township children through dance. As mentioned previously, as a dancer in Buffalo City, this informant had worked with both the Guild and Steve Biko centre in some capacity. In the interview, he was questioned about the experience as the founder of a non-profit performing arts foundation and not specifically about his affiliation with the two theatres.

The interviews proved to be very insightful because the interviewees understood the culture of their organisation and answered the questions confidently. At the very beginning of the study, the researcher made use of judgement sampling by choosing the first respondents based on who were the gatekeepers at each of the institutions. This strategy was simple in the case of the Guild as the manager's contact information was available on the theatre's website. He was also very accommodating and enthusiastic about the study. At the Steve Biko Centre, things were more complicated as the website and articles searched did not give any information about the management of the theatre. Therefore the marketing and events assistant was contacted because her contact information was published on the centre's website. She was kind enough to introduce me to the relevant respondents as she was not directly involved in the theatre.

After these initial interviews with the gatekeepers of these organisations, a snowballing technique was used to look for other participants. The Guild manager offered to post a link to the online version of my questionnaire on the theatre's Facebook page and conduct short face to face interviews with some of their patrons during shows; which were of great assistance. The Steve Biko centre also offered to e-mail my questionnaire to their theatre mailing list and also allowed me to interact with and interview patrons. For the Guild Theatre, the sample eventually consisted of 28 participants. Participants were aged in their 30's and 40's. Only one participant was under 21 years old, and five were under 31 years.

Interestingly I had more senior citizens complete the questionnaire than young; altogether eight of my participants were over the age of 50 compared to the six who were younger than thirty. For the sake of this study, those under the age of 31 can be defined as young adults; under 41's are defined as adults and over 50's as senior citizens. As expected when considering the history of the theatre, 81% of the participants identified themselves as white, while 7% identified themselves as coloured. Indians also comprised 7% of the sample, while black participants only made up 4% of the sample. In other words, only one participant out of 27 identified as black. In terms of gender, 78% of the sample was female and 22% male. It is safe to say that the majority of the Guild theatre's questionnaire participants were white women in their 30's. The age group with the most participants is those aged between 31 and 40, and 26% of the participants fall into this age group. The age group of between 41 and 50 comes a close second, this being a total of 22% of the participants. Only 19% were in their twenties, and only 4% were younger than 21. In this sample, older people are very well represented, and young people, especially those who are younger than 21, are underrepresented. For the Steve Biko Centre, the 12 respondents that answered to the questionnaire were mainly young people. Some 67% of the participants were under the age of 30, and the sample was 100% black, which makes sense when you consider the area where the Centre is found- Ginsburg being a township in the Eastern Cape. The Centre's namesake, Steve Biko, was passionate about the development of black youth and the centre is staying true to his legacy by having a youth-orientated programme.

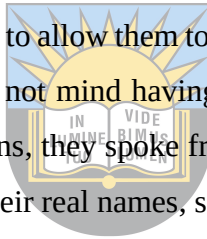
3.2.4 Profile of in Depth Key Respondents

Code	Gender	Theatre	Experience	Professional Rank	Niche in the arts
Respondent 1	Male	Guild	28 years	Management	Actor

Respondent 2	Male	Private	Over 20 years	Founder and management	Choreographer and Dancer
Respondent 3	Male	Steve Biko	About 6 years	Co-ordinator and supervisor	Actor

3.2.5 Ethical Considerations

All the respondents signed a consent form, and they all understood what was required of them. Respondents were informed that the interview would be recorded and it was communicated that they could withdraw their consent at any time before during or after the interview. They only shared their opinions and very little private information; therefore, they were willing to discuss these topics on record. The questionnaires do not ask for names; instead, they are numbered to keep track of the different despondence. The data collected for the study was kept in a secure file on the researcher's laptop. Interview transcripts and recordings were uploaded on to Nvivo, but copies can be found saved in secure locations on the researcher's laptop. The names of the respondents are known to the researcher but are not used in the project. This was to respect the respondents' privacy and to allow them to speak freely with no fear of judgement. The respondents spoke freely and did not mind having their names published in this project. As representatives of their organisations, they spoke freely about their experiences. However, the researcher decided against using their real names, so they are referred to as respondents 1, 2 and 3.



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The questionnaires were different as the researcher did not ask for the names of any of the participants. However, those who filled in the physical questionnaire were asked to sign a consent form those who participated in the online survey did not add any signature to their questionnaires. The researcher was committed to being honest and open with the participants, and did not hide information from them or mislead people about the project. No material incentives were offered for participation in the project. All participants were over the age of 18 years; therefore, there was no need to ask for parental consent.

3.2.6 Data Analysis

Mixed-analysis was the most appropriate form of data analysis strategy for this project as both qualitative and quantitative methods of data collection are utilised. In mixed research, this method of analysis is vital as it allows the researcher to be able to integrate the data collected from these two distinct styles of research into one coherent data set that can be used to answer

the research question. Mixed-analysis allows the researcher to explore all the ways in which the quantitative and qualitative data correlate and support each other to gain a well-rounded understanding of the topic at hand. Mixed-analysis involves the use of both quantitative and qualitative analytical techniques within the methodological framework, which the researcher decides to adopt in their research (Macrothink institute 2013: 3). This means that there are many different ways of approaching mixed analyses researchers are not in agreement on which approaches work best.

However some researchers have tried to create step by step guidelines for instance; Greene (2007: 155) identified four phases of analysis: (a) data transformation, (b) data correlation and comparison, (c) analysis for inquiry conclusions and inferences, and (d) using aspects of the analytic framework of one methodological tradition within the analysis of data from another tradition. Onwuegbuzie and Teddlie (2003) on the other hand developed a seven-step process for mixed analyses: (1) data reduction, (2) data display, (3) data transformation, (4) data correlation (5) data consolidation, (6) data comparison, and (7) data integration (Macrothink institute 2013: 5). The seven-step process is more concise but also has a simplicity that makes it perfect for this dissertation. However, Greene's model has fewer steps the steps are not laid out as clearly as Onwuegbuzie and Teddlie's model.

The analysis of the interviews conducted was done using Envivo and a free online survey site. The survey was first developed on the popular site Survey Monkey, but the rates were costly, and it was not very user-friendly. Therefore a decision was taken to develop a new survey using a site called Freesurveyonline survey, and this was the best survey for this study. An online survey was created, and the managers at the Guild theatre were kind enough to post a link to the survey on their Facebook page.

