Finding Voice

A Visual Arts Approach to Engaging Social Change

Kim S. Berman

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Finding Voice: A Visual Arts Approach to Engaging Social Change, Kim S. Berman

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For my life partner,
Robyn van der Riet,
and to my mom,
Mona Berman,
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who are a continual inspiration

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Contents

Introduction

Mapping the Journey

The basis of this inquiry is how the visual arts contribute to positive social change. *Finding Voice* represents the notion that the visual arts are an expression of the aspirations of people in their hope for a more just and democratic society. It emphasizes the power and potential of collective voice in the visual portrayal of historical injustice and the envisioning of a new paradigm in which to move forward. This book, then, values the notion of voice as key to agency and the responsibility to act.

The specific focus of this book, in post-apartheid South Africa, necessitates a multidisciplinary approach straddling the fields of arts education and developmental studies and requires examination of the sociological, political, historical, and cultural aspects of society. As there is no comfortable disciplinary home for such an investigation, this book crosses disciplinary boundaries, drawing on diverse concepts and understandings in order to enable the creation of a space that is able to explore, invent, imagine, or reject certain traditional notions. These concepts are akin to the practice of art-making, in that they can question the "givens" and imagine new possibilities. In this way, art, or visual voice, can be a pathway to navigate transformative ways of becoming.

The following questions animate my inquiry:

1. How can creative strategies respond to imperatives for democratic change?
2. How can collectives organized around creative activity effectively respond to social trauma?

3. To what extent do current government institutions impede or facilitate art and culture in fulfilling potentially transformative social roles?

Answering these questions involves innovations in design, methodology, implementation, and evaluation. *Finding Voice* values co-creation, community participation, and citizen action. In this exploration, I feature the visual arts as a mode of knowledge that requires keeping ourselves reflexively open to diversity and to the unexpected, in order to discern those elements that do not fit into our theories or dominant codes. This book proposes a primary role for activists who move beyond traditional theories of social justice to advocate new frameworks that are responsive to current social and political needs, through learning from the history of social activism through the arts and then building on those approaches. As activists and facilitators, we explore contexts or conditions that facilitate the emergence and maintenance of new possibilities of meaning and action. Voices and stories from the field provide a bottom-up approach to unlocking some of those theories and contribute to making a compelling case for the role of visual arts in creating social change.

To create a climate for creativity and innovation, it is necessary to develop an approach to creating social change that acknowledges conventional approaches but is unafraid to displace them when their limitations hinder the creation of a climate for creativity and innovation. While many scholars, intellectuals, and activists have reframed knowledge and pedagogical innovation away from the Cartesian model of the certainty of scientific knowing, too many institutions still cling to traditional pedagogical styles and institutional structures. Not infrequently, these structures cause resistance to new technologies and to community engagement, discouraging broader access to changed ideologies of learning. South African scholars can play an important leadership role in showing how innovative approaches can foster a fertile environment for redress and agency for previously disadvantaged students.

At the heart of these approaches are stories. Arguably, all stories reveal collected experiences and become blueprints for deeper, more transformative practice. As experiences are shared, analyzed, and celebrated, social spaces become available to the narrators and listeners, thereby generating a fertile environment. These stories are particularly important in contemporary South Africa, where conservative influences have led some institutions to close doors on participatory and collective practice. It is imperative to find, create, and document methodologies—for intervention, analysis, and critique—that will strengthen multidimensional and interdisciplinary practice and theory in the domains of development and arts education. The stories contained in

this book have the potential to anchor socially transformative practices that expand capacities for effective work in development and arts education.

Chapter 1 examines a number of existing research methodologies, considering their strengths and weaknesses in respect to potential application in the field of the visual arts and social justice. Chapters 2 through 5 offer different methodological approaches to the use of the visual arts as transformational practice. This task is undertaken through the telling of distinct stories of projects, with chapter 5 exploring some new ideas about the use of the arts to assess social change. Each narrative constitutes differing responses to the South African government's imperatives for the social and economic transformative ideals of nonracialism and the equality of rights and opportunities. The core challenges identified include building an arts organization, addressing the HIV and AIDS pandemic, engaging government policies, community engagement in higher education, and the challenges of evaluating change.

Chapter 2 tells the story of Artist Proof Studio (APS), a Johannesburg-based community arts organization that has implemented a new model of developing the potential of excellence though printmaking for emerging artists who otherwise would not have access to higher education. Linked to the story of APS are gender advocacy programs and the Paper Prayers project, which employs arts and crafts processes to embed a deeper awareness and choices for action in response to the HIV and AIDS pandemic. Chapter 3 tells the story of Phumani Paper, a national initiative in handmade paper that raises questions surrounding the South African government's policies on poverty alleviation and job creation through the establishment of multiple craft enterprises across South Africa.

Chapter 4 shifts the book's focus to the relationship between academic institutions and participatory community engagement programs as a site for promoting active citizenship among university students. First, the chapter engages the role of academics and students in a South African university undergoing transformation. Second, it positions the arts and the role of artists as catalyzers of transformation in the academy.

Chapter 5 provides a case study that focuses on the challenges of assessing individual and social change though participatory and arts-based methodologies. A series of research and project interventions in a four-year program called Cultural Action for Change considers the individual and collective participants and student researcher responses to the HIV and AIDS pandemic and other public health challenges. The interventions further seek to evaluate increased economic and social participation of the community groups.

The projects considered in this study present different social challenges

involving different sectors of community, arts, higher education, and South African urban and rural poverty nodes. These projects require different approaches: research and visual arts training, economic strategies and skills transfer in craft development, and visual arts strategies. The personal stories arising from the projects reveal the development of voice, highlighting how the visual arts can deepen the democratic process among individuals and communities in South Africa. These stories, together with the grassroots experiences of participants, show evidence of significant transformative change. They offer a wealth of insight and information for scholars researching new theories, frameworks, and approaches.

My goal in relating these stories is to identify and examine strategies for change that challenge and reinterpret current concepts of economic development and poverty alleviation. This work yields new methods that can be used to implement and assess complex, sustainable projects in community development. In terms familiar from ecosystem analysis, sustainability and renewal are reliant on values of interdependence, partnerships, flexibility, diversity, and complex networks. Flexible approaches to methodology and theories of change are imperative in understanding the examples and in developing future work.

Through this study, I also seek to fill a gap in the field of cultural activism by sharing lessons and findings that assist in building research and policy and increase the possibility of meaningful change. A dynamic role for collective participatory approaches needs to be strengthened to allow successful practices of project evaluation and arts education. I propose that the development of individual agency is supported by the capacities of voice, resilience, dreaming, and imagination and that engaging the creative process activates the process of individual and social change. These themes prevail through each of the case studies in this book.

As this work is centered on agency, it values practice that percolates up rather than uses theory as a starting point. Theory is generated from practice through reflection and integration in a multidirectional exchange. Core premises are that an experiential approach feeds theory and that practice leads to understanding. In this way, new knowledge is created. Paulo Freire's *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1970) is a foundational text for a model of teaching and learning that begins with the existing knowledge of the learners and considers learning to be collaborative rather than force-fed. As Freire's writings make clear, there often tends to be a radical disjunction between academia and the community at large. Mark Taylor, writing about the complexity of emerging network culture in his book *The Moment of Complexity* (2001), has recognized the importance of bridging the divide between theory and practice.

> Theory without practice is empty; practice without theory is blind. The ongoing challenge is to bring theory and practice together in such a way that we can theorize our practices and practice our theories.[1]

Perhaps, as the critic Lucy Lippard suggests, it is useful and most accessible to think of ideas rather than theories, which tend to lock "ideas up into boxes to which not all of us have the key." She has argued convincingly that the most valuable theories evolve organically, from practice.[2] Through the stories and case studies presented in *Finding Voice*, I seek to show this organic evolution.

Marshall Ganz, a longtime activist and the author of *Why Stories Matter* (2009), suggests that when you do public work, you have a responsibility to offer a public account of who you are, why you do what you do, and where you hope to go. He cites the first-century Jerusalem sage Rabbi Hillel, who asked three questions that are at the root of leadership and organizing:

> If I am not for myself, who am I?
> When I am only for myself, what am I?
> And if not now, when?[3]

Ganz calls the response to the first question a "story of self," for relating "why I have been called." The story you tell of why you sought to lead provides insight into your values and lets others know what they can expect and potentially learn from you. The "story of self" presented in *Finding Voice* is complex. My role as founder of Artist Proof Studio and Phumani Paper includes roles of insider/outsider, teacher/learner, leader/collaborator, and critic/facilitator. These complex positions move through each story told in this book and often get merged with what comprises, in Ganz's terms, the "story of us."

Ganz talks about the "story of us" as an answer to why we are called: "What experiences and values do we share as a community? What our community organization has been called to do? What are its shared purposes, goals and vision?" *Finding Voice* presents a "story of us" that is made up of complex relational webs of students, colleagues, artists, organizations, funders, collaborators, and partners. As organizations and collaborators intersect and learn from each other, the belief in the catalytic role of personal agency fuses the "self" with "us," and visions and aspirations that might be identified as "mine" or "ours" often cannot be distinguished as separate.

Finally, Ganz refers to the "story of now," which he calls "the fierce urgency of now": "How do we appreciate the challenges and the conflicts between the values we wish for our world and can aspire to, and the values that actually exist? How do we seize an opportunity and turn it into action?"[4]

In *Finding Voice*, the "urgency of now" changes throughout the narratives of over two decades of democracy in South Africa, starting with the urgency of redress and reconciliation in the founding of Artist Proof Studio, followed by the development of the Paper Prayers campaign in response to the urgency of the HIV and AIDS pandemic and the establishment of Phumani Paper to address the urgency of poverty and job creation to the current education crisis. Twenty-six years after the founding of APS, the "fierce urgency of now" in South Africa involves the urgency for activism around the university students' protests for free education, which dominated the South African political spectrum from the end of 2015, and the initiative of decolonizing the universities.

Being an artist is a key part of my own identity. For me, making an artwork has a physical and emotional impetus that permits me to find a visual and metaphoric voice. I see the creative process as driven by a need to translate a personal and visceral response to my life experience into a mediated expression of a public communication. I chose to be a printmaker and to teach printmaking because of its accessibility. I believe that printmaking is the most democratic of artistic media. I am intoxicated by the notion of transformation—that space for radical change, creative reinvention, the arena of possibilities. While, in some ways, my artistic voice is quieter than my activist/educator voice, it is nevertheless an essence that feeds my energy, restores my sense of self, reconciles my spirit and my practice, helps me achieve balance, and gives me the fortitude to be resilient. In addition to my identity as an artist, my various roles in the stories that follow span my experience as an activist, student, teacher, founding director, researcher, connector, and communicator among and between project sites and organizations. Situated among these multiple positions, the concept of "self" becomes fluid, multiple, mediating, adaptable, and even fraught. Central to my understanding of self is a commitment to a democratic, co-creative, co-learning practice. However, while I explore these notions in reciprocal relationships, they are often complicated by the power imbalance that accompanies the issues of my whiteness and privilege. The legacies of the abuse of power, exploitation, racism, and discrimination often disrupt the positive discourses of dreaming, imagining, and believing as a way of navigating hope and agency.

Making art is a physical process of imaging and shaping possibility. It can be seen as a kind of working, as well as acting and projecting the change you want to see. Projective agency also entails interactions with its contexts, and like conversations, these interactions are not always positive but can involve skepticism, fears, dilemmas, and the ambiguities of evolving situations.

To return to the challenge, posed by Ganz (2009), that requires us to "seize this hope, and turn it into concrete action"—at present, the key questions with which South African educators are grappling have to do with the complexities of transforming higher education in an African, rather than colonial, academic context. Ahmed Bawa asks, "When will universities in South Africa become South African Universities?"[5] He implies that this has to do with a lack of shift away from a Eurocentric intellectual culture. Such questions raise exceptionally interesting challenges for higher education with regard to its "democratic responsibilities," and I posit that arts-based approaches to research and social engagement have much to offer to the discourse and practice of decolonization.

A common organizing principle of differentiating an African approach to social justice and the ideal of relating in a communal way is embodied in the southern African Nguni word for human virtue, *ubuntu*. At its simplest, *ubuntu* means "humanness,"[6] the notion of an individual's well-being as intertwined with that of others. This ethic prescribes becoming a "real" person through sharing a way of life with other persons and caring for their quality of life. *Ubuntu* requires a fundamental move away from considering solely one's own self-interest, to situating oneself in the interests of the broader community. *Ubuntu* calls on us to be participatory and inclusive as a fundamental aspect of being human, evoking imagination to create alternative visions in collaboration with others.

The student uprising in South Africa demonstrates the power of active citizenship in its call for fairness and equity in access to higher education. But much of it has turned violent and destructive. A chilling statement included in the campaign, "Burn to be heard," seems to evidence, as one journalist stated, "our default language in South Africa and a throwback to our past." There is an urgent need to find creative solutions to problem solving when engaging and negotiating difference.

The arts can serve as a way to examine injustice and to allow creativity and vision to inform the construction of new personal, organizational, and communal relationships. *Finding Voice* explores ways that the visual arts engage social change through imagination, play, innovation, and skills. These engagements, in turn, provide the space to conceive of new ways of seeing. Finding a common voice in co-creation has been and still is a means of shaping a transformed and democratic South Africa.

One

Methodologies and Methods of Change

How does change happen? What constitutes change? What are the ethics of engaging community interventions? These are some of the questions I ask and attempt to answer in this chapter. A methodology is not only a collection of the methods used in a piece of research. It is a direction and a filter, pointing in a particular way to the "how" of the inquiry. I use arts-based methods as tools for social action as well as for assessing change.

One of the key aspects of a method employing arts for social change is the central recognition of its collaborative nature. The method seeks to facilitate co-creation between the researcher/practitioner, situating the activist/participant as a dynamic partner in the work. Such an exchange inherently involves reciprocity and interconnectedness. Creative arts methods are thus less predictable than other, more positivist approaches. They include risk taking, as they exist in the midst of complex emergent systems and dynamic change. According to John Paul Lederach, a well-known scholar on conflict transformation and peace building,

> The aesthetics of social change proposes a simple idea: Building adaptive and responsive processes requires a creative act, which at its core is more art than technique. The creative act brings into existence processes that have not existed before. To sustain themselves over time, processes of change need constant innovation.[1]

While the components of an increasing democratic and grassroots research paradigm exist, I argue, first, that there is no fixed methodology of "best practice" for engaging social change through the arts and, second, that the creative process can enliven and activate many of these theories of change and "bring into existence processes that have not existed before."

I have identified a range of methodologies for participatory action research that are selected according to the understanding that the citizen is a co-creator of knowledge, both inside and outside the academy. Yet arts-based action is often fundamentally different in approach. It is useful to consider the range of terms and definitions on which this field draws. Brief definitions of some of these methods may provide clarity on contexts and application. Many of them—such as action research, participatory action research, participatory design, community-based action research, and narrative inquiry—are qualitative methodologies applied in fields of development, education, health, and the social sciences that are used for social change. Along with the definitions that follow, I have included references to practice-led research that is associated with arts research.

Definitions of Terms and Methodologies

The following definitions of selected methodological terms on evaluation and arts-based assessments reflect a range of theories of change. Researchers need to know what has changed and how they can be confident in knowing that change has occurred. Role clarity is also very important. While participatory action research situates participants as research collaborators, the notion of a "co-researcher" often does not accord with their perceptions of their roles. Rather, they tend to see themselves as practitioners and participants. While research theory and practice always co-construct each other, my work intentionally situates practice as the starting point, constructing theory from what people actually do and how they act. The cycle of art activist intervention is not always a linear sequence in which the artist looks, thinks, and then acts. Often, it is a repeating spiral of dialogue, collaboration (including action and creation) with reflection, revision, and repeating patterns arising in the midst of all phases.

To understand methodologies and evaluation strategies useful to arts-based interventions for social change, it is helpful to survey some of the participatory and visual methods most often used in community-engaged research practice. Each of the methods outlined here involves action research approaches that have been adapted to the field of arts and social change. Many of the arts-based interventions for social change that are described in the narratives in this book are responses to pressing South African social challenges. Arts-based interventions start with practice. Spontaneous responses are often called for, and the methods and theory are constructed or matched and applied, later or simultaneously, to engage critical reflection

and assessment. Some of the options listed here may be appropriate tools for different academic or assessment strategies.

Action Research

According to Ernest Stringer, the basic action research (AR) approach involves looking, thinking, and acting. It is a continuous, cyclic set of activities. The participants work through each of the major stages and explore the details of their activities through a constant process of observation, reflection, and action. The emphasis of AR is to involve people affected in practical problem solving through a cyclic process of looking, thinking, and acting, with the purpose of finding solutions to concrete problems and conflicts. AR is an important starting point for student learning in the field, as it integrates research and action, theory and practice, and research and development while it aims to improve practice.[2]

Cooperative Inquiry

In the 1990s, Peter Reason and John Heron introduced concepts of cooperative inquiry, participatory research, and experiential knowing.[3] Reason explained, "Co-operative enquiry is a participatory action methodology that does research *with* people not on or about them. This methodology engages people in a transformative process of change by cycling through several iterations of action and reflection.[4] He further explains that co-operative enquiry consists of a series of logical steps, including identifying the issues/questions to be researched, developing an explicit model/framework for practice, putting the model into practice, recording what happens and reflecting on the experience to make sense of the whole." Cooperation, extended to co-creation, is a fundamental principle for engaging in arts for social change.

Participatory Action Research

Reason and Hilary Bradbury initiated the first AR handbook for practitioners in 2001. In it, they note five characteristics of participatory action research (PAR): emergent developmental form, human flourishing, practical issues, participation and democracy, and knowledge in action. They argue that these characteristics result in a broad range of choices with implications for the validity and quality of action research.[5]

PAR is a form of qualitative inquiry used to address issues of research

relevance, community involvement, democracy, emancipation, and liberation that have their roots in popular education and related work with and by oppressed people. Among the original premises of those inquiries is the importance of "breaking" what is referred to as the universities' "monopoly over knowledge production." The approach aims to create knowledge of and from oppressed people, with a goal of creating equitable communities and societies characterized by justice, freedom, and ecological balance. Reflection, understanding, and action are the key concepts in this perspective. PAR is the fundamental methodology used in arts-based interventions for social change, because it always aims at inclusion, social justice, and equality of participants in the research.[6]

Community-Based Participatory Research

The roots of community-based participatory research (CBPR) can be traced partly to the action research school developed by the social psychologist Kurt Lewin (1946), with its emphasis on the active involvement in the research of those individuals (and communities affected by the problem being studied) through a cyclical process of fact finding, action, and reflection. But CBPR is most deeply grounded in the more revolutionary approaches to research that emerged, often independently from one another, from work with oppressed communities in South America, Asia, and Africa in the 1970s. Brazilian educator Paulo Freire provided a critical grounding for CBPR in his development of a dialogical method accenting co-learning and action based on critical reflection. It is a direct counter to the often "colonizing" nature of research to which oppressed communities were subjected, with feminist and postcolonialist scholars adding further conceptual richness.[7]

CBPR values the collaborative partnership of equal and joint control of all partners in cyclic interactive processes of community assessment, priority setting, program implementation, sustainability, and evaluation, including feedback to improve the project. The four components of CBPR are culture, power sharing, community involvement, and capacity-focused development. Like PAR, CBPR is a basic methodology adapted for the use in arts for social change.[8]

Narrative Inquiry

Narrative inquiry features practitioner researchers' stories of how they have improved their situations and augmented their learning. Reflecting on their

action can lead to new learning, which can inform future learning and action. As theory arises from practice, practitioners/researchers are able to hold themselves accountable for what they are doing and why they are doing it. Research stories show explicitly how values change into living standards of practice as "an ongoing process of emergence that continuously recreates itself through the process of communication."[9] Narrative inquiry is used in the different ways stories are presented.

Visual Arts Research

Visual arts research is both a complex and a simple practice. Graeme Sullivan posits the view that art practice can be claimed to be a legitimate form of research and that approaches to inquiry can be located in the studio experience.[10] Artists working in their studios see themselves as conducting visual arts research. This methodology is quite distinct from the use of visual methods to conduct interventions.

Practice-Led Research

The starting point in practice-led artistic research is specifically the problematization of some artistic practice, rather than some ready-made theory or theoretical point of view. Accordingly, in design-based research, knowledge and knowing are formed from the dialogical relationships between conceptual elements (i.e., elements theorizing the practice) and material elements (i.e., the design or experimental design).[11] In the context of arts and social change, practice-led research (more familiar to artistic practice) is relevant when practice in the field, such as the design of an artifact, leads to new theoretical research insights.

Visual Research

Methods of visual research (VR) use visual materials of some kind as part of the process of generating evidence in order to answer social science research questions. VR methods are argued to be especially effective in generating evidence that other methods—especially interviews and surveys—cannot. Almost all VR methods involve talk between the researcher and the researched. VR methods are very often used in participatory or action research projects. Participatory photography and digital storytelling are particular kinds of participatory research using images, explicitly aiming to empower research

participants by creating visual materials.[12] Visual methods used in the interventions employing arts for social change that are discussed in this book include participatory photography (PhotoVoice), paper prayers, mural art, visual mapping, and others.[13]

Action Learning

Action learning (AL) means asking fresh questions; learning from and with one another in sets or support groups; working together collaboratively on solving complex problems of mutual concern; sharing experiences, ideas, and feelings; and critically reflecting on what works and what does not, how and how not, and why or why not. It aims to improve or change work practices and to create knowledge or understanding. AL is specifically used with student groups as part of their reflective learning and community engagement.[14]

The Limitations of Methodology

In his influential book *Against Method: Outline of an Anarchistic Theory of Knowledge*, Marxist philosopher Paul Feyerabend proposed that "methods, including methodologies—have their limits and limitations" and that "the richness of the features of reality is not organized according to beautiful models but requires an anarchistic starting point." He famously asserted that "anarchism, while perhaps not the most attractive political philosophy, is certainly excellent medicine for epistemology."[15] In the spirit of Feyerabend's call for "anarchism," perhaps what is useful to the field of arts and social change is that a more flexible methodological and research-based experimentation and risk taking is required. I agree with Feyerabend that it is important to avoid a negative kind of repetitive normalization of habit according to rules and standards. While this kind of methodological rigor is often demanded by the social sciences, it denies the space and need for questioning, self-reflective challenges, and creativity.

Each of the social change methods and methodological approaches defined in this chapter has common values and principles. One of the things that unites them is that research is done not "on" people but "with" collaborators as co-creators. I have found that PAR and CBPR are valuable frameworks for community-engaged research as well as for public arts-based interventions. As each of the stories of change in this book reveal, methodologies, methods, theories, and evaluation tools must change and adapt to the local contexts and reciprocal processes.

Toward a Methodology for Arts and Social Change

Recognizing the limitations of a single methodology, I propose a set of principles that may be useful to researchers and activists engaging communities on social change research projects or interventions using the arts. The field of peace building in the arts[16] has been significantly influenced by John Paul Lederach's key work on the "moral imagination," which he describes as "the capacity to recognize turning points and possibilities in order to venture down unknown paths and create what does not yet exist." He adds, "In reference to peace-building, the moral imagination is the capacity to imagine and generate constructive processes that are rooted in the day-to-day challenges of violence and yet transcend these destructive patterns."[17]

Lederach refers to the centrality of imagination in peace building in four aspects:

1. peace building requires that people be able to envision their interconnectedness and mutuality (centrality of relationships);
2. paradoxical curiosity is a matter of respecting complexity, seeking something beyond what is visible, and discovering what it is that holds apparently opposed social energies together;
3. creativity opens us to avenues of inquiry and provides us with new ways to think about social change; and
4. to take a risk is to step into the unknown without any guarantee of success or safety.[18]

Lederach's approach suggests that peace builders think of themselves as artists "engaged in a vocation to nurture constructive social change" and that "some of their main 'tools' would be serendipitous moments, intuition, innovation, and creativity."[19] My approach involves incorporating these foundational principles established by Lederach, linking them to existing participatory community-based approaches, values of social justice, and integrating capacities of the visual arts. This approach arises from my experience and perspective as an artist and collaborative printmaker, both of which lead me to argue for an expanded emphasis on visual arts in relation to social change.

Table 1 expands on the social change themes by showing how collaborative art methods, including printmaking, add the vital capacities of reciprocity, aesthetics, imagination, resilience, and agency to the advantages of employing art for social justice. PAR and CBPR methodologies listed in column 1 correspond to certain aspects of Lederach's framework. The second col-

Table 1. Arts-based Methods for Social Change

CBPR/PAR Methods	Art and Social Justice Methods	Collaborative Art and Printmaking: Capacities and Methods
Equal participation Co-creation, shared responsibility Recognizing the value of community knowledge "Human flourishing"	Equity, social justice, nondiscrimination Honoring relationships	Interdependent acknowledgment of diverse skills and vision Respectful and responsive collaboration
Joint relationships of power/interests Power can be seen to be in the academy, with its skills and privilege, but community holds the power of local knowledge and agency-potential transformation.	Reciprocity Raising consciousness and awareness Creating dialogue	In art, we seek complexity and metaphors. Things/representations are not as they seem; they hold multiple meanings. The artist embraces paradox to create contrasts and visual interest. The artist always considers the presence of the viewer/receiver. The artist uses multiple senses and multiple modes to express the unspeakable.
Think collectively about ways in which information and resource exchange activities might be modified to build community capacity and increase benefit for both individuals and collectives.	Transformation Giving voice and telling stories Accommodates mystery, spirituality, and feeling	Aesthetics The process of making art and interpreting art adds to our understanding as new ideas are presented that help us see in new ways. Transformation happens as new experiences "talk back" through the process and progress of making. Aesthetics lift representation to a new level. The act of printing from a plate always contains an element of magic or alchemy.
Taking risks and doing things out of passion may lead to mistakes but also creative solutions. Plan or design processes to address when reciprocity may be limited.	Risk taking that is consultative and respectful Agency, self-esteem Fostering individual empowerment and participation	Artists understand risk, invention, and imagination. There are no guarantees or guidelines of success. Failure is part of a process. Practice and experimentation is not predictable or clean. Being able to imagine, visualize the impossible, and then act on it requires risk taking. Ask difficult questions.

Table 1.—*Continued*

CBPR/PAR Methods	Art and Social Justice Methods	Collaborative Art and Printmaking: Capacities and Methods
Sustainability CBPR research makes a lasting contribution to the community. This may be in the form of a new program that is ongoing or a new service that is delivered. A resilient system is one that continually updates itself about the stresses that it faces.	**Resilience** Empowerment and renewal Human and ecological consciousness Bringing people together and building relationships among individuals and groups	Skills development Aspiration to excel, self-actualization, independence and interdependence, partnerships, flexibility, diversity, and complex networks contribute to organizational sustainability. Arts serve as social mirrors and generators of creative ideas that can renew ways of seeing and being.
	Creating new visions and opening new imaginations for what the world could be	**Imagination** Creates alternative visions in collaboration with others Activates a process of becoming

umn, listing methodologies in arts and social justice, includes two additional themes particular to the arts: "giving voice and telling stories" and "creating new visions and opening new imaginations for what the world could be."[20]

The third column in the table refers to capacities inherent in collaborative art-making practice. Collaborative printmaking accents the importance of aesthetics, multiple modes of knowing and engaging, imagination, alchemy, and reciprocal processes of becoming. By situating these capacities at the heart of the work, artists are better able to enhance, deepen, and enrich practices of engaging social change. In addition, the methods and tools for implementation of interventions include arts-based methods such as art processes, paper prayers, participatory photography (PhotoVoice), mural painting, and others. Examples are described in this book's stories of change, where methods and methodologies adapt and invent themselves according to each context.

What is unique about using the arts in the field of social engagement? Findings from a 2012 roundtable on resilience, arts, and social transformation[21] point to some of the core capacities of the arts. Art is directly relevant to resilience because it is participatory and inclusive: it emerges from the deepest layers of human beings and involves an implicit recognition of shared humanity and creativity. Art also evokes imagination and creates alternative visions in collaboration with others; it is spacious in accommodating mystery

and spiritual aspects of people, and it contributes to healing, empowerment, and self-esteem for individuals and groups.[22]

The arts simultaneously engage our capacities for four things in interrelation: sensing, thinking, spirit, and feeling.[23]

- Arts are unique from other embodied activities; they are about aesthetic ways of making meaning and apprehending the world.[24]
- Arts are about a kind of reciprocity, making something that has the other in mind. Aesthetic work attends to the quality of presence that is invited in the viewer.[25]
- The arts give voice and tell stories.[26]
- Through voice, the arts promote the capacity of agency and resilience (K. Berman 2009).
- They instill personal and collective pride in culture.
- Through the senses, we can grasp multiple modes for the unspeakable, paradoxical, and contradictory.
- The arts enable the creation of new visions and opening new imaginations of what the world can be.[27]

The arts enable and display meaning making, through storytelling in various forms, including narrative, song, dance, theater, or image making; embodiment, through relationality, such as sensing, thinking, and feeling; reciprocity, through making something that considers the presence of the other; aesthetics, through engendering qualities of beauty, respect, and pride that lift any activity out of the ordinary; and imagination, through co-creating visions and aspirations. They also promote agency and resilience. Arjun Appadurai (2004) refers to "the capacity to aspire" and "futurity," while Emirbayer and Mische (1998) refer to "projective agency." I interpret both notions in terms of a reconstructive and transformative notion of human agency that requires a reflective, creative, and morally responsible approach to engaging democracy.