3.2.7 Reliability and Validity

High-quality research can evoke trust in scholars by establishing trustworthiness. Researchers understand that for your research to be considered trustworthy, it must demonstrate that it is both valid and reliable. These two constructs are the very pillars of trustworthiness. According to (Phelan and Wren 2006:1) "Reliability is the degree to which an assessment tool produces stable and consistent results". In other words, if another researcher used your methodology and methods on a similar sample, their results could be similar yours. Reliability indicates universality in research and an understanding that the outcome of your research can be applied

to similar situations. Validity refers to how well your research tools measure what it is purported to be under scrutiny. Here validity does not ask if results are consistent but whether the methods and tools used to gain results are sound (Phelan and Wren 2006:1). Thus a broken scale can give you a consistent reading of your weight but is still incorrect. In the end, reliability is a necessary but not sufficient precondition for validity you need reliable instruments to have high validity of outcome measures (Nyika 2018: 18).

The question of trustworthiness in mixed research is difficult because it is a relatively new field of research. Combining both quantitative and qualitative research creates what Onwuegbuzie and Johnson (2006: 49) call the problem of integration. Both these research methodologies have their ideas about what makes a research project valid and reliable, and the two schools of thought are not in agreement. Because quantitative research tries to create facts; the core belief in quantitative research is that there is an objective truth that must be uncovered and understood. This is in stark contrast to qualitative research which tends to focus on capturing the authenticity of people's lived experiences. Therefore in the former, the main problem lies in objectivity and measurement while the former struggles with using text to represent subjective experiences authentically.



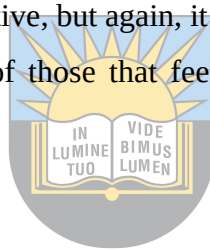
Furthermore, many qualitative researchers (postmodernists) reject the concept of validity based on their rejection of the notion of universal rationality and truth. In qualitative research, especially in the modern era, truth is a subjective notion that is based on how each individual interprets their world so what is not valid to you may be valid to the next person. These two approaches to trustworthiness are so distinct that it is difficult to integrate them. Nyika (2018: 18-19) suggests a simple solution to this when analysing data and findings: to separate the quantitative and qualitative parts of the research, and treat them differently, and once this is done the two can be compared to see how they relate. This is the approach that this research takes. Other scholars reject this approach as too simplistic, but this 'simplistic' approach works well with this dissertation because it adopted a basic concurrent mixed design where the quantitative and qualitative data were collected separately at approximately the same time. Therefore analysing the research separately and comparing the results to see how they relate to each other is the best approach.

In this study, trustworthiness is a matter of integrity on the researchers' part. The researcher has been transparent about the methodology and methods that they used to conduct the study. When things did not go according to plan, this has been described. The researcher also did their

best to meet the standards of statistical accuracy and authenticity that quantitative and qualitative researches require respectively. Hence, the research possesses the attributes of validity and reliability.

3.2.8 Limitation of the Study

The study was limited in its scope focusing only on Buffalo City Metropolitan Municipality (BCMM) which is a relatively small area compared to Cape Town or Johannesburg. However, often bigger metropolitan areas are subject to more academic research than their smaller counterparts. A limited budget and time frame also constrained the project. Only three in-depth interviews were conducted which falls short of the amount that the researcher required; this is too small of a sample to be representative; all those interviewed are male two are black, and one is white. Although the interviewees were knowledgeable, they could only speak from their lived experience. As a result, the study does not paint a full picture of the state of the arts. The quantitative data was more representative, but again, it would have been ideal to have a bigger sample and also have the opinions of those that feel alienated from the theatre as all the participants are theatre lovers.



3.3 Conclusion

The theoretical framework and methodology of a research project are very important. The theoretical framework focuses on the underlining ideas that assisted in shaping the project. The methodology outlines the tools and techniques that were utilised to collect and analyse data, but both are integral parts of any project. The researcher believes that despite its limitations, this project is important and that the methodology used is well suited for a project of its nature. In the next chapter, we will look at the information that was gathered using this methodology.

Chapter 4: The Main Event: Analysis of the Data

4.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to present and analyse the findings of this study. The themes that emerged from the data are discussed, and quotes are taken from the interview transcripts to demonstrate why certain conclusions were made. Three key qualitative interviews were conducted: One at the Steve Biko Centre in Ginsberg, the other was done at the Guild Theatre. Respondent 2 was out of town; therefore, he was interviewed over the phone using Whatsapp chat. All the interviews took about 45 minutes and were very informal and conversational. The questionnaires were developed on 'Survey to Go' a website for designing questionnaires. I made use of the Guild Theatre's Facebook page to distribute the survey to the patrons of the Guild.

I was not allowed to access the Steve Biko Centre's (SBC) Facebook page and therefore had to administer the questionnaires manually. Therefore, I decided to attend an open audition at the SBC, where the facilitator introduced me, and I was allowed to interact with the patrons and get them to fill in the questionnaire. I also had some informal conversations with the patrons while they were answering the questionnaires. A few patrons were not willing to answer the questionnaire but were happy to talk about the SBC. These conversations gave me some insight into the reputation of the centre and the role it plays in the community.

Moreover, Nvivo and Free Survey Online were utilised in the organisation, interpretation, and analysis of the data and these programs assisted in simplifying and improving the presentation and analysis of the data. The data is used to answer the research questions laid out at the start of the study. The researcher could link some of the themes that emerged from the data to the theories discussed in chapter 2.

4.2 Economics and the Performing Arts

The primary question; how can performing art institutions be more profitable was the hardest to answer, since it is often not only a question of profits but of overall sustainability. The question I posed was whether it was possible for theatres to not rely solely on outside funding, but like other businesses, be able to show a profit and be self-sufficient. The topic of funding and the challenges of running a theatre program was very interesting; as an outsider, I gained

a new understanding of the business side of the performance. One of the misconceptions that were challenged was the idea of theatres' main source of income comes from staging its productions. I did not understand the funding structure and how theatres use funding; this limited understanding influenced the way my research questions were shaped and how I framed the questions in the interview. The respondents were very helpful and explained the intricacies of the business very clearly. It then became very clear that funding is very important to running a theatre, but both theatres in BCMM also had additional sources of income to sustain them if their prime funding dried up. The importance of state funding and the challenges of securing and sustaining state funding were very prominent topics in the interviews conducted. These topics highlighted the role of the performing arts in the community as a tool to assist economic growth and development.

4.2.1 Cultural Industry vs Creative Industry

The literature review touched on the debate on how to conceptualise the performing arts as a business. Here some people feel that conventional business and economic principles can be used when running performing arts organisations. De Oliveira (2017: 91) notes that those who belong to this school of thought argue against government subsidies because of the tendency of arts organisations to be a drain on the government's financial assets. However, the more prominent view is that; the performing arts produce positive externalities that cannot be compared to their market price; therefore, conventional market forces are inadequate, and government support is necessary. Under this school of thought, the performing arts can be seen as a merit good (De Oliveira 2017: 53).