Drawing from these approaches to resilience and agency, chapters 2, 3, and 4 in this book narrate stories of change, both negative and positive, and describe the values of and responses to individual circumstances, such as addressing inequality, poverty, HIV and AIDS, stigma, and discrimination. In chapter 5, reflections and application of arts-based and "developmental evaluation"[28] are discussed in hindsight as ways of arriving at findings and conclusions, as evidence not that they are "right" but that they are in a continual process of becoming. The methods and methodologies evolved creatively and organically, and we can look back on their evolution to reflect on and evalu-

ate processes of change. As Hills and Mullet have noted, cycling through the iterations of action and reflection in community-based research creates praxis and generates evidence for future practice.[29] Through this dialogical and reciprocal relationship, people may feel empowered to act in ways that enhance society. The lessons of these stories can be harvested and shared as a hopeful vision for engaging greater social justice in our communities.

Two

Building an Arts Organization

Artist Proof Studio

The story of Artist Proof Studio (APS) spans 25 years of building an arts organization. As for most community visual arts centers globally, it has had many challenges and achievements. The themes of this journey are, in many ways, the themes of discovering democracy in South Africa. After Nelson Mandela's release in 1990,[1] the subsequent intense years of realigning a deeply divided society and designing one of the most forward-thinking constitutions in world history were a time of enormous creativity, characterized by an awakening to dream and conjure up a better future for all. This story parallels South Africa's struggle toward healing and reconciliation, redress and resilience, and *ubuntu* and renewal, as well as issues of transformation, identity, citizenship, and agency. Each of these themes is evoked in this chapter through narratives of change, using the visual voices at APS to provide windows into South Africa's transformational transitions.

This chapter also presents a methodology of change in the form of the Paper Prayers campaign. The story of Paper Prayers is set in the context of denialism and shame, resultant from the HIV and AIDS pandemic that had the potential for destroying so many of the gains of Mandela's vision of a new South Africa. It focuses on the former president Thabo Mbeki's period of AIDS denialism[2] and APS's response to it. Paper Prayers started as a campaign of awareness but has since become a tool for advocacy and agency in building a unique role for the visual arts by showing how the arts are effective in engaging with social and health challenges.

Dreaming: A Story of Self and Finding "Us"

It is not often that one gets an opportunity to implement a dream. Since the late 1980s, when I was making artwork that addressed the oppressive state of emergency then prevailing in South Africa,[3] I believed that printmaking and papermaking were artistic strategies or interventions that could make a difference to the lives of people in oppressed or impoverished communities. I was convinced that visual art could contribute—as music and dance has often done—to political change. In South Africa, during the years of apartheid, art had been unbalanced and distorted. White students learned only about Western European art, while black artists, forbidden from enrolling at South African universities, were only able to enroll in a few mission schools or rural community art centers, where their access to art historical resources was, at best, rudimentary.

In February 1990, on a television screen in Boston,[4] I watched Nelson Mandela walk out of prison. I wanted to be part of building a post-apartheid South Africa. I sold my car and possessions, bought a French Tool etching press—the Rolls-Royce of studio presses—and took home my vision to start a studio in South Africa based on the professional model of the Artist Proof Studio in Cambridge, Massachusetts, where I had been an apprentice for six years.

In the early 1990s, after Mandela's release, anti-apartheid coalitions, together with the country's nationalist government, were actively engaged in trying to address the extreme inequities resulting from the oppression of the apartheid years. Once a new, nonracial government, the African National Congress, was formed, it recognized that South Africa could only move forward if the nation as a whole reconciled with its tortured past. It was equally important to redress past iniquities and to strengthen the new democracy through civic engagement. Therefore, teaching at the fledgling APS became far more challenging than simply imparting technique. It was a process of mutual learning and exposure to our different experiences of both life and art.

Indeed, the major challenge that I and the founding artists faced during the first decade of APS's existence was to address the insidious long-term effects of racism and dehumanization that impeded our efforts to address the lack of opportunities for artistic and educational training. Since the students and almost all of the other founding artists were black whereas I am white, language and cultural differences sometimes made communication difficult. But we overcame this obstacle by using other modes of communication. For instance, one evening when some of us were making monoprints, the late

Gordon Gabashane, who was a musician as well as a visual artist, started dancing to the rhythms created by the color and energy of the work that was taking place. That moment of using a different creative mode of expression became a significant indicator for understanding the value of multimodal arts-based approaches for engaging change.

During the 1990s, the key issue for black South African artists was the struggle for economic and personal empowerment and access to education and training. At the time, only 1 in 10 of South Africa's black population had a high school certificate. Students were—and still are—accepted into the studio on the strength of their portfolios and their commitment to making a career in art. As a result, the focus of the studio became that of capacity building and income generation. APS was registered as a nonprofit organization in 1992 and subsequently accepted as a section 21 (public benefit) company. It joined a long tradition of community arts centers that have provided facilities access and education to talented black artists.[5]

Given the exceptionally politicized context of the 1980s, APS was born amid suspicion and division. Co-founder Nhlanhla Xaba had taught at the Federated Union of Black Arts (FUBA) Academy and had been a student at Funda Community College (Funda)[6] in Soweto for a few years. His political allegiance was with the Pan Africanist Congress, the radical black consciousness organization that had influenced the philosophy of FUBA Academy. Despite his reservations about working with a white artist, Xaba recognized APS as an opportunity for building a nonracial arts community and recruited many young artists and FUBA graduates, a number of whom were initially suspicious of a "white-led" facility such as APS. They simply expected a level of racism and exploitation from me, because of the reputed prevalence of inequalities in other white-run centers, such as the Johannesburg Art Foundation and Katlehong Art Centre.[7] Gossip and agitation among other students regarding my identity as a white artist and my role as founder and leader in the center often caused conflict and division among some of the first members of APS. Issues of trust and mutual respect for the communal effort were further threatened by a prevalent ethos of "entitlement," under which the artists believed that they were owed training, access to materials, and commissions, rather than considering these to be long-sought opportunities. Fortunately, Xaba, as co-founder, proved a force for nonracism at APS and was committed to supporting the collective efforts that were clearly in accordance with the socialist aims emerging out of the liberation struggle.

Unifying the different members of APS was the notion of printmaking as a democratic medium accessible to all, without regard to social or economic

status. The principle of commitment to community proved to be significant when those APS member artists who had been drawn from FUBA Academy, Funda Community College, Alex Art Centre, Mofolo Centre, and Katlehong Art Centre returned to some of those centers to teach printmaking. Many are still doing so today.[8]

In its early years, APS established itself as a dynamic and creative enclave that proved that black and white artists could overcome distrust and could learn to work together harmoniously. From the beginning, art production at APS was defined as collaborative rather than individualistic. The studio embarked on a range of ambitious projects that promoted this collaborative participation, encouraged a diversity of voices, and characterized the spirit of building a cooperative, democratic, and public culture of art-making. These projects included the vibrant Arts Alive street festival in 1993–94, during which APS artists used a steamroller to make prints on the street. In 1995, as part of the first international Johannesburg Biennale in Africa, APS artists and international partners developed Volatile Alliances, a print exchange linking 10 countries and bringing historically white or black art centers together to work jointly on identity-themed prints.

During the early years of the democracy, the government was eager to promote artwork that would revise history and promote artists whose work had been devalued by the white-run museum system. New public commissions included monumental prints for the Gauteng legislature (1996), the Urban Futures mural prints (2000), adult literacy books (1996/97), and many others. These projects explored collaboration across race and class and used diverse and participatory practices. The prints were often created from found and recycled materials. We created collographs, drypoints on sheets of plastic, and woodblocks made from tomato boxes. Printing inks were donated by commercial offset printers, as were other, nontraditional sources of material.

The five mural prints made for the chamber walls of the seat of the first democratically elected government in Gauteng depicted themes relevant to citizens of the new democracy. Each collaborative team of five young student artists that was involved was led by an established or senior mentor. Some of the artworks created addressed the tensions surrounding race and gender relations. There was a mural on informal housing and poverty, while other murals reflected the euphoric period of the celebration of the "rainbow nation." Each team arrived at a theme and its representation through group discussion.

APS provided the space for artists to begin to give color, form, and texture to the vision of a "new South Africa." The country required new forms of ex-

pression to define an artistic identity that depended no longer on a Western-defined aesthetic but on something emerging from the exhilarating sense of freedom from apartheid's oppressive history. While the primary reason for the founding of APS was to compensate for the lack of art education and facilities for the majority of the population, a new collective aesthetic and politics was developing at the organization. APS received requests not only to populate the walls and offices of the government—such as the labor councils (the Commission for Conciliation Mediation and Arbitration), local government offices, union offices, and training centers—but also from corporations who sought to purchase artwork that would reflect South Africa's new, progressive image. Corporate and government offices that were committed to changing their image in order to brand themselves as part of the new South Africa replaced imported posters of French Impressionist scenes or benign still-life studies by amateurs with work by local black South African artists, including many studying and working at APS. As a result, our printmaking studio became an important source of income generation for artists.

In this first phase, APS focused primarily on specialized printmaking and some drawing skills; there was very little focus on writing and educational training. Instead, through strong international links, an active international visiting artists program was established. Printmakers from the United States and Europe, who had participated in print exchanges such as Volatile Alliances for the Africus Johannesburg Biennale in 1995, were keen to visit South Africa and contribute to redressing inequalities though sharing skills. In this way, APS hosted some extraordinary educators and artists who, through their annual volunteer efforts, offered excellent and highly specialized training.

As a result, APS students were given access to an extensive range of skills in print media that very few other art schools in South Africa could offer. These included classic printmaking techniques (e.g., etching, lithography, drypoint, relief printing, and screen printing) and an extensive range of alternative and experimental techniques involving use of photo processes, paper collage, papermaking, and collographs, as well as found and alternative materials. Not only did the international visitors expose APS students to some of the most innovative contemporary processes, but young APS artists were given opportunities to go abroad and teach first-world art students, in Belgium and the United States, alternative techniques of printing with found and industrial materials. Since its inception, APS has facilitated between 20 and 30 international visits by young township-based artists, none of whom had ever flown in an airplane before their visit.

The Fire

On 9 March 2003, Artist Proof Studio burned to the ground, taking with it the life of co-founder Nhlanhla Xaba. Caused by an electrical fault from an appliance in the studio, a fire spread to the chemical storage area, resulting in an explosion and conflagration that destroyed the studio in hours. Xaba, asleep on a couch at the time, never woke up, as he was asphyxiated by the fumes. The tragedy was enormous. Over 100 artists lost not only all their work but also a much-loved teacher, mentor, and friend. (*See Plate 1.*)

The morning after the fire, people flocked to witness the devastation. There was a sense of shock and disbelief. Those from APS gathered in a circle on the grass across the street from the fire and shared stories about Xaba. Emotions ranged from sadness and loss to anger and fear, as people began to absorb the loss of the space that had become their home. One of the artists expressed his grief by playing a handmade instrument. Galvanized by the music, the students and teachers began scratching around in the burnt rubble, prying off and peeling away the prints buried under the waste. There were moments when the dust and ash clogged the surrounding air, making it hard to breathe. Our coughing and choked stammering contrasted with the clarity and delight of uncovering each new layer and discovering treasure. We laughed and sang and then abruptly became silent in the shock of discovering an article that had belonged to Xaba. The artists gathered the fragments and laid them at the spot where his body had been found, adding a message traced in ash: "I'll miss you, bra." I uncovered one of my own prints from the *State of Emergency* series of 1986. It depicted a body lying in the rubble, assassinated by the apartheid regime. The ironic juxtaposition was eerie, the pathos palpable. The fact that, at the time of the fire, I had been working on a series of prints with the motif of fire, *The Fires of the Truth Commission*, added another layer of bitter irony.

We laid out all the fragments we had chosen, reflecting on finding meaning in the overwhelming chaos. The group decided to look in the burnt books and papers for fragments and words having to do with celebration and joy, growth and change, which could be symbolically glued over the wounds of our healing body. Together with art therapists[9] who came to assist the artists of the studio, we decided to work on collaborative collages. Part of the process of producing these works involved the voluntary participation in workshops designed to facilitate mourning. There was a general acknowledgment that we could not build a new structure on the shaky and broken ground left by the fire; a different organizational model with different foundations would

have to be created. The period of mourning made it clear that the vision Xaba lived and died for had to continue. The news of his death catalyzed the South African art world to pledge support for rebuilding what had been destroyed. (*See Plate 2*.)

Six weeks after the fire, I left for an international print conference and fundraising event in Boston. When I returned a month later, the negative "victim of circumstance" mentality had reemerged among the APS artists. I became sensitive to the impact of feelings of disempowerment felt by the artists after the fire, which were compounded by the legacy of trauma and damage inflicted by South Africa's political and social history. I called a meeting of all active studio members to report back on fundraising efforts and rebuilding plans. At that meeting, we collectively imagined what we would want from a new studio. Each person expressed a dream; these dreams were written down and, collectively, became a visualization of the future. Mobilizing the group's imagination shifted the stagnant and self-destructive energy into creative action. The dreams that were expressed included the following:

"I see APS as the best printmaking centre in South Africa."
"I see myself as a teacher to the newcomers."
"We have an APS minibus for transporting members."
"We have a newsletter."
"We are well known in the world."
"Famous people come and work with us."
"We offer qualifications in printmaking."
"We have a bigger centre than before."
"We have a studio for drawing and a library for studying."
"We can go overseas on exchange programs."[10]

The aftermath of the fire gradually led the artists and students to a process of reconciliation and transformation. Working with the Lefika La Phodiso Art Therapy Centre assisted in relieving the helpless feeling of loss and regeneration, as several of our exercises seemed to turn the tide to initiate transformational work. The first step in that process was addressing the legacy of apartheid through art-making and workshops fostering reconciliation.

For several weeks after the fire, the artists worked in teams to build collages from the remains of the burnt prints. The resulting large-scale panels that were produced comprise arguably some of the strongest work ever to emerge from APS. Three panels constituting one series were titled *Past*, *Present*, and *Future*; the other three panels were titled *Conflict*, *Conversation*, and

Reconciliation. The collages were metaphors for the many layers of reconciliation that took place after the fire—repairing damage and bringing together disparate elements that seemed not to belong together but could nevertheless work in harmony. For many years, these works hung in the stairwell of the new APS. Walking upstairs past these collages to get to the studio space on the first floor provided students a simple but powerful daily reminder of past, present, and future.

Another group of artists found scraps of metal that they welded together to create new sculptural pieces. These twisted metal remains, embracing elements of the burnt space, were welded into the security fence of the new studio, providing a shield for the new venue at the Bus Factory, across the road from the studio's original site. That renovated historical bus terminal in Newtown became a hub for arts and craft organizations.

Ubuntu as Strategy

To achieve reconciliation at APS, the management[11] introduced the concept of *ubuntu* as an embodiment of the ethos and values of our common humanity. The meaning of *ubuntu* is best captured through the expression "A person is a person through other persons."[12] Although *ubuntu* has become something of a South African buzzword and cliché, the concept remains a founding democratic value. It is associated with the image of a healthy society, one in which there is a shared recognition of mutuality, interdependency, and interlinkage.[13]

Having identified *ubuntu* as a nonthreatening, indigenous concept that embraces the key principles of reconciliation, the teachers designed collaborative projects to help students understand and apply the concept to APS's rebuilding project. One of the students from a rural community, Nelson Makamo, came to Johannesburg from Limpopo Province to realize his dream of becoming an artist. He told the following story to describe his print:

> This is my story, not just a story, but a way of life. This is my interview with my Grandpa. It was the first week of March. I had to travel from Johannesburg to Limpopo to a large village called Avon. It had been a year since I visited my grandparents, and I had only three days, after which I had to go back to Gauteng. I went for one reason: my assignment of *ubuntu*, because I knew that my grandfather was the person to talk to. I knew his point of view made a difference to me, as well as

> to others. He had understanding for so many things that involve social issues. He knows how to turn a boy into a man.

The first thing I asked Nelson in response was, "What is *ubuntu*?" With a smile, he answered, "The quality of being kind to people and making sure they do not suffer more than is necessary." He then continued,

> My son, our world is crammed full of words, images and sounds from our foremothers. What is happening today is too much for us, we cannot breathe. We are always seeking to capture and to understand the contradictions of this diverse continent. Many people are caught between the mistakes of the past and the possible calamities of tomorrow. I was brought up by respect and caring, and also to transfer that to my children, who were brought up with love and respect and caring.
>
> Do you really want to know what is happening today? There is no respect at all. We are putting material things first. That love for one another is gone. No one is to blame but ourselves. We did let things get out of hand, step by step. We were supposed to act from the very first. But if we can plant that seed into someone's heart to let grow bigger and stronger, making sure that we take good care of it, I'm telling you, it will attract others from the whole world who will be touched.
>
> We had enough of the past. That is gone. Yes, it is gone. If there can be love, respect to us the elders, and pass that on to children, the future will be full of dynamic opportunity, and every child will be proud to be part of this universe.[14] (See figure 2.1 for a depiction of the *Ubuntu* Tree of Life that illustrates this story.)

The collective creative process of the group who gathered their own stories led to a deeper understanding of self and other in relation to the group. It required participants to respect one another as well as the art-making process. Individual spontaneity had to be constrained and negotiated in order to achieve a compromise with the group—one of the key principles of reconciliation.

On 9 March 2004, one year after the fire, the new APS facility was launched in the converted Bus Factory. Our hope was that a celebration of our new quarters would express our organization's revised collective vision. A *sangoma* (traditional healer) performed a ritual for the protection of our new beginnings. The mood at the launch was celebratory; large numbers of people attended the participatory and inspirational event. I felt that the day

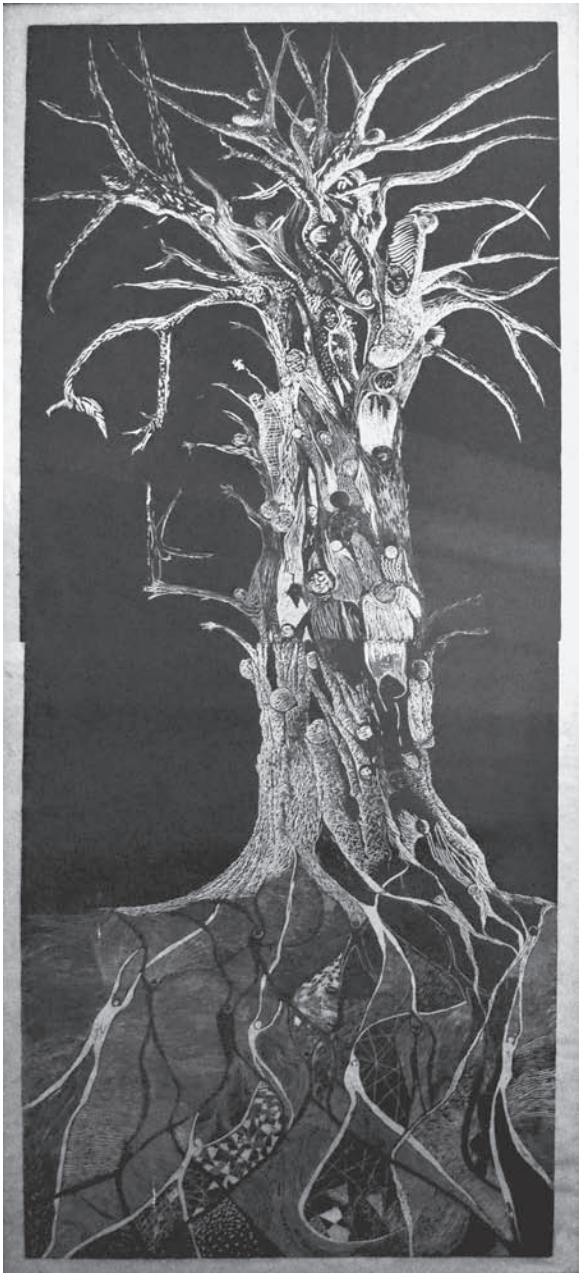

Fig. 2.1. *The Tree of Life*, group linocut, 2005. (Courtesy of APS.)

was a testimony to the power of art to transform society. It was the opening not just of a beautiful building, a project that had taken hard work and extensive funding, but of a new chapter for APS, with a beautiful space to house a reimagined, reconstructed identity. Our *ubuntu* project could officially begin.

The generosity of our private and public donors and members of the community provided the resources that enabled APS not only to rebuild our studio but also to redefine our organizational structure. Members of the APS's board of advisors and directors attempted to prioritize the various challenges involved in creating a model of African-centered learning and leadership. We asked ourselves whether the member artists should be supported to develop administrative skills or whether we should bring in new black leadership. Eventually we decided to pursue both options. A range of team-building workshops was offered to assist people in a series of sensitive one-on-one mentoring interactions between teachers and students. In this ongoing process of reconciliation, I found the framework of "appreciative inquiry" to be most useful. As explained by Cooperrider and Srivastva,

> Appreciative inquiry refers to both a search for knowledge and a theory of intentional collective action that together are designed to help evolve the normative vision and will of a group, organization or society as a whole.[15]

Appreciative inquiry has been used at APS to enable the group to articulate themes and dreams of "what could be" and "what will be." By asking positive questions, the method of appreciative inquiry draws out and highlights hopeful and empowering stories, metaphors, dreams, and wishes that embrace a spirit of optimism. It shifts away from vocabularies of deficit to conversations of possibility and prefigures the future we hope to create at APS. Moreover, appreciative inquiry draws on the creative imagination and the arts to seek reconciliation and empowerment.

Participation in decision-making processes empowers people and, more importantly, fosters democracy. Involving members of the team of teachers and students at APS in the organization's strategic planning has led to an increased sense of confidence and personal esteem, as well as a collective commitment to the direction and decisions that are being taken for the organizational development of APS. Using creative processes as a means for healing and reconciliation has become integral to deepening the journey of self-creation at APS. The notion of perforating the barrier of fear, shame, and anger can be used constructively in a creative process. It is something that

needs to happen in order to link surface and deep transformations, but it has to be done carefully. The metaphor of the *Out of the Fire* collages was apt: as we pulled the fragments out of the rubble of the burnt remains, the ashes had to be released into the air to prevent a poisoning of the space. The patches or fragments that were stuck onto the surface of the collages represented a facade of recovery. But the damage was deep and toxic. The pain had to be transformed into positive healing through another art-making activity. This was processed through creating linocuts on the subject of reconciliation, and even that brought us only one step closer in the ongoing journey. The process is one of becoming and has no end.

Over the course of the year following the fire, the team of staff members attempted to incorporate a spirit of *ubuntu* into the structure and culture of APS. Our efforts at reconciliation were similarly collage-like, layering symbols and rituals, reorganizing fragments of the old to construct something vibrant, generative, and empowering. The collage process in reconstructing a new APS included the following group processes: elements of the past framing the future, expressed through collaged fragments of burnt rubble in the artworks and in the new building; the inclusion of traditional rituals in the process, such as the healer or *sangoma* restoring balance, blessing the new space, and paying respect to Xaba's spirit; art-making as both therapy and growth; the collective participation of member artists in branding the studio and making their mark; the workshop processes, including the discussion of relevant themes in the curriculum and the demarcating of professional and learning boundaries in the space; the use of music and dance and the expression of feeling; the telling of stories; the incorporation of performance, public display, and exhibitions; and the creation of forums for listening and sharing conversations and respecting that those using the space needed to explore and make mistakes.

APS was founded in good measure as a response to the challenge of building democracy in a post-apartheid South Africa. The early mission was redress. Subsequently, the fire forced a process of physical rebuilding that exposed a deep need for psychological rebuilding through the process of reconciliation. Other processes of reconstructing APS as a democratic organization extended to the need to transform educational and management processes, such as the collective and creative designing of a new curriculum and the applying of it in the learning programs; collaborative and team teaching across race, gender, culture, and tradition; facilitating the autonomy and independence of program leaders to find their voices; and the implementation of processes to promote accountability and responsibility. In addition, we

redefined management and governance structures that included the dissolving of the existing board and redefining roles and responsibilities for leadership. This required the implementation of a sustainable mentorship process for both students and teachers, with definable goals. We further established long-term partnerships and interfacing with organizations that provided new opportunities for capacity building. Through these processes, adherence to democratic practices in the organization enabled us to find ways to pass on the torch to the next generation of students.

As an APS founder, mentor, author, and researcher, I realized, during the restructuring process that began in 2004, that I needed to distance myself from the daily life of the studio so that the new leadership model could take hold. As a leader of APS, I have now learned to discern more clearly when to act and when to step back and let the process unfold without my intervention. This has included making way for new management and decision making, while stepping in to address strategies of action. My own learning process has involved both developing the ability to set up networks without trying to control the process and allowing for mistakes, which is part of empowerment and self-creation. It has also been necessary to learn to hold people accountable and, as they grow in confidence, to increase levels of expectation.

APS is still grappling with many unanswered questions, including the implications of white authority. By asking these questions, we are opening doors that have rarely been opened before. The issues of race, gender, and authority have not been brushed aside because they are awkward or uncomfortable; they have been presented to APS members and students with an invitation to participate in the process of resolving some of the difficulties we have encountered. It has become clear that it is important for the leadership in APS to keep communication open and honest. When this happens, the trust that is built in the team translates into confidence and shared pride, enabling us to move closer toward our vision for APS as a center of African-centered learning and leadership.

Building Organizational Identity

At the end of some of the *ubuntu* projects in 2005, there was a shift in institutional policy, spawning a range of new initiatives that built on some of the challenges that emerged. One theme APS identified was the importance of identity. In 2006, author Brenda Cooper asserted about the transformation of South African society, "If new cultural forms are to supersede colonialism and apartheid, then new identities must be fostered and fed."[16] This raised

the question of how issues of identity or identities contribute to social and individual transformation. Personal and organizational identity has always been a focus of APS. Students are encouraged to explore their traditional and personal roots through researching their families, recording their environment that they journey through daily.

Some curators have characterized the artwork produced at APS as having a stylistic identity with so-called township art, a genre in South African art that has been maligned as simplistic and repetitive in its depictions of township life. While the first group of teachers at APS came from that tradition and transmitted it to the members of APS, strategic books on township art, including publications by Steven Sack (1988), Gavin Younge (1988), and Sue Williamson (1989; Williamson and Jamal 1996), have repositioned this genre as key to the struggle of liberation in South Africa. Countering the tendency of the contemporary art world to dismiss this category and thus marginalize and obscure this important part of South African art history, these studies recognize the validity of township art's expression of South African identity and culture. In their exploration of issues of identity today, APS artists have found ways to extend and renew the tradition of township art and to reinvent their personal iconography in relationship to their township context.

The APS organization has worked critically over the years to shed the dismissive conception of its public identity as a charitable nongovernmental organization and to redefine itself deliberately as a place of "excellence through possibility." Central to the concept of identity is that of dignity. I agree with the suggestion of Nigerian-born novelist Wole Soyinka that "the pursuit of dignity is one of the most fundamental defining attributes of human existence."[17] In my view, dignity is fundamental to the role of art in social change. Dignity and self-worth are aspects that can lead people out of spiritual and economic poverty. Capacities for dignity and self-worth are nurtured through the pursuit of excellence and through contribution to engaging communities, recurring themes in the narratives that follow.

The APS constituency primarily consists of male youth whose values and aspirations initially include material possessions and a hip facade. Some of their immediate goals include the acquisition of cell phones, iPods, and designer clothing as a reflection of status. However, most of the young artists do not have the financial support from their families to satisfy this acquisitiveness. For these reasons, I believe that lessons in leadership, public engagement, social responsibility, human rights, and empowerment must be part of an artist's education and training, specifically in order to counter the dominance of material values in society and to instill a desire to address social

crises. In other words, APS must work to counter the role models for identity provided by the neoliberal policies of government and to create new ones that continue and extend ideas of community and *ubuntu*. Another goal in fostering artists as agents of change must be to subvert the traditional patriarchy of "macho culture," to tap into the sensitivities of the artist as "feelers" in society, and to address the gender bigotry so prevalent in South African culture.

Through innovative programs or interventions, APS initiates artistic activities that can prompt cultural and social changes. As a community-based organization with a democratic and participatory structure, its emphasis is on building a concept of the artist as a responsible citizen. In 2005, APS revised its vision and mission as follows:

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

While this vision of education in the arts is idealistic, I believe that the arts can be effective in preparing youth to be socially responsible and creative citizens capable of confronting the life-and-death challenges for survival facing them on a daily basis. The revised mission implies that APS has developed from a community-based art center into an activist organization, from a community arts center serving primarily as a place of nurturing and social protection to a social movement fostering activism and agency. The change does not leave behind the fundamental principles of community-based art but expands them to include the proactive role of the artist as agent.

In her study of a community-based art project in Silicon Valley in the United States, Lydia Mathews asserts that "artists no longer [simply] create objects; they are simultaneously involved in designing frameworks for social interaction."[18] I argue that to design frameworks for social engagement, there has to be a directed effort to restructure how art is taught and learned. Teaching and learning at APS has been through many iterations over the years and has adjusted with its growth and social positioning.

Previously, APS has been introduced as a "learning organization." That

means it constantly renews itself through its structure of socially responsive and cross-sectoral influences. This is partly due to my own connecting roles as co-founder and executive director of APS and senior academic at the University of Johannesburg (UJ). One of my core roles at the university is representing the faculty's profile of community engagement. My fundraising efforts to establish community engagement activities such as Phumani Paper and my research activity in the role of arts in social change, funded by the National Research Foundation, have provided me with the resources to facilitate student engagement in this active crossover and networking between organizations. For example, some of my UJ senior students have chosen their workplace-learning experience at APS and have subsequently developed their work placement in the organization, being contracted as teachers, printers, and managers. Many APS graduates and senior students were hired as trainers and facilitators in the Phumani Paper network, with some attending short courses in teacher training and with others going on to complete their degrees through UJ. In this way, teaching and learning processes are transferred across and influence both organizations. The intersection of the personal and the organizational is bound up in a shared vision of the catalytic role of the belief in the personal. Students I mentored are today leaders mentoring others and sustaining the material and relational webs of partners and collaborators. Like art-making, transformative processes are generative rather than definitive.