That is the reason that Galloway and Dunlop (2007: 29) argued against the United Kingdom's policymakers tendency to include the performing arts under their definition of creative industries alongside broadcasting and advertising. They argue that this caused policy-makers to underestimate the value of the arts, as Cultural creativity is distinct from other types of creativity as it makes goods that can generate positive externalities. All of the respondents were of the second school of thought; none felt that the performing arts would ever function as a truly private industry because of the role that the arts have in society. An organisation such as a theatre plays an important role in the community.

Respondent 1 helped me understand this at; first, we discussed the costs of running a theatre like the Guild, and he explained how funding in the art world. It was interesting to note that

funding is for specific projects and not running costs. The Guild Theatre also makes the most money via running costs from renting out the theatre to artists and productions. The ticket price is determined by the company or artist who is renting the Guild; the Theatre gets a small commission on ticket sales. They only keep full profits from ticket sales when the show is the Guilds own in-house production. The company or artist thus pays the Guild as a venue: the water and lights are included. The money made from ticket sales is ploughed back into the theatre's overhead costs such as electricity, water, and basic maintenance. Funding from an external source, on the other hand, is mainly used for upgrades and renovations. The SBC is also run on similar terms but has extra support from the funding that the centre receives as a whole in my interview with Respondent 3 was less enthusiastic about talking about the day to day running of the theatre. However, he mentioned that the theatre did not host many outside companies. That part of the theatre was converted into a movie theatre this helped bring in an income when no theatre productions were being staged. I also noticed that the center offers various services and the theatre does benefit financially from the conference faculties and restaurant at the Centre. Both of these can be hired out by companies who need these services for their business.



The portion of the interviews dedicated to the running of the theatres was very short as I discovered both theatres have educational and outreach programmes. The majority of each interview was dedicated to discussing the outreach programmes that the theatre run and the role that the performing arts play in community building and social cohesion. This was also an important topic in the questionnaires all the respondents agreed that the theatres were an important part of society. The guild runs a schools arts programme that provides arts and culture teachers to underprivileged schools. The SBC has an after school programme Abelusi which is aimed at developing the talents of the young people in the community.

4.1.2 Socio-Economic Development of the Local Community

UNESCO's discussions of the importance of the arts in economic development highlight how the arts produce positive externalities that transcend their commercial value. Of the 42 participants who responded to the questionnaires, 92.8% agreed that theatre provides more than just entertainment to the community. When asked how the local theatre contributes to the development of the community participants highlighted the theatre's role as an education and training organisations. At the Guild, 26% of participants cited the theatre's role as an incubator

for young talent creating opportunities for them to grow their career prospects as the most important way that the theatre contributes the development the local community. Respondent 1 spoke about the Guild's role in developing young talent and how many young artists started their careers at the Guild before moving on to bigger and greater things. As he put it:

“Making it in the Eastern Cape is difficult; it's better in Jo-burg. A lot of our talent, unfortunately, leave school and leave, you know and go and study in Cape Town Performing Arts and then year find work in Cape Town, Jo-burg or where ever. They look for job opportunities you know spread their wings”.

At the SBC 54% of the participants echoed this sentiment and Respondent 3 spoke at length about the many young artists who came through the Abelusi program and went on to study in Cape Town or Johannesburg and travelled the world performing.

The Abelusi program is a great source of pride for the SBC many spoke the participant fondly of it. Unfortunately, the program has been suspended. Respondent 3 explained that due to funding problems, they had to restructure it, but once that process was complete, it would make a return. It's a two-year program and then everyone capable of any type of art in terms of if you are a dancer you can join as well as if you can sing, write or direct. However, you must have your matric so that after the program, the SBC can help you further your studies in the arts. The young people who join the programme are called Abelusi (shepherds) and work as facilitators for the children's' training programmes run by the SBC. The children's' programme consists of two groups Imbewu (Seedlings) which caters to children from 6 to 10 years and Amathole (calves) which caters to children older than ten years. When asked about the mission of the program, he said:

“With Abelusi, we want to help the young artist learn how to share their talents if you can dance teach the next person and they, in turn, can teach you their craft. We don't train you so that you can only be on stage; we also want choreographers, writers and directs. We hope that at the end of the program, you will be a well-rounded person. Then we hand over the Imbewu and Amathole to you so that you can be able to teach young children.”

The theatres both have very close relationships with the schools in their communities as they serve as venues for local school productions. Often the staffs at the theatre assist the teachers

as they have more experience working on theatre productions. The Guild also works with the department of arts and culture on a project that supports arts and culture teachers at disadvantaged schools by providing them with trained artists to teach the technical side of the arts. Often teachers are placed in schools to teach the art subject, but they don't know it; they haven't studied the art. They were prepped for history, but now they have to fill a gap and teach arts and culture at school. They have artists teaching all over Queenstown, Mthatha, Alwal North, Butterworths, Grahamstown and have even managed to develop a special bag that can be used to store and transport art supplies. They developed this bag because many of the schools they work with are very poor and cannot afford art supplies; therefore, the art teacher has to come to the school with supplies. The Guild also help the students at Lovedale FET College last year many of the fine arts student were art tutors at some of the schools. The Guild did not pay them; they were paid by one of the SETAs. It's not the only programme involving the Kids at Lovedale Collage they also do their light, sound and stage practicals at the Guild Theatre.

The educational role of the performing arts is not limited to the activities of big performing arts organisations like theatres. Small independent projects are also important to developing young talent. Respondent 2 dance foundation caters to children in underprivileged communities; where the parents cannot afford to pay for dance classes and so he offers them for free. He spoke about how he tried not to rely on donations to run the project; he also runs classes for older students and charges a fee reasonable to help with expenses, and assists in other projects as a paid choreographer. The children who dance with him also put on shows where the organisation makes money through ticket sales, but this only happens once or twice a year. However; non-profit organisations do rely heavily on donations, government and private funding. His organisation has benefited greatly from funding he explained that "with funding comes more recognition and when you are in the public domain and people are talking you can attract more donors and sponsors".

The important role art plays in the community can justify its dependence on funding. Some sectors within the arts can be run of the principles of free-market, but the performing arts organisations need support from local government and the community that they serve. As was mentioned in chapter 2; the government continues to support the arts because it recognises the key role that they play in promoting social cohesion and developing the potential of the youth. The findings show that the 3 organisations in the study play big roles in the cultural education of the youth. Education is very important to the development of any community and in

economics; scholars agree that it is a semi-public good that must be supported by the government for the greater good of society. Through their involvement in the wellbeing of schools in the community and the performing arts further demonstrates that they are vital to the economic and social development of the country.

4.2.3 Government Funding and the Development Agenda

This section focuses on the respondent's opinions on the role that the Department of Arts and Culture (DAC), local government play in the development of the performing arts in BCMM. It is very interesting to note that respondents had very strong opinions about the role of DAC in the Eastern Cape. However, each of the respondents represents a different part of the theatre landscape. Respondent 1 (Guild Theatre) was the most surprising; he had only positive comments about the Department's involvement in the theatre. Respondent 1 felt that DAC supported the Guild theatre the officials were visible throughout the year at the many arts at the many festivals around the province. The Guild oversees many arts festivals across the Eastern Cape, some of which are partially sponsored by DAC. Respondent 1 mentioned that they 'always had the support of the Department'.

"We have various programmes that are scheduled throughout the year and also various sectors of the province; Aliwal North, Port St Johns, Queenstown, Mthatha. The officials are always there; they have stuff all over the place and also for different art forms. So yes, we do feel supported by the department".

His enthusiasm took the researcher by surprise because the literature around the arts was very critical of the DAC. In retrospect, the Guilds good relationship with DAC because they have been in Theatre for a far longer time than the SBC because they have more experience, and also because it is a relatively large theatre with an established base of theatregoers. The Guild is also a prime venue for international troupes as it can stage large productions.

The other two respondents interviewed were much more critical of DAC. Both complained that the Department did not communicate effectively with artists. Respondent 2 was the most critical; he shared many stories detailing bad experiences he had with DAC, most of which involved funding applications. He spoke about how he applied for funding and did not receive any feedback even after calling the and going to DAC. Even when he did win a grant, the Department did not communicate the terms of the grant very well, and he was unsure of what

documents he needed to submit and experienced a delay in payment. Respondent 2 (From the SBC) also criticised DAC for not forming any kind of relationship with their beneficiaries. He pointed out that they did not follow-up at all, even after giving his organisation funding; he did not feel that they cared how the money was used. He felt that the Department needed to build relationships with theatre-makers in the field. Since DAC was not really in touch with what was happening, they only reached out to him after when his foundation was featured in a Daily Dispatch newspaper article and this after he had been fruitlessly communicating with them for two years.

When speaking about this topic, he was very agitated; it was clear that the memory upset him. This respondent questioned the expertise of DAC: he was not happy with how they planned their budgets, as certain art forms did not (in his opinion) get a fair share of the budget. He gave a concrete example of the Department's favouritism when allocating their budget: "the budget for media and equipment for one year is something ridiculous like R50 000, which is not even enough for a good camera. Meanwhile, they spend R300 000 on a choral choir festival for one day!"

Respondent 1 at the Guild Theatre felt that state funding could be improved, and that it was not always consistent. They sometimes had to reorganise their programs because certain grants were not received, and this was problematic because without funding certain projects would fail. To quote the respondent, he said: "We also get a grant from DAC which [we use] to employ our artists; it's a seasonal contract. When the funds come through, we operate when we don't; we can't. This is specifically true for the Arts Schools Program; where we employ artists to teach in schools in rural areas".

As stated previously, both respondents two and three lamented the lack of consistency and communication with DAC. Respondent 2 spoke about how he struggled to get feedback on an invoice that he sent to DAC and that he was only able to find answers through a mutual friend. Respondent 3 echoed this comment saying that DAC did not follow up on funding and that they did not conduct and progress checks. Respondent 3 also spoke about corruption and fraud in the funding system: "

"There are many problems that we try to address through this organisation; the arts can be tracked and managed better, for example, there are certain groups that we have never heard of, and we do not know their members, but they are still counted as functioning

groups. When you look at their reports, you find that they are still getting funding today. There are taking up resources that other functional groups could be using”.

Respondent 3 also spoke about favouritism within DAC, and he echoed many of the points that Respondent 2 highlighted. Although he said that the SBC had a good relationship with DAV and that they supported all their productions, he also spoke about some problems. Despite some financial support, and various successful productions and festivals that the SBC had run in 2017 and 2018, DAC did not renew their funding in 2019, and they were not given any explanation. He said such a communication breakdown was very common in their interactions with DAC: he also mentioned that at times when they interacted with DAC, the officials would sometimes arrive late and unprepared.

He also echoed Respondent 2's dissatisfaction with their budget complaining that DAC prioritized festivals and music concerts over youth development projects. He mentioned how expensive and wasteful it was for DAC to fly an artist to East London from Johannesburg for a December festival instead of using local artists and developing local musical talent. He also mentioned that there was a lack of professionalism in DAC that made corruption and fraud possible and that DAC did not keep a proper record or database of regional initiatives:

“My friend has an organisation that looks at the complaints of artists and some suggestions of the way forward from artists. There are many problems that we try to address through this organisation. The arts can be tracked and managed better. There are certain groups that we have never heard of, and we do not know their members, but they are still counted as functioning groups. When you look at their reports, you find that they are still getting funding today. There are taking up resources that other functional groups could be using”.

Respondent 3 also mentioned how smaller independent artists had a hard time receiving funding because of favouritism. He spoke quite openly about the privileged position the SBC finds itself in, and this is totally unlike the position of solo artists. He expressed concern about the struggles faced by independent companies that do not have a big name. He spoke about how people in the surrounding rural areas have to travel to town to access the facilities at the SBC. When it comes to festivals, productions and funding opportunities, the SBC is always the first to have access. Often they have to go out of their way to reach out to the surrounding communities. Respondent 3 felt that more could be done to develop the rural areas; “the talent

is there our people can perform they come out when we have auditions I just wish they could have something more substantial” he went on to explain that the few initiatives and festivals that they hold are not enough more can be done to develop the arts out in the villages so that they can use their talents to sustain their families. As the situation stands, they are very few professionals most artists that work with the centre are amateurs, especially those in the rural areas they lack the resources needed to hone their craft truly.

All the respondents agreed that it was difficult being a professional artist in a small town even though BCMM is a large metropolitan municipality most artists find it impossible to sustain a professional career without moving to the capital cities of Johannesburg, Pretoria or Cape Town. Respondent 3 is right to believe that more can be done to develop small towns and rural areas this can be linked to Ndhlovu (2018: 2) argument that research on the economic potential of the arts should not be clustered around urban renewal and development because cultural and creative industries are ideal for small towns and rural areas. The SBC’s commitment to sharing their resources with surrounding communities illustrates Connor and Nawa’s (2007: 80) statements that small towns have the potential through, collaboration and government support, to be the driving force behind the economic growth in rural and isolated areas.