The Group Crit at APS

An example of the transference of learning across organizations is the "group crit." Used as a formative assessment at UJ, all teachers critique the students' body of work at the end of each term. The students are issued with a progress mark based on what they present, which comprises part of their final summative result. The mode of group assessment has been learned and adapted to suit the students of APS, as many of their teachers are graduates of the UJ system and have both positive and negative experiences in the same process. In keeping with a democratic ethos of learners and teachers as co-creators, the process adapts itself to each situation at APS.

The crit is a public "reading" of the students' works, posing challenging questions of theme, intention, technique, style, and public purpose. By telling their individual stories through their artwork, each artist is able to articulate how they give meaning to their lives, in terms of what they consider valuable or good. The stories told through artwork enable the group to exchange

ideas and communicate these values to one another. Each art student pins up work in progress that they would like to present. They are asked to talk about what they are depicting, what the work is about, how they have chosen to depict their subject, and why they have chosen a particular printmaking technique (e.g., etching, screen printing, linocut, or monotype). They also indicate where and how they intend to take these ideas and images forward. The class, facilitators, and occasional guests are invited to comment and ask clarifying questions. The viewers are asked whether they are able to see how the image and formal elements of the artwork—such as color, line, composition, or texture—visually communicate the intention of the artist. Participants are invited to suggest changes that might improve visual impact or to reflect on their own impressions. For example, if an artist's choice to use color arbitrarily does not enhance content or atmosphere, participants suggest techniques that might more potently signify intent.

Students learn the languages of not only formal analysis but also critical reflection and communication. They are required to tell their own stories visually and to research their family histories as part of exploring personal identities. The students' develop "artist statements" about their own work, the statements and their visual journals are considered in the review process, and the text/letters/words comprising the artist statements are sometimes incorporated into the prints themselves. When the feedback they receive is consistent with their purpose, students understand the power of visual communication. The facilitators at APS often bring in compatible printmaking examples to show how, for example, Goya was able to communicate horror, the physicality of the mark in a German Expressionist print amplified angst or anger, or the contrast of a selective use of light emerging from shadow in a Rembrandt self-portrait could reveal a gentle sense of humanity or empathy. This process that all students go through from their first to fourth years at the university helps to engender confidence and to provide them with the skills, tools, and deep understanding they need to achieve visual excellence.

Artist Citizens

Different activities and methods of artistic and social engagement effect positive personal and social change among students at APS. The selected examples in the following narratives and stories give insight into how "learning organizations" mediate the fraught and complex questions of identity through multiple and cross-sectoral partnerships that are fluid, mediating, adaptable, and generative.

Over a number of years, facilitators from Men as Partners or Sonke Gender Justice[19] have participated in two-week community engagement projects with second-year APS students. The project participants attend workshops and engage with gender stereotyping and the roles of men in society. This collaboration revealed some black men's deep prejudices against women in general and gay men and women. Students involved in these projects are required to debate and to interrogate their own positions. (*See Plate 3*.)

One December, during the annual campaign of 16 Days of Activism of No Violence Against Women and Children,[20] I was driving in Newtown on my way to APS. I recognized someone who came up to my window as Thabo Motseki, a student from the APS third-year class. He was wearing a T-shirt that read "One Man Can." I then recognized eight or ten other young men who were stopping cars and handing out brochures to support the campaign of men against the abuse of women. I grinned as I took my brochure, and Thabo pointed outside the taxi rank to a colorful mural that the student volunteers had painted to advertise the campaign in one of the busiest commuter intersections of Bree Street in downtown Johannesburg. Not previously knowing anything about this activity, I asked the administrative staff at the studio who had arranged the project, as classes were over for the year. Thabo later told me that Sonke Gender Justice, an organizational partner with APS that is linked to Engender Health and Men as Partners, was looking for volunteers. Sonke had no money to pay the students but had invited interested people to sign up. Almost all members of the third-year class independently volunteered as activists in the weeklong campaign. I was very proud of these young men and felt that APS had succeeded in training young people to be "artist citizens."

APS participates in human rights and gender advocacy workshops annually. In addition, every 18 July, which has now come to be called Mandela Day,[21] students identify community projects that they wish to support. They recruit class members, apply for art materials from APS, and go out and make a difference. These activities build students capacities as leaders and achievers.

Another example of activities at APS that contribute to social change through citizenship facilitation is the placement of senior learners in engaged service learning. Opportunities for third-year volunteers to go to after-school centers to teach art activities to orphans and vulnerable children have helped to ensure that the students' attitudes and perspectives are challenged. Other experiential workplace internships include placements in corporate environments; mentorships with business and professional experts; placements as as-

sistants to community leaders; research assistantships; positions as translators and facilitators for children's programs; and placements in a partner NGO, such as the Lefika La Phodiso Art Therapy Centre. All of these placements recognize the value of skills and life experience in the learning process and have proven to be effective in making a contribution to the workplace as well as creating change in individuals. When the APS students engage professionally, they tend to rise to the challenge, shoulder responsibility, and assume leadership roles that prepare them to be proactive and engaged citizens.

Team Building

Another goal at APS is moral engagement, which has been defined by Freire as "learning to perceive social, political and economic contradictions and to take action against the oppressive elements of reality."[22] Team building through mural painting enacts the APS interpretation of empowerment. Students have painted advocacy murals against gender violence and xenophobia, as well as murals promoting human rights and the celebration of 20 years of democracy or other commemorative moments. (*See Plate 4*.)

Another way that APS interacts with its corporate funding partners is through exchange and mutual learning. The international law firm of Fasken Martineau, with roots in Canada and an office in Johannesburg, is a corporate sponsor of APS that supports eight students annually; they have a representative on APS's board of directors and offer legal seminars to our students. As part of their team building, APS was invited to participate in an art activity with the Fasken Martineau employees. During their strategic planning session, the law office staff members were asked to separate into eight teams of 10 to 12 people and to draw out the strategic plans of each unit in the form of a diagram. One artist from the third-year learning program at APS was assigned to lead each unit. The artist leader was tasked with translating the team's ideas and symbols into images, which the team then painted as a mural on the firm's garage basement wall.

The artists found themselves working with groups of approximately 90 staff members of highly motivated and competitive lawyers, litigators, financial managers, and corporate relations personnel. One young artist, deeply shy and very troubled (almost suicidal at one stage of his studies, due to devastating personal difficulties and loss at home), found himself appointed team leader for the litigators. He managed to inspire the group, and his team's mural was judged by outside judges as the winner. The experience boosted his

confidence to such an extent that he became one of the top achievers in his year at APS. He has since been offered a gallery exhibition and has plans to open his own gallery in his rural home. He understands that he can reach for his dreams through his belief in himself and his ability to be a catalyst for change.

The exercise of requiring highly successful corporate professionals to learn basic skills from a young black artist who may barely have had a high school qualification resulted in an enriching experience on both sides. The reversal of power, race, and class dynamics built confidence, humility, and humor and helped participants reach common ground across a chasm of difference. The exchange of skills and exposure to such extreme opposites of social and economic realities became a successful exercise in developing leadership. APS has recognized the value of building leadership capacities as one of its goals.

To take on the leadership of a project, students also need organization and management abilities that require self-confidence. People who depend on consistency and inflexible systems are likely to become highly frustrated, and artists must be conscious of and develop ways to address this potential stumbling block to collaboration. In this experience with the law firm, both sides showed the flexibility and openness needed for a positive outcome.

Trevor Thebe, an artist and facilitator from APS, said of his involvement in creating the Sonke Gender Justice murals,

> Painting murals gives power to those who take part in making them. To those who pass by, it works as a constant reminder of the message passed through in the paintings made. One thing that was good during these workshops was how people feel proud of what they see at the end of the project, expressions you see on faces of those passing by and the pride of those who took part in the painting. These are not painters but they end up with the confidence to paint and carry on with what they have started.[23]

At APS, we have learned that practitioners need to have a range of skills to engage community, business, and corporate partners. Artists must not only be technically proficient; they also need to bring diplomatic, organizing, and partnership skills to the table. They need qualities such as patience, optimism, and a sense of humor. The most important prerequisite for this work is a love for and acceptance of the messy, unpredictable, and complex nature of community arts work.

Artists as Agents for Change

APS has introduced a number of strategies to promote leadership skills among art students through active citizenship, by their participation in social advocacy and community outreach projects. These encounters require specific educational and skills interventions, which are embedded partially in the placements of senior learners in public arts interventions and partially in the development of their own artistic voices. Students are challenged to exhibit moral courage and to take a stand against social injustice. For example, they might participate in a solidarity march against xenophobia or in the organization of an action to demonstrate against inequality and promote the value of interconnectedness. APS encourages the notion of leadership as a collaborative, values-based process. Community engagement is less about service and more about the reciprocal, participatory approach of "co-creation."

When words fail and silence kills, artists can catalyze expression. Artist leaders can be conduits of creative energy that enable their teams to achieve meaningful results. By integrating the philosophy of *ubuntu*, as a philosophy of team and leadership building, with artistic methods applied to facilitate real internalization of the philosophy, APS has witnessed the development of a much stronger generation of graduates than before. Another valuable capacity of leadership is the notion of emergence or becoming. Warren G. Bennis, who offers practical advice on the qualities of leadership, has recognized that the process of "becoming" is key: "To become a leader, then you must become yourself, become the maker of your own life."[24] Themes prevalent in the mission of APS include empowerment through active citizenship and self-actualization. The following stories featuring Nelson Makamo and Thabang Lehobye are two of many that reveal the embodiment of an artist as an agent of change.

Self-Creation: Nelson's Story

> If one person is willing to spend money on my work, it gives me courage and energy to continue expressing myself freely.
> —Nelson Makamo

Nelson Makamo, a talented young artist who graduated from APS in 2005 and interned as manager in the APS studio gallery, was returning home to say good-bye to a family member who was dying of AIDS in the rural town

Fig. 2.2. Nelson Makamo, 2008. (Photo by D. Rasiel.)

of Modimolle in Limpopo Province. Nelson was devastated, and I suggested that he talk to the AIDS counselor who works with APS. The studio had just completed a four-month AIDS Action project called Reclaiming Lives, and Nelson, as a recent graduate, had assumed the role of encouraging the younger students to participate in a program of voluntary counseling and testing (VCT).

The counselor informed Nelson of all the options and possibilities of antiretroviral medication and gave him the contact number of a doctor who specializes in HIV and works in the region of Nelson's hometown. Nelson went home armed with a little hope and new knowledge about options for treatment. He also had just received a major public art commission through his APS patron and had taken out health insurance for himself and his dependents. He was supporting his mother and younger siblings from the income he earned from the sales of his artwork. Nelson was able to convince his family about the importance of VCT and antiretroviral drugs. His family member qualified for treatment due to her minimal CD_4 count and has since made an excellent recovery: she is on treatment and living a productive and healthy life.

This success was the result of a long journey that started in 2002, when Nelson's art teacher recognized his talent in his rural high school and drove him into Johannesburg to apply for a bursary to study at APS. When he arrived at APS, he was very shy and intimidated by the bustle of Johannesburg, as he had grown up in an impoverished rural family. Nelson has since become a role model and epitomizes an APS success story. He is driven and highly motivated and has been the breadwinner for his family since he was 23 years old. He had a dream of success when he arrived in the "big city," worked extremely hard, and modeled himself on successful black artists, such as Sam Nhlengethwa.[25] Nelson is an example of "self-creation" in which "the two dimensions of engagement and transformation are constitutively intertwined" (Pieterse 2004: 340). With his talent, dreams, and vivid imagination, he created an image of himself as a successful artist and then fulfilled it. In Nelson's final year at APS, his corporate patron, who believed in Nelson's talent, offered him a solo exhibition in 2006 in Melrose Arch, an exclusive enclave of Johannesburg's affluent community. The exhibition sold out.

Today Nelson sells his artwork steadily and has bought himself a house and car. Nelson was employed by APS in the studio gallery up to 2008. However, once his career took off, he no longer needed a job, as he has had over six solo shows internationally. In 2014, the Everard Read Gallery, one of the largest and most prestigious galleries in South Africa, gave him a solo exhibi-

tion. Nelson claims that his dream came true because of the inspiration and opportunities offered by APS, along with his commitment to his belief that he can succeed. An important challenge for APS has been discovering how concepts of citizenship and social justice can be translated into building a generation of artists who no longer hold onto the mythology of the "poor artist" (the bum, the outsider on the margins, the victim always needing funding, help, and handouts). If transformation is the objective, diversity and democracy should penetrate the inner core of the teaching and learning process.

Agency: Thabang's Story

At the beginning of 2008, I received a phone call from a former student, Thabang Lehobye. "Kim," he said, "I just received a job offer from Jupiter Drawing Room [a well-known advertising agency]. They offered me a package as art director that I could not refuse. I would like to invite you out for lunch with me." It is not an unusual phenomenon for a teacher to meet up with former students to celebrate their achievements. This story, however, is not common; the content of the invitation symbolized a testament of economic, social, and spiritual empowerment, and the phone invitation to me encapsulated agency.

I met Thabang Lehobye when he was 15 years old. He arrived at APS in 2001, with some drawings he had made on the back of an old calendar. He came with Bafana Ndlovu, a slightly older school friend, both from the informal settlement in Orange Farm, near Soweto. They wanted to apply to attend the Saturday youth class at APS while they completed high school, as there were no art teachers in Orange Farm. The late Nhlanhla Xaba, my former APS partner and teacher of the youth program, was insistent that we accept them, even though they were the youngest students ever to be registered. Thabang's drawings were extraordinary, and Nhlanhla and I agreed that we had never encountered such raw talent. APS subsidized weekly transport for Thabang and Bafana to attend the Saturday youth program for three years, until they completed their school leaving certificates.

When APS burned down in 2003, in the fire that also took Nhlanhla's life, Thabang stayed away for months. He subsequently told me that he had then felt suicidal. He had lost Nhlanhla, his mentor and role model, as well as his studio home, the place that held all his dreams. Six months passed before he was able to come back, to the then-temporary venue in the Bus Factory.[26]

Thabang subsequently passed his high school leaving certificate and shared with me his dream: to go to university and study fine arts. During that

Fig. 2.3. Thabang Lehobye, 2008. (Photo by D. Rasiel.)

period, I met Patty Suzman, the daughter of anti-apartheid veteran Helen Suzman. Patty lives in Boston and visited her mother in Johannesburg regularly. A friend brought Patty to APS. I showed Patty Thabang's artwork and asked her if she would be willing to be his patron and sponsor him for three years to study fine arts at the Technikon Witwatersrand (now the University of Johannesburg).

After meeting Thabang and encountering this 18-year-old's passion and determination (even though he was painfully shy and could not make eye contact with her), Patty readily agreed to give him a scholarship for three years. Thabang was able to register for his national diploma in fine arts in 2004. Further, through a friend, I received an offer from an arts education youth leadership camp in the United States, for a young South African artist to attend camp for three weeks at no charge. The candidate had to be 18 years old or under and exceptionally talented. One of the APS board members

agreed to assist with some travel expenses, and Thabang was chosen to go to Wyoming. This adventure took place during the July holidays in his first year at university.

Part of Thabang's neighborhood and extended family showed up at the airport to see him off. This was the first time he and his family had ever been to the airport. He did not know anyone who had flown in a plane, and he was exceptionally nervous. Yet once at the camp, Thabang had a wonderful time. The experience with international youth at an American camp helped him to find his voice, stand up with confidence, and look into the eyes of another person when in conversation, despite the discomfort of breaking a convention of cultural respect that was central in his home culture.

As he entered his second year, Thabang found the university's academic structure to be daunting. He struggled with traveling two hours from Orange Farm each day to be at class by 8:00 a.m. When he was late, some lecturers did not admit him into their lectures. They accused him of laziness. At the end of the year, he was failing his theory subjects. As he struggled with money, APS employed him as teaching assistant for the Saturday classes, so that he could earn extra funds for his daily travel. Despite the financial and academic obstacles, Thabang survived his second year.

In his third year, Thabang became interested in animation. Inspired by William Kentridge, he made hundreds of drawings for a Kentridge-style animation about moral and environmental degradation in his Orange Farm neighborhood, where Thabang and his family lived in a shack with no electricity. Each drawing frame had to be photographed with a handheld camera. A friend occasionally lent him a laptop computer and digital camera that he could use to work overnight at home until the batteries ran out. Notwithstanding his challenges, the resulting video animation piece was powerful. Thabang achieved the highest mark in his year for this extraordinary work, and although he continued to struggle with theory subjects, extra tuition costs, and the fear of letting me down, he achieved his three-year fine arts diploma with a distinction in art practice.

I once picked Thabang up at his home in Orange Farm. It took me an hour and a half to drive there. He did not want me to go inside, as he was ashamed. The outside yard had a half-built foundation and wall. His mother, a single parent, had started building a house for herself and her three sons six years previously and could not afford to develop it further. She had a menial job in a factory and is partially disabled. Thabang admitted that he used his bursary money meant for purchasing extra materials to buy them food each month. His brother pointed out to me a small corner

of their shack where Thabang worked every night, sometimes through the night. Thabang told me that the first thing he would do when he gets a job is build the house for his mother.

For Thabang's graduation from the university, Patty Suzman gave him a state-of-the-art laptop computer of his own, and I took him to meet William Kentridge, the artist who inspired his work. After seeing Thabang's animation and recognizing his remarkable talent, William Kentridge wrote a check to APS for R20,000 (about $1,500) to enable Thabang to further his studies. Thabang wanted to go to Vega School, an exclusive, private advertising and multimedia college in Johannesburg for "rich kids," and was accepted to do his honors in multimedia with a tuition bursary. Fees cost up to R40,000 ($3,500) per year, a sum of money that is normally out of range for poor black students. In his letter of thanks to William Kentridge, Thabang wrote,

> One of the greatest abilities we have at our disposal as human is to dream. Dreams afford us wildest fantasies beyond present circumstances, but the most powerful thing about dreams is that they can come true. The best thing that can ever happen to an aspiring young artist is to be acknowledged by your greatest inspiration. THANK YOU MR KENTRIDGE for seeing my work.

APS disbursed the Kentridge grant as a monthly allowance for Thabang to travel to the college, which is located in the suburb of Sandton. Travel sometimes took up to three hours one way. He often needed help with extra money to do his assignments. However, midyear in 2007, he phoned me, beside himself with excitement. His work, a short animation piece adapted from the work he made in his third year of fine arts study had won a gold award in the student category at the Loerie Awards, the most prestigious advertising competition in South Africa. This award would open up all manner of doors to his future.

On hearing his exciting news, I invited Thabang out for lunch. I picked him up in town, and we went to a restaurant. Over lunch, he told me of his embarrassment when his Vega classmates all went out to McDonald's. Thabang was too ashamed to tell them he could not afford it, so he used his transport money to pay toward his meal, his first at a restaurant, and walked two hours to a friend's house in the city that night to ask for a loan to get home.

Two months after completing his honors at Vega College, Thabang's appointment at the Jupiter Drawing Room was a sign that he had reached his

goal against all odds. He saw himself as a dreamer, and he made his dreams materialize. An art gallery in Johannesburg offered him his first solo exhibition in 2010. He has since married and continues to flourish with his two children (his new family).

Sustainable Futures

For over 25 years, APS has provided for many challenges and reassessments in its journey as an arts organization, and it has constantly evolved in its joint quest for stability and growth. It has sustained itself though many strategies and partnerships. As has been defined earlier, APS is a learning organization that sees organizing as a form of identifying, recruiting, and nurturing the leadership of others. As Marshall Ganz recognizes and has been the case in APS, a leadership voice emerges from the perspective of the "learner"—one who has learned to ask the right questions—rather than that of a "knower" who thinks he or she knows all the answers.[27]

One challenge for APS has been erratic funding from different donors demanding different approaches. Corporate funders require entrepreneurial business practice from the artists they support, arts and culture councils fund specific educational or advocacy programs, and specific foundations fund outreach to orphans and vulnerable children. APS has developed the capacity to respond directly to a variety of funding priorities as well as varying community ideas, needs, situations, and opportunities. Its partnerships with the arts agencies and corporations concerned with social investment have deepened and expanded the diversity and complexity of its activities and outreach.

Funding at APS is secured through a diversity of sources and commissions; over 60 percent of its funding is self-supporting from sales of art. Many young artists are assigned "patrons" drawn from our corporate or individual partners. This is an active exchange. The art student receives a monthly stipend of approximately R1,200 ($80) for additional materials and transport and is obliged to give their patron three of their best works each year. The patron, who has interviewed and selected their student for subsidy, ideally provides the student with professional mentorship and, in the process, may arrange some exposure of their artwork through corporate or private receptions. The law firm Fasken Martineau, a corporate patron, offers APS four seminars each year on legal issues (e.g., contracts, commissions, and copyright) and provides pro bono legal advice to our board of directors. Individual professional mentors may serve on our advisory committees and give seminars on marketing or social media. Through these reciprocal relationships

with APS, a complex web of exchange contributes to the idea of APS as a learning organization.

Consistent revision of strategies by an active participation of all stakeholders leads to reorganization, which brings renewal. A long-term partnership with the South African Development Fund in Boston, where I volunteered as a student in the mid-1980s, has consistently supported APS since its establishment in 1991. Through Boston networks and friends, APS received in-kind funding for a long-term education partnership and exchange program with the Boston Arts Academy (BAA), a progressive inner-city public high school in Boston that offers training in the arts in and through all subject areas. They achieve exceptional pass rates and results, and through a visit to APS in 2010 by Linda Nathan, the founder and principal of the school, we established a firm personal and organizational friendship that led to over seven years of exchanges. On two occasions, BAA has sent a team of educators to South Africa to engage in strategic workshops, to train APS teachers and develop a revised set of values for teaching. In 2015, BAA hosted APS educator Rene Mathibe (whom we identified to assume a leadership position at APS) to attend creative leadership training for three months and shadow the teachers to learn how BAA applies their philosophy of "habits of mind," which guides the ethos of their school. APS embraces its own "habits of mind," which have been developed through workshops with Nathan, who introduced APS to the concept that habits and values should enhance capacities of learning.[28]

The acronym for the framework adopted at APS is ISEE-U, which stands for **i**nnovation, **s**elf-awareness, **e**ngagement, **e**xcellence, and ***u****buntu*. By promoting the values of "excellence through possibility," innovation, and internal and external engagement, we encourage artists to push the boundaries of printmaking, to find their own vision, and to derive inspiration through collaboration. These values develop the capacities for leadership and agency among the students and graduates. In this context, we extend the notion of *ubuntu* as an ethical guide that "encourages individuals to think of themselves as inextricably bound to others, discouraging people from seeking their own good without regard for, or to the detriment of, others and the community."[29] This understanding is integrated into the vision of APS as "a professional studio . . . where people of talent and passion can reach for excellence in artmaking to achieve self-sustainability."

The ISEE-U habits of mind, together with the requirements for senior students to develop an independent community engagement project as well as exhibit a body of resolved and technically accomplished work, enable teach-

ers and students to fully connect education with APS's values and mission in their everyday practice. The foundational base for the model of teaching and learning that is geared to build active citizenship starts with the existing knowledge of the learners or participants. Using these values as a guide for practice and assessment as we conduct our educational and organizational program provides a unique platform for all its students and staff. APS has taken up the challenge of training artists as active and engaged citizens who can use their talents and skills to give color and texture and shape to our emerging democracy, to deepen understanding, and to reframe issues in ways that present new possibilities to the world.

Due to erratic funding, APS is a space that is in continuous flux, which makes for a rich and creative learning environment. All the students and teachers become involved in strategies that generate income and work-placement opportunities, such as public commissions, outreach, workshops, and sales of artwork. In this way, APS is able to support over 25 full- and part-time staff members and interns, to subsidize over 60 students who do not pay fees, and to co-publish print projects with up to 50 artists a year.

The Paper Prayers HIV/AIDS Awareness and Action Campaign: A Method for Creating Awareness and Countering Denial

> Never doubt that a small group of thoughtful, committed people can change the world. Indeed, that is about all that ever has. Just imagine the potential if we were to all join hands.
>
> —Margaret Mead[30]

In his introduction to the 30th anniversary edition of *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, Donald Macedo simply and elegantly thanked Freire "for having taught us how to read the world and for challenging us to humanize the world."[31] I share Macedo's gratitude and embrace the opportunity to respond to Freire's challenge that "to exist, humanly, is to name the world, to change it."[32] An artist always acts in the absence of certainty, and profound possibilities emerge. While APS is a story of economic opportunities and visualizing a bright future, the remainder of this chapter engages some of the serious social threats facing the future for urban youth in Johannesburg. HIV and AIDS affects at least 20 percent of the youth in Gauteng, and the lure of drugs and crime is largely a result of living in poverty and unemployment.[33] Furthermore, South Africa has

one of the highest rates of rape and violence against women and children in the world.[34] The needs of the often-marginalized artist membership at APS include ongoing crises of a traumatized citizenry, such as harassment, unwanted pregnancy, jailing, theft, homelessness, discrimination, vandalism, alcohol and drug abuse, and psychological health problems. APS has responded to these issues using a range of strategies that include art therapy interventions, referrals for counseling, HIV and AIDS awareness and support programs, and enabling capacities for redress in the general learning programs.

Paper Prayers is a national arts-based HIV and AIDS awareness and action campaign that spreads its message through printmaking and craft. It was established in 1998 with a grant from the South African Department of Arts, Culture, Science, and Technology, as an arts and culture strategy to address the AIDS pandemic. A paper prayer is a visual poem (or a prayer) on paper. Audre Lorde says of poetry,

> Poetry is not a luxury. It is a vital necessity of our existence. It forms the quality of the light within which we predicate our hopes and dreams toward survival and change, first made into language, then into idea, then into more tangible action. Poetry is the way we help give name to the nameless so it can be thought. The farthest horizons of our hopes and fears are cobbled by our poems, carved from the rock experiences of our daily lives.[35]

The concept of a prayer on paper comes from an ancient Japanese custom of writing or drawing a symbol on a strip of paper as an offering of healing and well-being for those who are ill.

I first encountered the concept of paper prayers at an exhibition at the Howard Yezerski Art Gallery, when I was living and studying in Boston in 1987. For the exhibition, artists had contributed an anonymous artwork on a narrow strip of paper, which was then exhibited and auctioned to raise money for an AIDS hospice. A few years later, I went to Washington, DC, to see the monumental AIDS quilt, which was made from thousands of small, individual memorial panels, each serving as a testament to someone who had died of AIDS. Rarely have I felt as moved by a creative act as the one I witnessed with the unveiling of the quilt across a mile of lawn in front of the US Capitol on the National Mall.[36] The memory of that event almost three decades ago has remained a powerful inspiration. According to Julie Rhoad,

president of the NAMES Project Foundation and custodian of the AIDS Memorial Quilt, "The power of the quilt is the ability to transform statistics to souls, [so] that people can learn from and teach with it."[37]

A further inspiration for the South African Paper Prayers campaign came from a workshop on hand papermaking that I gave in 1997 at the Technikon Witwatersrand (now UJ) to a community outreach group of women from Winterveld, in the northwest region of Gauteng Province. A conversation I had with one of the women in the group became the catalyst for proposing a nationwide campaign for HIV and AIDS awareness using handmade paper and printmaking, following the Japanese custom. On that occasion, Roselina Molefe and I were standing at the sink washing paper screens. I asked her how she was doing. She said (in translation), "This papermaking thing, where you can make something beautiful from rubbish, has given me life. My life was rubbish, and now I make something from nothing and can earn money." Roselina is living positively with HIV and is one of the longest-standing members of what later became the Phumani Paper program (her story is told in chapter 3).

Applying art as a tool for learning has a demonstrated history of effectiveness in South Africa. During the apartheid years, it promoted the healing, growth, self-confidence, and imagination needed to sustain the struggle. In the post-apartheid era, art continued to contribute substantially to confronting and surmounting the HIV and AIDS pandemic, but, as with the resistance art[38] of the 1980s, it could only be one part of a larger political effort.[39]

Over time, Paper Prayers developed from an intensive awareness campaign, to income generation through the sales of embroidered or sewn products, to an accredited program of skills training and activism. A program such as Paper Prayers can serve as a model of adaptability for organizations attempting to combat enormous social challenges. The story of Paper Prayers advances some of the key themes of finding voice and offers a guide to engaging visual strategies for social advocacy and change.

Voicing the Unspeakable: The HIV and AIDS Pandemic

The history of the pandemic of HIV and AIDS in South Africa has been widely documented, and extensive information can be found in the numerous publications and websites on the topic.[40] HIV was largely an invisible disease in South Africa, particularly from 1993 to 2000.[41] The country was distracted by major political changes, and while the attention of the South African people and the world media was focused on the inspiring political

and social transformation occurring in the country, HIV was insidiously establishing itself. Although the results of the political changes were favorable, the spread of the virus was not given the attention that it deserved. During this period, government inaction, denial, and poor delivery of services for HIV and AIDS meant that the numbers of infections and deaths increased uncontrollably, causing enormous suffering as well as frustration and anger among activists, NGOs, health professionals, and civic society in general.

In 1997, President Nelson Mandela established the Inter-Ministerial Committee on AIDS, which recognized that AIDS is not just a health problem but one affecting all sectors of society. Each ministry received funding to formulate AIDS programs that were specific to their mandates. Against this background, which spawned many grassroots projects, APS entered the arena of developing an arts-based program in response to the pandemic. The grassroots struggle that overcame apartheid taught us that not structures but people must take on the big issues. I believed, therefore, that artists and educators cannot be complicit in the collective denial of the nation and that each one of us could tackle the problem of HIV and AIDS. The central challenge explored here is understanding the special capacity of the visual arts that has succeeded in breaking the silence about HIV and AIDS and countering the culture of denialism. The idea that a creative activity could give hope and prospects for the future convinced me that art can heal in tangible and intangible ways. This belief is one of the reasons I turned to the concept of paper prayers that I had first witnessed in Boston.