4.2.4 Private Funders

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Respondent 3 spoke about how difficult it can be to approach private companies for funding for projects. He mentioned that there was a lack of understanding sometimes they want to help artists, but it is one once-off deal or an event that happens once a year as it is often part of their social outreach programme as a business. There no strong partnerships because the artist vision is often different from that of the private funder. Companies have their agendas they bring you on board they expect you to follow their rules.

Here, Gordon and Ritenour argue that funders can conflict with artists because of varying beliefs about what represents quality in art production. Businesses, even when they are doing things for social good, tend to be driven by profit. Many artists, on the other hand, are driven by emotion or conviction, and they may feel that they cannot produce quality work if it's only to increase the profit margin of a funder. Within a group of theatre lovers, you can find people who have very diverse backgrounds. Within the theatre, they will all have their ideas about what makes a piece valuable or worthless.

Respondent 2 suggested that it would be prudent to have an organisation that brokered deals between artists and private companies, particularly since artists were reluctant to do this. Respondent 3 spoke about the value of their linkages with community organisations such as FAMSA. The SBC partnered with FAMSA in the past through their show “Voices of Women” which raises awareness about gender-based violence. Respondent 2, on the other hand, believed that private companies did want to support the arts but are unsure of what joint projects are worthwhile. Moreover, he believed that artists did not have the confidence or knowledge to approach big companies and that there needed to be some kind of mediator who could broker this process instead.

There is also another element to this problem that Respondent 2 spoke about at length, and that is that many artists are afraid to approach businesses. Often they are aware that they may lack the skills needed to put together an excitable proposal and as a result, do not have the confidence even to try. Respondent 2 believes that artists need to have the drive to upskill themselves so that they can be more business savvy. He pointed out that the art departments of universities have hosted workshops on how to apply for funding and how to put together a funding proposal. He said, “The opportunities are there, but artists do not take them if our people armed themselves with these skills they could do great things”.

4.3 Culture and the Performing Arts of Fort Hare

Together in Excellence

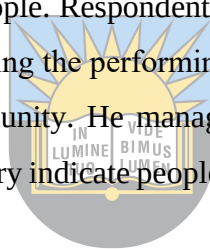
In Chapter 1, we rejected the definition of culture as the traditional beliefs and practices that our forbearers passed down to us. Rather we adopted the view that culture is the growth of a group identity fostered by social patterns unique to the group. Under this definition, culture is dynamic and is shaped by our relationships rather than being a static relic. With this definition, people from different ethnic backgrounds can have a shared culture, and everyone can belong to many subcultures. This definition has been very helpful in understanding when dealing with the real-life implications of concepts like cultural capital theory.

The social capital theory is used to explain how culture and history shape a person’s preferences. Cultural capital helps people to gain and maintain social standing; in other words, it how we currency that we use to gain power and influence within our cultures and sub-cultures. Certain forms of cultural capital are valued over others; when one has more of the social capital deemed valuable than they can occupy a more powerful position in within your

cultural group. The type of social capital you value will depend on the norms and standards of the culture you identify with most you can never value things you do not understand.

Respondent 3's experiences illustrate this as he sometimes struggles to promote the SBC's theatre production to the local community. Some members of the community do not understand the way theatre works as they were not exposed to it from a young age like other people within the same community, and this can lead to some miss understandings. Respondent 3 complained that "people sometimes treat the theatre like it's a cinema where you can arrive and choose which movie you watch if they liked a show they would constantly demand it. Not understanding that some companies are touring and can only stage the show at a particular venue."

This means that even though the theatre (in Ginsberg) may be open to everyone, there are still some people in the community who feel that it simply is not for them as the idea of theatre being elitist or for certain types of people. Respondent 3 expressed that it was difficult at first to get certain 'tough guys' to stop seeing the performing arts as foolish clownery or a pastime for privileged members of the community. He managed to due to this though patients and education as the individualisation theory indicate people preferences can change though expose and education.



University of Fort Hare

4.3.1 Unity and Developing a Rich Cultural Heritage in Buffalo City Metro?

Respondent 1 felt that the Guild theatre was indeed doing its part to integrate and involve local communities. He pointed out that as a playhouse, they have many different types of performers that pass through the Theatre, and therefore the Staff has a diverse network of associates.

He referred to the pantomime *A Lad in A Lamp*, which started showing during December 2018. It consisted of a mixed-race cast and did very well in its relatively short run. As a playhouse, the Guild attracts many different types of people. Umtiza Arts Festival was one such event, in collaboration with the Anne Bryant Art Gallery and East London Museum. The Umtiza festival is a multi-cultural festival that attracts a wide variety of artists and audiences. It happens every year in May or June. He said, "to attract a diverse audience the organisers go out of their way to find artists from all races and all walks of life. This ensures that there is something available for all the different people that live in the City".

In April 2019 the Guild hosted Hoërskool Grens song extravaganza (a local Afrikaans school production), Kholeka Dubula Sosibo Live (a Xhosa gospel artist) and Guitar Legends, featuring Nathan Smith and Band. Each production comes with its particular audience, support system and management. Even if a certain theatre production is not to his taste, he works behind the scenes to make it a success. In that sense, the Guild does contribute to integration, as it is highly versatile and involved with each production. However, the Guild caters to the demographic of its immediate community; this being the relatively white affluent suburbs of Selborne and Vincent and unlike the SBC is not within a township area and does not cater to township residents. This is to be expected because of our segregated past. In this sense, the Guild attracts diverse audiences, but these are suited to the character of each production.

For instance, when Kholeka the Xhosa gospel artist performed, the audience was overwhelmingly black, and the opposite applied to Grens. It would be dishonest if one did not link these audiences and productions to the segregation of the past. There is some disparity in the kind of productions that people prefer. But at least in the arts community and within theatres, there is a level of integration. Although more can be done to create more opportunities for people to come together within the Guild Theatre, particularly from surrounding townships in East London, it is clear that some progress has been made due to audience and production diversity.



The SBC has helped with multi-racial productions, but most of its in house productions are 100% black. This is because of the demographics of Ginsberg location and the Centre's commitment to developing the black community. Respondent 3 believed that integration was important but felt that there was a lack of trust between the different races in BCMM and that this prevented people from embracing integration completely. He noted that even within the black community, there were people who did not want to collaborate and share their skills and resources and that jealousy and competition sometimes held the arts back. This worried him because whenever he tried to collaborate with other races, these issues came up. Unfortunately, even within the arts in the Eastern Cape, there are negative stereotypes that people have internalized that prevent them from connecting with one other. He spoke about how some white theatre-makers exploited black performers by paying them very little or not paying them at all; while big profits were kept for themselves. He said:

“Integration is a bit tough this side; but when it does happen, you notice that it can lead us somewhere. The reason why it does not always work is because of peoples’ ulterior

motives. You have a vision for a show, and you make an agreement, but sometimes people just want to use you. They are sometimes not honest about the money you will make and make extra deals on the side. Some do decide they would rather keep with their own and don't integrate themselves, especially those that believe in negative stereotypes about others."