The deepest challenge for us at APS and arguably for all South Africans during the height of the pandemic was to change attitudes: the despair, powerlessness, and stigma that seemed to go hand in hand with carelessness and abuse around sexual behavior. It was clear that it was of no use to depend on government to address the pandemic. Ultimately the challenge lay with individual citizens. In a small way, the Paper Prayers campaign, alongside hundreds of other initiatives by citizens and extraordinary advocacy work by NGOs such as the Treatment Action Campaign and others, exemplifies the ability of participants to contribute to change in society.

The first application of the Paper Prayers campaign was in Johannesburg for World AIDS Day in December 1997, when the Johannesburg Art Gallery (JAG) hosted an exhibition of documentary photographs by Gideon Mendel entitled *Positive Lives, Part 1*. The curator of JAG at the time, Steven Sack, who was also aware of the paper prayers made by artists in Boston, approached me to conduct a workshop and to curate an accompanying exhibition of paper prayers, similar in format to the Howard Yezerski Art Gal-

lery's annual event. When the resulting artworks were exhibited, people were invited to give a donation and take a paper prayer home.

Because the concept and exhibition of the paper prayers became such a success, I was encouraged by Sack to write a funding proposal to the Department of Arts, Culture, Science, and Technology (DACST) for a national campaign.[42] In 1998, at the height of the HIV and AIDS pandemic, APS was awarded a grant by DACST to the value of R350,000 (roughly $30,000), to use the idea of paper prayers as a nationwide visual arts program, with the dual purpose of creating awareness of the disease and of helping to overcome the negative emotions of fear and denial. An organizing committee was set up to plan and implement the program together with other AIDS activists and counselors from various organizations. Because the funding was awarded for a nine-month program that needed to reach all nine provinces, APS allocated some of the DACST funds (R20,000, approximately $2,000 at the time) to the participating partners in each province, to conduct workshops with artists and/or members of local communities. A key objective was to be as inclusive and broad-based as possible.

Initially, the Paper Prayers national outreach campaign at APS began in partnership with the National Association of People Living with HIV and AIDS, Community AIDS Response, and AIDSLink. In the campaign's first year, the project reached over 1,200 people through printmaking workshops in which each participant produced a series of small paper prayers. In the first nine months of the campaign, thousands of paper prayers were made. Every workshop in each province began with an interactive AIDS awareness workshop with a trained counselor and included role playing, drawing, quizzes, and awareness sessions.

Each artist responded to the challenge question "What can I do as an individual?" Example responses included giving a gift of caring, offering work to exhibit in order to raise money to assist another person, and creating awareness through discussion with neighbors or holding a workshop in a school. The ideal outcome was to have each person feel that they had been empowered to make a difference. Participants were able to keep at least one image for themselves and one to give as a gift. At least two prints were retained by the campaign, to display in World AIDS Day exhibitions.

Paper Prayers has since become an active outreach program of APS and operates as a self-supporting unit of the studio.[43] Workshops have been offered across disciplines and cultures, both in South Africa and across its borders, to highly skilled artists and educators, health workers, street children, and rural women who have never experienced art. In every case, the result is

consistent and gives credence to Audre Lorde's claim "Poetry is not a luxury. It is a vital necessity of our existence."[44] The aim of these workshops is to encourage people to take responsibility for their HIV status; however, the same structure could be directed to focus on other issues, such as gender advocacy, violence, teen pregnancy, or another advocacy issue. Each workshop is conducted in collaboration with a local support partner or counselor trained on the particular issue.

Since its founding, the Paper Prayers project has recognized the value of the imagination and of insistence on positive imagery, such as living and not dying. One of the most important features of the project was the reducing of stigma of HIV/AIDS and the creating of safe spaces for disclosure and support. We needed to normalize the disease in order to promote the idea of living with it positively and proactively. Subsequently, over the years, Paper Prayers has been used by APS as a tool for employing art, specifically printmaking, as a means to help participants feel that they are involved in an act of healing and thereby are becoming part of the solution to other problems.

As its very name implies, Paper Prayers is about promoting spiritual and emotional healing. However, the original grant proposal for the project contained a requirement to address "'sustainability" in the form of skills training for jobs. Using craft as a means for healing the broken self had to be linked to the use of art to earn a living. Although this requirement deviated from the tenets of art therapy, the Paper Prayers campaign recognized that the foremost challenge for poor South Africans is income generation, and with this in mind, the program attempted to bridge this divide by coupling the use of art for awareness and healing with training in the skills of craft production for income generation. As many of the regional partners were not art centers but rural craft facilities, the Paper Prayers project expanded its focus on printmaking to the use of found and recycled materials and extended its range to the making of embroidered cloths with AIDS messages. Some women's collectives were taught textile printing, batik, and embroidery, while other collectives were taught papermaking. To implement the challenge of job creation with the allocated funds, APS set up five papermaking projects that could make paper from recycled wastepaper in a stand mixer. These projects, in turn, provided the Paper Prayers campaign with handmade paper for printing.

For the national campaign in 1998, thousands of handmade paper sheets were made and purchased from the collectives. These were given to each of the provincial art centers to use in the printing of their paper prayers. Making a printed artwork on paper that was handmade from recycled materials in-

creased the value and beauty of the paper prayer, while being environmentally friendly and supporting job creation. The jobs that were created, however, would later require a significant injection of further funding and development, which led to the establishment of the Phumani Paper project.[45] The first phase of the Paper Prayers initiative, during the height of the epidemic, was only a small step in reducing fear and denial, a small step that succeeded by joining the momentum of many other initiatives. It pointed to some powerful possibilities for future development. This phase focused on providing emotional support and visibility, rather than offering treatment or solutions.

The Embroidery Collectives

Without continued funding, APS did not have the financial or personnel resources to pursue this ambitious vision of an annual Paper Prayers campaign culminating in a national exhibition for World AIDS Day. However, we kept it going locally at APS. We were able to secure small grants and commissions for quilts and exhibitions that kept five small embroidery projects economically active. The campaign reached the rural embroidery and sewing groups in remote villages in Mpumalanga Province (Bushbuckridge and Karos workers in Tzaneen), Chivurika Embroidery group in Limpopo Province (Giyani), and Mapula Embroidery in North West Province (Winterveld).[46] All of these projects had originally been formed as a means of income generation through craft, and Paper Prayers projects were introduced to expand the scope of the groups. (*See Plates 5 and 7.*)

In the rural embroidery projects we worked with, the introduction of workshops for HIV awareness in 1998 was, in most instances, the first opportunity the women had for an open forum that permitted discussion about the disease. In every rural community we approached, we found a reluctance to acknowledge the impact of HIV and AIDS. Nevertheless, the Paper Prayers campaign required the women to respond to the information provided by the workshops with visual imagery and metaphor—that is, to process their knowledge emotionally. The Paper Prayers program has spawned independent programs such as Kopenang (2000), a women's embroidery collective that houses an AIDS orphanage; Keiskamma Trust (2002), a remarkable initiative founded in the Eastern Cape by Carol Hofmeyr;[47] and Ikageng (2003), a collective of women in Johannesburg who received training from a Paper Prayers skills program and who successfully make and sell felt toys.[48]

Anecdotal evidence suggests that Paper Prayers workshops resulted in a significant change in attitudes for both individuals and their communities.

One example comes from a workshop held in in 1998 in the Xisonga village Mphambo, in the area of Giyani in Limpopo Province. The women at the workshop requested that the young men present leave the room, as it was improper to discuss sex in the company of men. The women were then able to speak freely and asked questions that revealed the prevalence of the myths surrounding what was referred to as "slims disease." Some of the questions included "Can you get AIDS from bathing in the same water, from toilet seats, and from hugging?" Women also asked what they could do if they were aware that the man has multiple sex partners in the city and yet refuses to use a condom.[49] How could they protect themselves? How could they organize other women to be aware of the problem and to support each other? One woman shared a story of being beaten up by her husband for asking about condom use.

To counter these fears, the HIV facilitator engaged the group in role playing; humor, laughter, singing, and fun became key strategies for participation. Amid great amusement, the trainer demonstrated the use of male and female condoms and offered examples of women gathering a group of supporters by blowing a whistle when threatened with violence. At the end of the workshop, the women requested Paper Prayers T-shirts and started wearing the red ribbons to identify themselves as members of a group who have the knowledge to help and support others. Some of these women subsequently became AIDS activists and home-based caregivers.

From Awareness to Action, Some Lessons Learned from Paper Prayers

The techniques used by Paper Prayers facilitators are simple and accessible (see the appendix for a description of the workshop structure; *see also Plate 6*). The pleasure in overcoming the initial fear "I cannot draw, so I cannot do this" is key to harnessing positive creative energy. The feelings of pride and delight in being able to achieve a beautiful image are empowering for participants. To quote one of the facilitators,

> Printmaking is a fairly simple activity lending itself to the exploration of a wide range of materials and techniques. This means anyone can be part of the paper prayer activity—like everyone can be part of the solution to changing negative attitudes towards HIV/AIDS.[50]

Small visual arts strategies such as the Paper Prayers program, the Siyazama Project,[51] and the Break the Silence advocacy billboards proved to

be effective in addressing the impact of HIV. This is because they do not function as bureaucratic structures but, rather, coordinate and direct the work of others. The initiatives tap into the talent, ingenuity, energy, and local knowledge that South African citizens have to offer.[52] They facilitate and assist in unlocking the capacity and resources of people to experience themselves as agents of change.

The process of making, as well as the method of learning, contributed to the ownership and application of new knowledge. Testimonies such as "Now I can buy medicine for my sick child" document the positive impact of the craft development program. They show that the therapeutic approach had great value for individuals and communities who had been enduring great suffering and had been in denial about the cause of the disease. By breaking the silence, stigma could begin to be addressed, and divided communities could begin to heal. The Paper Prayers campaign initiated a process of emotional and intellectual change that had the potential to transform lives.

According to Marie Ström, a human rights educator from the former Institute of Democracy in South Africa (IDASA), deep down, people often doubt the capacity of citizens to be real agents of change and prefer to put their faith in the government and other specialized bodies.[53] To counter this belief and find appropriate responses of civil society to the AIDS pandemic, NGOs like IDASA worked with local government officials who set up AIDS councils, training these officials to think of themselves as "organizers not bureaucrats" and to conceive of citizens as "co-creators of community solutions." Perhaps developing such thinking is a key challenge to present to all South Africans.

Eventually, over the years following 1997, through the extensive arts initiatives in many media (from billboards and posters to art exhibitions and documentary photographs and films), the HIV and AIDS crisis was made visible throughout South Africa. In his notorious speech at the HIV and AIDS 2000 conference in Durban, President Thabo Mbeki declared that there was no connection between HIV and AIDS, as a virus could not cause a syndrome. Instead, he adopted the dissidents' argument that the world's biggest killer was extreme poverty. In his response to Mbeki, the South African high court judge Edwin Cameron received an ovation when he criticized the government's "grievous ineptitude" in its handling of HIV and AIDS. Quoting South African politician, former anti-apartheid activist, and medical doctor Mamphela Ramphele, Cameron stated, "Giving official sanction to skepticism about the cause of AIDS was irresponsibility that bordered on criminality."[54] When Nelson Mandela closed the conference, he urged the

country to "rise above our differences and combine our efforts to save our people," warning that "history will judge us harshly if we fail to do so, and right now."[55] In September 2008, Mbeki stepped down from his office as president of South Africa. Several ministers resigned, and others were moved into different positions. These appointments were lauded by South African and international activists as offering new hope in the struggle against AIDS.

An important problem associated with the spread of the pandemic was denial. For many people, the knowledge of their HIV-positive status translated as a death sentence due to the lack of treatment, so denial was an understandable response at the time and became an epidemic in itself. In his 2005 book *Witness to AIDS*, Judge Cameron provides a moving account of how the knowledge of one's HIV-positive status can produce overwhelming feelings of fear, self-blame, and self-loathing.[56] His story draws attention to how fear and stigma can conspire to produce silence and perpetuate denial about this devastating pandemic. The conclusion to his book serves to articulate the rationale for the Paper Prayers program.

> AIDS has pitched our continent into a vast agony of mourning . . . And many of us, too many, have reacted mutely. We have responded to the epidemic with silence; and our doing so has rendered it and those who suffer under it unspeakable . . . Our grief is there. It is continent-wide, pandemic. But we cannot allow our grief and our bereavement to inflict further loss upon us: the loss of our full humanity, our capacity to feel and respond and support. We must incorporate our grief into our everyday living, by turning it into energy for living, by exerting ourselves as never before. Africa seeks healing. That healing lies within the power of our own actions.[57]

I contend that the arts have the potential to respond in creative and imaginative ways that can act as "catalysts for unlocking citizen power."[58] This potential is evident in the confidence gained by participants in the Paper Prayers workshops, from their participation there and from becoming engaged in the campaign. The campaign enabled participants to see themselves as having agency and therefore as becoming part of the solution to the crisis.

Yet it must also be acknowledged that, like other government-funded AIDS education initiatives, the Paper Prayers campaign was not able to go far enough in confronting the epidemic. While many women have earned a living with help from the campaign and have shared with their neighbors' knowledge about AIDS and how to treat it, the campaign could not rea-

sonably expect to eliminate denial and fear in communities. Nevertheless, it demonstrated some of the ways in which a program such as Paper Prayers can serve as a model of adaptability for organizations attempting to combat enormous social challenges.

Looking back on the outcomes nearly two decades later, I believe that Paper Prayers played a significant role in breaking the silence and addressing denial for the many participants. As an awareness intervention, the national Paper Prayers campaign and its subsequent programs met their limited objectives. The participants' statements and actions (*as documented in Plates 3–8*) demonstrate a significant increase in their awareness, their ability to absorb new knowledge, and their confidence in their ability to seek treatment or to support others to do so. In addition to these anecdotal, unmeasurable emotional benefits, more quantifiable outcomes, such as skills training and income generation, have led to improved livelihoods, thereby putting knowledge into action. Since its first introduction in 1997, the trajectory of the Paper Prayers initiative has been from awareness to advocacy and from female-based education to education involving both men and women. It has adapted parallel to the pace of change of government policy with regard to the rollout of testing and access to treatment.

To keep alive the spark of art as activism, APS conducts at least one Paper Prayers AIDS awareness workshop per year for every class, as part of its required program of study. Apart from increasing awareness, the workshops help to recruit volunteers in the APS outreach program, which supports the design and production of crafts in the Ikageng and other Paper Prayers outreach projects. APS continues the Paper Prayers initiative as an outreach program, not only in response to the HIV and AIDS crisis but also as a tool to counter social injustice generally. Self-funded through commissions and sales of craft products such as embroidered cloths, quilts, and soft toys, Paper Prayers has, over the years, generated livelihoods for about 40 women infected or affected by HIV.