Respondent 2 shared that his main problem was with the fact that black South Africans did not take ownership of the arts to tell their stories, especially with dance. He was worried that there are not enough black writers and choreographers to change the status quo and tell more authentic African stories through dance. He also talked about how his audience was mostly white when he was still a performer, but that white audience seems also embrace African contemporary dance. On the other hand, he noticed that black South Africans did not value their traditional dance forms. He explained his point very well, saying:

"We stick to the old way of doing dance instead of modernising and creating new hybrids of dance styles. We also only practice our traditional dance forms in a limited capacity. At traditional ceremonies, weddings or as a hobby we do not take it seriously as an art form and as a result, western dance styles dominate fine arts. They are associated with high art and considered superior people build thriving careers from ballet the same cannot be said for our traditional dance styles. It's either we tell other peoples stories, or we tell ancient stories, but as the youth, we need to be telling our stories".

As was mentioned in chapter 2, all the indigenous groups in South Africa have traditional performance styles; often, they are linked to events such as wedding ceremonies, initiation ceremonies, harvest festivals. Still, there is also proof that elements of dance, singing, and music were integrated into everyday social activities (Mhiripiri 2008: 132). Every ethnic group used performance as a way to express their identity; however, with the introduction of Christianity through mission stations and mission school; European influence caused many to move away from the traditional African lifestyle. Although many keep some elements of their culture, a lot of the deeper intricacies were never passed down to subsequent generations. Therefore traditional art forms are neglected and marginalised because of the perception that African culture is somehow backward and will hold Africans back.

European culture, on the other hand, has been framed as progressive and aspirational (Hauptfleisch 2007: 1). Respondent 2 express a wish that black South Africans would develop and grow their dance styles, and he would like to contribute to this initiative himself but admits that he does not know how to start. He is trained in many different forms of dance including contemporary, ballet and various forms of interpretive dance but has limited exposure to traditional dance. He has been groomed from a young age to embody the principles, techniques and concepts of European dance styles he knows them very well because of his background and education. This can be problematic for him as a dance teacher in the township dealing with children who are not as comfortable with English as he is. After all, he was introduced to these dance styles at former model C schools and therefore learned the terms in English, but translating them into Xhosa is difficult for him.

The demographics of the two theatres reflected by the questionnaires reflect the challenge of integration. All the patrons who answered the questionnaire at the Steve Biko Center are black. The numerous times I went to the centre to set up interviews, I noticed that there were no people of any other race around. When respondent 3 gave me a tour of the centre, I noticed that all the staff was black except for a white gentleman that was helping to set up the lights for an event, and a mixed group of executives who were using the conference facilities. Contrast this with the Guild where 81% of those who participated in the questionnaire identified as white, 7% as coloured another 7% as Indian and only 4% as black. When visiting the Guild it was clear that they had a mixed staff, but due to where the theatre is situated it's patrons are overwhelmingly white.

In the questionnaire, I asked if the patrons if they felt that their theatre catered to all the different cultures represented in the city. The answers I got were very interesting. 46% of participants at the Guild felt that the theatre did represent the culture and values of the local community. Another 29% said that there were not sure, 13% answered yes but thought that more could be done; there were a few respondents that comments that shows did reflect the culture of the local community (Selborne and Vincent) but not the broader community that is the city as a whole. One participant said: "it depends what we refer to here as the local community. If it refers to the surrounding community of the theatre, then yes".

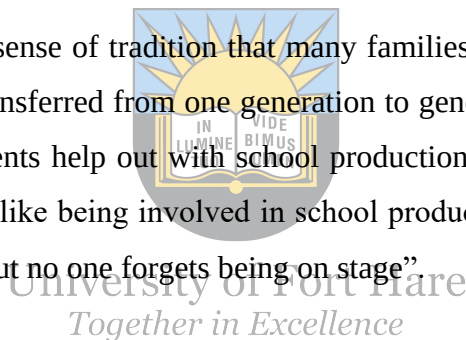
At the SBC, the results were very similar: 50% of participants indicated that the Centre did represent the values of the local community. While 33% indicated they felt that There was a small segment that felt that more could be done to promote local culture, and one respondent

felt that; "some of the productions I cannot relate to most because they are coming from outside the province". This referred to the fact that many popular productions were touring from other provinces. Other comments agreed that the SBC did showcase local culture but that more could be done. However; there was SBC received mostly praise from the participant for focusing on the Ginsberg Townships community's values and culture, speaking to the participants, I found that many were not worried about integration and diversity. The theatre was part of the township, and therefore in their minds, it had a responsibility to cater to the entertainment needs of the township and tell the stories of the people in the township.

4.3.2 Relevance of the Arts in Today's Fast-paced World

When asked about how theatre competes with all the different forms of entertainment available; all those interviewed agreed that theatre is unique as an art form. Both the Guild and the SBC have a special place in the community, as they are places of education and entertainment.

Respondent 1 spoke of the sense of tradition that many families in the community have and how the theatre has been transferred from one generation to generation. He spoke about how many parents and grandparents help out with school productions. Respondent 1 commented that 'There is nothing quite like being involved in school productions. The children may not pursue a career in the arts, but no one forgets being on stage'



The theme of building lasting memories was also prominent a live performance is not the same as other forms of entertainment theatre performances can never be replicated (no two performances can be identical) when you leave you to know that you were part of something special. The fact that theatre is interactive is also very special you can talk to the actors after production is unique to theatre movies can never create the type of magic associated with theatre. Respondent 3 spoke about how the families of the children he works with are very supportive and the magic that happens when families come together.

In his words "often parents don't take the arts seriously, but when the children perform, they come to watch sometimes; one family came from East London, and they showed up for every performance. You could tell that she was moved by the gesture even though they would not allow her to pursue theatre after school". Respondent 2 shared the same sentiment he has been dancing all his life and believes that there is a power in the performance arts that allows it to stay relevant through the years. He mentioned the social element of dance people take dance

classes for many reasons most people know they will not be professionals but just want to socialise.

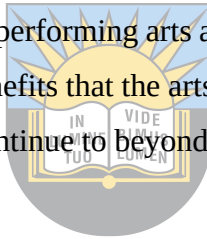
Respondent 3 spoke about the role of festivals in keeping the performing arts relevant to modern audiences. He spoke about how over the years festivals have grown in number and how he always looks forward to them saying “there are so many and some are very interesting I try to attend as many as possible being in that environment is fun you learn just by being around so many artists”. He also spoke about the increased funding and career opportunities around festivals saying; “There is also a lot of funding around festivals the National Arts Festival is a great example of this many of our artists have applied for funding to go and showcase their work.” In chapter 2 we discussed Antrobus’s study on how festivals help promote performing arts by making them accessible and relatable to new audiences. According to this argument, artists need to tap into the excitement around festivals to ensure that the performing arts stay economically viable and sustainable in an increasingly hostile competitive market. Therefore; he advocates for the development and propagation of festivals as a means of generating new theatre audiences and encouraging a love for the performing arts.

The results of the questionnaires also illustrate the importance of festivals. 75% of the participants at SBC attend arts festivals regularly it is not surprising as most are performers and the festivals represent an opportunity for them to showcase their talent. All of the participants that attend festivals regularly reported that they were saving money so that they can travel and enjoy the festival. At the Guild, 83% of participants said that they attended festivals regularly. 32% said they attend once a year, 23% said multiple times a year. Since there is a lot more diversity in terms of age and affiliation to the arts, many of the participants at the Guild travel to the festival as part of the audience members and not performers. Therefore when asked about by festivals are beneficial; 64% cited the increased tourism to festival areas while 25% mentioned the increased career opportunities that festivals present (a director may discover one). At SBC, there was more of a focus on increased career opportunities.

4.4 Conclusion

Each of the respondents represents different sectors of the community. We have a leader of a traditionally white theatre in a mostly white community the leader of a very new black theatre located in a township with the name and legacy of a struggle hero to uphold and an independent theatre-maker building his studio. They have very different experiences, but all their opinions

are valid. They have similar concerns when it comes to funding, and all agree that the funding situation can be improved and the system can be more consistent. All have elements within their programs that educate the youth, but these projects are dependent on funding, and that makes them very fragile when funding dries up they have to be suspended; this is very disruptive. There is no funding to cover operations costs, so theatre owners must diversify their portfolio to balance the financial statements. They all lamented the unreliable nature of the funding system and expressed their frustration at the lack of consistency. This lack of consistency forces them to not to focus on one art form or skill but be able to do many different things so that you have multiple streams of revenue. Respondent 2 offers dance tutorials the Steve Biko Center converted part of its theatre into a cinema and the Guild hosts so much more than just theatre productions. Concerts, talent shows, festivals, and afterschool programs have been held there. The questionnaires added another element to understanding the true value of the performing arts the respondents represent the patrons of the arts. They value the role the theatre plays in the community, supporting it with their money, time and talents. The biggest lesson that the data teaches us that the performing arts are important; the participants recognise that it is not a stable sector, but the benefits that the arts produce are worth the trouble. Society needs the theatre, and its value will continue to beyond what we can calculate with our limited understanding.



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Chapter 5: Summary and Conclusion

5.1. Introduction

In this chapter, I will summarise the findings discussed previously highlighting the most important of our findings and relating the themes that emerged to our literature review and see how our findings relate to our objectives. I have managed to answer all the research questions we sought to answer. I believe that we have met our objectives. This study has its limitations but it is important as a first step at looking at the theatre in BCMM. More studies are needed around the issue of arts funding and sustainability as these issues are important in a developing country. This study shows that the arts are still overlooked in the development plan. Small cities like BCMM are very behind, especially when it comes to the performing arts, there is a lack of vision. As a result, there is no consistency in the department of arts and culture, especially when it comes to young unknown artists.

5.2 Funding and Support of Theatres

The findings show that even the performing arts are alive and well in BCMM even if there are many challenges artists are pushing forward with their craft. There is a lack of vision and consistency with the department of arts and culture and not enough support from the private sector, and yet theatre-makers do not give up. Although there are very few opportunities to make big money in performing arts in the province, the theatres have been nurturing young talent and allowing it to better itself in bigger cities like Cape Town or Johannesburg. They relish this role that they have played in the community.

Although urban renewal projects all over the country have been forcing the government to take the arts seriously and push towards bringing them to the fore, BCMM's performing arts seem a bit passive there is no real push at SBC to motivate the community to create a culture of theatre on a mass scale. It is clear that from the respondents, especially at the SBC, feel that things are changing but negative attitudes can still be found in certain members of the community of the performing arts. These attitudes may seem to suggest an idea that the arts of for the elite, and that it may be out of scope to ordinary people. For the theatre to grow, it needs the full support of the community both physically and financially, although great progress has been made it's slow. There is a need to educate the community about theatre and

the opportunities that it presents and more than this the theatre needs to find new interesting ways to promote its productions and activities.

Both the Guild and SBC have very good initiatives to help young people in the community from school programmes, after school programmes and work opportunities. They balance this out by renting out their facilities and occasionally producing their production. Renting out the theatre makes more money than producing shows and since the Guild has a large network of artists from all over the world; who knows of the venue they usually have a stream of shows happening. They, therefore, make this the foundation of their economic life.

The theatre at the SBC, on the other hand, has fewer productions because it is relatively new and has a less extensive network. Some of the challenges at the SBC are that the lack of education the people in the community have about theatre, they support and embrace it but speak about as if it is something strange or foreign. To many, the cinema is more popular because the community is familiar with movies and like the wide variety of choice and long running times. They behave as if the theatre the same as a cinema.

The Guild does not have this problem because the people in its vicinity have grown up with it and it is part of the cultural capital of the schools in the area. Here the audience takes ownership and o productions, even though audience numbers of not very high. The Guild also has changed a lot to incorporate productions of diverse cultural nature – some shows appeal to white and black audiences, separately and together. On the other hand, the people of Ginsberg understand the importance of the theatre but are yet to incorporate it into their cultural landscape fully. There is still misunderstanding among residents on the nature of the theatre, and the role of the community has to play in preserving it. This may be economically based as people do not have money, but is also due to the relatively short time that the SBC has been in existence, in comparison to the Guild Theatre. It is also true that the very existence of the SBC has reflected a change in the creative culture of Buffalo City and the desire to celebrate the struggle history of the area. Although not many white people come to the SBC, there are events and productions that do attract a mixture of people, although these are rare and are usually limited to corporate events.

Maybe this lack of connection may have to do with the types of shows that feature prominently at the theatre. The first consideration I came across at the SBC was that half of the participants that the shows represented their culture while the other 33% said no and 17% said sometimes.

This came as a surprise to me because the theatre is in a black area and has productions in Xhosa. I was therefore puzzled as to why there was sometimes a seemingly negative response about the SBC, a critical attitude. Some participants dislike productions are from outside of the province: “Some of the productions but I cannot relate to most because they are coming from outside the province”. However, this opinion was only held by a few respondents.

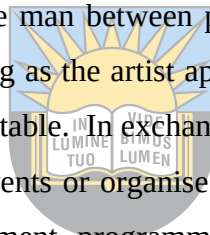
This is an indication of the richness of data collection since the variability of response is always something to incorporate. There may be a sector of the community that does not like that in the majority of cases productions from elsewhere, but this is indeed the most effective way of raising money to run the theatre. Local artists and schools may also rent the theatre, but it's not as lucrative because they are given a special package to account for their disadvantaged status. This might be why to some people, it may look like the theatre is being used by outsiders who come and make money for the community and then leave. Some said that the stories told at the theatre are authentic African stories and felt completely satisfied.

It was also very interesting to see the centres talk about working with artists from surrounding communities and reaching out to other communities. Both Respondent 1 and 3 showed a willingness to share resources and ideas, and some of their projects were collaborations with other art organisations around the Eastern Cape, as mentioned before the Guild and SBC have a great deal of influence because of their reputations and the heritage and history they represent. As a result, they have a great deal of influence in the development of the supporting arts in the Eastern Cape.

However, the funding situation and support of theatres leaves a lot to be desired as it hosts smaller theatre makers that do not have the legacy that the Guild and SBC hold. Respondents 2 and 3 spoke about the lack of communication that they deal with when working with the department of arts and culture. This unhappiness also extended to the Guild Theatre. They were both unhappy with the budget and spoke of how the festival circuit and end of year concerts take priority over developing real talent. Both theatres have programmes that reach out to schools and help teachers with their Arts and Culture Programmes they prioritise arts education. Therefore, it is great frustration when they do not have the funds to keep these programs afloat. Funding is very important as the theatre is more involved in development and community building than other creative arts.

However, apart from money, these theatres are also concerned about the arts. Respondent 1 One spoke about the Guild, not as a profit-making business but an incubator for young talent in the Eastern Cape. The SBC is seen in a similar light as there are scholarships and education opportunities that ex-members of Abelusi have received with a great sense of pride. Although the respondents acknowledge that it was difficult for artists to sustain themselves and many could not afford to work in the arts full-time there is an understanding among those in the arts that their contribution to society as artists is of great value and that any sacrifices made are for the enrichment of society.

In sum, all of these details considered, it can be said that both theatres rely too heavily on funding, especially state funding. In this respect, they have also forged relationships with NGOs, and here it was nice to hear of SBC works in partnership with FAMSA, but this is an NGO, so they work together to apply for funding. Theatres should partner more with private companies, and here one can consider respondent 2 believes that there should be an organisation that works as the middle man between private companies and performing arts organisations. This could work as long as the artist approach funding as a partnership where the artists also bring something to the table. In exchange for funding, theatres can they could provide entertainment at corporate events or organise days when they teach artistic skills to workers as part of a work enrichment programme. This can help foster long-lasting relationships with private companies.



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Young theatre-makers should look into getting educated about how to make presentations that appeal to private companies. Partnerships with private companies can be very helpful, but artists need to be bold enough to approach these companies and sell their skills effectively. There are many organisations that offer courses on how to do this but artists need to be encouraged to participate in these. Artists should also approach funders with an attitude of collaboration thinking of ways that they can create mutually beneficial partnerships. This strategy is more sustainable, and it will help empower the artists; instead of feeling like they are begging for the financial support they are offering something of value and being paid for their services. The SBC theatre does have some relationships with the local businesses. Still, it feels like they do not take full advantage of its good reputation to build lasting business relationships the Guild is much stronger in this regard. This would open up a whole new avenue of funding, allowing the artists to have more options as to how they express their art. Having more options will also allow the artist with more opportunities to create and make money. Developing these skills is

important. These skills allow people to be more strategic and take control of their careers, gaining additional skills and networking are important skills in many industries.

Moreover, artists should diversify their skill sets so that they can take advantage of all the opportunities that are available in the field. It is wise for people to learn how to instruct in the arts, not only because it nurtures new artists but because in the art sector instruction is a very important revenue stream. More research needs to be done of funding in the arts, and there needs to be an improvement in the system because, in the current system, those that truly need assistance are often neglected. There should be a body that works as a middleman between deserving artists and private funders. This will help the art projects be more sustainable with a middleman they could be a fixed term for funding, and the relationships would between the artists and organisations be regulated. This would save artists and organisations time when it comes to finding suitable people with whom can collaborate. Those with no experience can learn how to work with private funders, and they will be allowed to learn what private funders value and this could enable them to be able to attract more private funders in future.

5.4 Conclusion

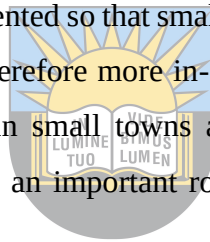


The theatre is very important to the growth and development of communities. It is clear from the history and background of both theatres that they come from very different backgrounds, and that the Guild is more advantaged than the SBC. This is due to the economic clout of its audience, the proximity of many schools, and its longevity. It has also played a relatively prominent role in the development of the apartheid city and has regained its relevance as part of the shared culture of the City. The SBC is very different, although it has similar challenges. It is surrounded by poorer residents, with not many opportunities, but thus far it can be said that the SBC has made a positive impact on people's lives, especially the youth who seem to attend the theatre more than older people.

Both these two theatres are involved in many school projects to encourage young people to express themselves through education, and it is a shame that they do not get the funding they deserve. The funding situation needs to be resolved, and corruption in the system uprooted than the theatres could do even more. However, for the theatres to survive in the future, they should diversify - and dip into corporate pockets. The Guild and SBC also must try to save and cut costs because funding sometimes dries up. Both theatres also need to branch out and find other

investors while still managing to nurture old relationships. However, all avenues of funding and sponsorships are needed because they work they do very important.

The arts offer many people the opportunity to be financially independent while pursuing their passion. As Respondent 2 complained, many talented young people feel like they can never make anything of themselves because they do not have the means to move to Johannesburg or study their craft at a world-renowned university. Considering the value created by the arts in the community artists should not have to be on the world stage to earn a living. More research needs to be done on how to make the arts economically sustainable at a grassroots level. This will help build an understanding of the challenges and help artists think about strategies that can be used to overcome them. They are small performing arts centres all over the Eastern Cape all with similar struggles and artists need to communicate and document the struggles and victories; like others who are just starting the journey can learn from those who came before them. I believe that the blueprints of successful performing art institutions like the Guild and SBC should be researched and documented so that smaller performing art institutions can learn to form the struggles and success. Therefore more in-depth research is needed in future, and other performing arts organisations in small towns and cities also need to be spotlighted because these institutions are playing an important role in the education, entertainment and development of their community.



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