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

> It is one of the ironies of South Africa that a country with one of the most gender-sensitive constitutions . . . should also experience very high levels of violence against women . . . The inability to negotiate safer sex because of gender inequality is a major driving force in the HIV/AIDS epidemic.[59]

In the South African context, faced with the magnitude of the AIDS pandemic, APS, through the Paper Prayers program, challenges the role of art to reach beyond awareness and beyond communities that focus primarily on women. The compelling issue here would seem to be about life and death, not merely education and emotional and skills support. Can art do more? Can it confront the patriarchy and begin to change behavior?

As Paper Prayers workshops continued at APS, it became apparent that the student population is predominantly male. These young men consistently revealed ignorance about their sexuality and choices around AIDS, despite the fact that many of them have participated in HIV and AIDS awareness workshops or have been exposed to the national campaigns on these issues. Since 2004, APS partnered with organizations specifically directed toward education development with men, such as Engender Health and its subsidiaries Men as Partners and Sonke Gender Justice (One Man Can campaign). In this way, the Paper Prayers program at APS has developed into experiential learning placements and internships for APS third-year learners to integrate HIV and AIDS education and activism into the APS curriculum.

Some students, for example, teach art classes for two hours per week to orphans and vulnerable children at after-school programs organized by NOAH (Nurturing Orphans of AIDS for Humanity) and called "arks." This engaged-learning project that partners a young artist with AIDS orphans and vulnerable children in a mutually giving relationship aims to achieve a level of growth that has been described by the coordinator of the program, Shannin Antonopoulo, as a "transformation in being." In the pilot project with teenagers, the evaluations of some of the participants express profound changes in aspects of self and personal values. For example, in interviews with some of the APS senior learners who participated as interns or "big brothers," there was recognition of personal transformation.

> It wasn't my choice, but by the time I got there I thought this is where I belong. This is where I learned that art does not belong to me but I have to transfer the skills to other people.[60]

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

The new intervention responded to the question, if art is to contribute to saving lives, are different approaches needed when the audience is primarily young men rather than rural women? As noted previously, approximately 75–80 percent of APS students are young men. Many gender-based issues that have surfaced over the years can be traced to the urban and township culture from which the majority come. The machismo of township youth has many negative manifestations, among them gangsterism and violence against women. Therefore, APS began to focus gender training on men and shifted the emphasis from AIDS awareness to the gender-based issues surrounding this disease.

A Story: The Reclaiming Lives Project

In April 2006, I was one of five finalists who were each awarded R25,000 (about $2,000) by the Sasol Wax Corporation[61] to produce a body of artwork for an annual South African art exhibition and prize. Finalists were required to use wax, one of Sasol's products, as a theme or medium. I chose to use the significant publicity that this competition generated to highlight the role of artists in the fight against AIDS. Although the award was for individual artists, I decided to use the funds to initiate a new AIDS awareness project. Reclaiming Lives, my project for the exhibition, was a collaboration with the 100 artists active at APS at the time. In this corporate-supported project, our collective discovered that the process of designing and making the work for the installation included the multidimensions of research, discussion, attending awareness workshops, reflecting on the process, and, of course, art-making.

In the course of the Reclaiming Lives project, I wanted to question why

young people who are directly exposed to knowledge about HIV and AIDS are not changing their behavior. Many of the young men in the early HIV and AIDS workshops openly admitted to having unprotected sex, believing that AIDS would not affect them. Some justified their choices by quoting abounding myths, such as that it has not been proven that HIV causes AIDS, that condoms are a carryover of colonial oppression for curbing the black population, that sleeping with a virgin cures AIDS, and that Africans from outside the borders of South Africa are responsible for the spread of AIDS. These beliefs are prevalent among both the older artists and the new students that join APS every year—evidence of the tenacity of the mythology surrounding AIDS. Political leaders and role models in South Africa, whether they be Thabo Mbeki or Jacob Zuma, may not help to reverse these myths and can do quite the opposite. Zuma's personal life suggested to young people that it is acceptable to have multiple sexual partners, as that is a "cultural" privilege for men.

Art alone cannot change this sort of mind-set, but the Reclaiming Lives project set out to show that employing the attributes of visual art as a component can contribute meaningfully to a campaign. During the first phase of the project, each artist was asked to create a symbolic portrait, an etching that would pay homage to someone who had died of AIDS. Each participant's choice of honoring someone in relationship to themselves—whether a relative, friend, or neighbor—had the effect of normalizing and personalizing the pandemic. The process of reflecting on the life that has been lost honors the qualities of that person's contribution to one's life, and the making of an art image consolidates the acknowledgment of connectedness into an experiential action. The goal was to catalyze each participant's choice, so that the artists might reflect on their own lives in relation to the pandemic.

Each participating artist made small portrait etchings on steel plates. These portraits were then printed and also compiled into an artist's book, where each participant was able to honor someone who had died, as well as to honor themselves for making an informed choice about being tested.[62] The process of researching and imaging a life lost is an action that makes visible the invisible and that acts to achieve change. The change can result in a renewed engagement with the impact of HIV and AIDS, and the medium of that deeper awareness in this case is art-making.

As with the Paper Prayers campaign, the process required that each participant attended pre-counseling workshops and focus groups to discuss the process of choosing to undergo an HIV test. An introduction to art therapy, which included some interactive groups using music, was provided, and

teacher and facilitator Stompie Selibe devised a process he referred to as the "talking drum."[63] People were given the option of participating in the testing on-site the following week or going more anonymously to a center off-site (a few blocks' walk from APS). New Start, a mobile testing unit, came to APS for three consecutive days. To include all the studio members' participation, the APS's administration offices closed for the few days of the testing period. Each office was used for a counseling room, and the computer laboratory was set up to do the finger-prick HIV test. After eight weeks of personal research, discussion, image making, workshops, and counseling, 50 out of 100 participants agreed to be tested. The response was significantly higher in this campaign than in every other testing program recorded by the mobile testing organization New Start, which indicated (anecdotally) that the average response to voluntary counseling and testing (VCT) at most venues is not often more than 10 percent of the target group.[64] Some participants who indicated that they were not ready to be tested asked for another opportunity later.

Over the course of three months at APS, we countered denial and broke the silence. Studio members were talking to each other, and many felt safe enough to have a test, while the mature artists who had disclosed their HIV-positive status offered support groups and peer counseling. Each person was asked to grapple with their own decision about testing by making a second personal artwork that explored their feelings or personal choices to test or not to test. Their anonymous monoprints were dipped in wax (to protect and/or preserve) and then hinged to the etched portrait tribute plates. The portraits were partly concealed by the transparent waxed overlay prints, which revealed the etched plates underneath them. These plates, with their overlays that could also be lifted by the viewer, were mounted in the form of a five-meter-long (over 16-foot) tribute wall.

My own etchings for the Sasol finalist exhibition were images of "mourning sunflowers," hung in a series of five panels. (*See plate 9.*) Mounted on the back of my prints were the tribute portraits that faced the wall of disclosure, or tribute wall. Thematically, the three-part installation moved from *Mourning Our Future* (my series of sunflower prints) to *Honouring Lives* (the tribute portraits) to *Reclaiming Lives* (the etched plates with waxed print overlays), visualizing the progress from the expression of loss to action and change. (*See Plate 10.*) The fourth part of the installation expanded the project's reach into the five women's embroidery collectives affiliated with the Paper Prayers campaign. Students printed their portraits onto cloth, leaving panels for additions by the participants of the collectives. These cloths were then embroi-

dered and beaded and were displayed as an additional component that accompanied the exhibition. They were subsequently sold to raise awareness and funding for the collectives.

The techniques used in the project were symbolic. Etching is a contemplative, slow process that eats away at a drawing to reveal the image. It is visible only after a corrosive destructive chemical reaction on the steel surface of the etching plate. Steel is a permanent, virtually indestructible material. However, through the etching and printing process, artists "bring the image to life" and give the image expression. The process is labor-intensive and requires pushing ink into the etched lines and carefully wiping it away at the surface of the plate, before printing the image through a handpress. Giving more care and sensitivity to the application and wiping yields a more expressive impression. The process can be seen as a relevant metaphor for living one's life. In contrast to the quick, simple method of making a monotype impression of an artwork constituting a paper prayer, etching requires extended rumination, which is, on a level, parallel with taking the time to gather the courage to be tested. (*See Plate 8.*)

In August 2006, shortly before the exhibition opened in the garage gallery at Sasol headquarters, Leah Nchabeleng, an activist and organization development consultant, interviewed 3 of the 100 artists involved in the Reclaiming Lives project. All felt strongly about the importance of having an HIV test, not simply for the sake of knowing one's status, but as a journey to understanding and accepting themselves. One interviewee stated,

> Until when are we going to run away from this thing? We always have excuses [for not getting tested] . . . [With this project] we didn't have any excuses—you just had to deal with yourself and with what you want from life. I proved that I love myself by going through with the testing. You learn about yourself, your friends, your family, your support system—not just what your status is. You also learn who you really care about and who you really know—and you discover your own strength. It was a healing experience.[65]

In a statement that accompanied the exhibition, Nchabeleng concluded,

> Through the journey presented by participating in the Sasol Wax Award, artists were able to consider their own lives and act in ways to prolong them. They were able to find meaning and peace with the untimely and often unacknowledged deaths of loved ones, and to cre-

> ate a catalyst for families and friends to begin to re-examine their own lives, fears, biases and actions.[66]

The point has been made earlier that art alone cannot change an individual's mind-set; change happens in concert with other kinds of interventions. The Reclaiming Lives project demonstrates the value of participation and deep engagement with the various processes of creating the images and the skills required in learning new ways of making, all of which can contribute meaningfully as catalysts for change.

For the period of activity during the Reclaiming Lives project, the individuals experienced change, both in themselves and as a collective at APS. The comments recorded in the artists' handmade book of portraits and statements testify to this change. Motsamai Thabane commented, "I feel relieved and healed because this project helped me deal with my feelings about the loss of my brother and to use this knowledge to empower other people with the understanding of the pandemic."[67]

The opportunity to make a work to pay homage to someone who has died was key to the success of the project. The premise of the Reclaiming Lives project was that testimonies and AIDS activism, translated into creative participation, generate renewal and healing and, in some cases, may even save lives. The project demonstrated that art has the capacity to create conditions to foster new, positive habits that can extend and enhance lives.

The recurring theme of this study is that the "capacity to aspire," as termed by Arjun Appadurai (2004), is a key to freedom. In the context of this project, aspiration, hope, and imagination, as explored in the various stages of researching and making artwork to honor one's own life and another's, provide the evidence for the claim that the visual arts can play a role in educating and facilitating the experience of voice and empowerment. The following written tributes and the images accompanying them (figs. 2.4a–c) are examples of this evidence:

> A Tribute to my best friend
>
> I pay tribute to my best friend because she lost her life. There are moments in life when you miss someone so much that you just want to pick [an image] from your dreams and hug them for real. It's true that we don't know what we've lost until we lose it.
>
> My best friend was so brave and had the brightest future. We had the best conversations every day together.

Figs. 2.4a–c. Paper Prayers from APS by Phillip Mabote and Jabu Tshuma, 2006. (Courtesy of APS.)

> In every challenge there comes a choice—to let the challenge break you or build you. I have realized what is important in my life—appreciating, surviving and being thankful for health every day.
>
> —Phillip Mabote (December 2008)

A Tribute to my uncle

> He never told anyone about his status. So he lost his wife, son and also died from infecting them. He left a daughter behind.
>
> The three "*x*'s" represent the deaths and the 0 is his daughter's life he left behind. (The uncle drove a buggy).
>
> —Jabu Tshuma (APS student, December 2008)

The *Reclaiming Lives* project was a first step in demanding that the APS students who had information about HIV and AIDS and acted as Paper Prayers trainers address the seriousness of life and death in their own lives. The learning process for the student artist became a journey of discovery to find a balance between reflection and introspection, on the one hand, and, on the other, to come to an understanding that they have the power to act to save their own or another's life through the choices they make. This learning became more deeply embedded in the establishment of an AIDS advocacy unit at APS, funded annually by the South African Development Fund in Boston. This development enabled the capacity for APS to take on additional advocacy projects, such as expanding HIV prevention strategies, and to include them as a core component of the students' three-year learning program.

In his 2015 World AIDS Day message, Michel Sidibé, executive director of UNAIDS, stated that for the first time, we can celebrate the possibility of the eradication of HIV and therefore the end of AIDS in the foreseeable future.

> The good news is that we now have what it takes to break this epidemic and keep it from rebounding—to prevent substantially more new HIV infections and AIDS-related deaths and to eliminate HIV-related stigma and discrimination.[68]

Mark Heywood, director of Section 27 and National Council member of the Treatment Action Campaign, is more cautious with the declaration of success. In his response to Sidibé's 2012 World AIDS Day statement, Heywood

confronts the reality of serious problems that threaten the success of HIV and AIDS awareness in South Africa. South Africa is still home to almost a quarter of the world's HIV infections (affecting 5.1 million people), according to UNAIDS. Heywood acknowledges the significant progress that has taken place, in that 1.7 million patients are currently on treatment, due to a political commitment from the Zuma government. The current South African landscape is almost unrecognizable from that of 2000, when global activists staged the first global march for treatment at the international AIDS conference in Africa.

Heywood warns that because of "insufficient attention to the quality of HIV prevention and treatment programs, dynamite has been built into the edifice of the AIDS response—and the clock is ticking."[69] He points to a multitude of dangers, such as poor retention of patients on antiretroviral treatments (ARVs), poor follow-up by patients and health workers administering ARVs, unmonitored side effects, the impact of health systems collapsing on people's ability to obtain their prescribed medicines, depleting drug stocks that are not always replenished, and the absence of publicly financed health messaging and the use of messages that do not sufficiently explain the need for adherence to treatment. Heywood further stresses that social mobilization and respect for fundamental human rights approaches are being threatened.[70]

Julie Ellison expresses the complexity of creative responses to trauma in her powerful article "The Humanities and the Public Soul."

> The arts and humanities have been spoken of as offering "solace" in a time of personal and collective trauma. But solace is complicated, not simple. The public soul needs the expression of grief, witness, and testimony, yes. But it also needs action, including educational action.[71]

As far as the Paper Prayers program is concerned, the transformation from awareness into action and advocacy responded to given circumstances and the growing awareness of those facilitating the program concerning needs that had not yet been addressed. Like any such project, Paper Prayers needed to be able to reflect on and respond to these different needs in order to be sustainable and continue to revisit its initial objectives. No community-based art project can afford to lack such adaptability if it hopes to have the time needed for the communities it serves to gain agency. The one-off intervention of a three-hour Paper Prayers workshop can only introduce a new language for

and way of integrating painful and complex issues. For meaningful change to be sustainable, time and an ongoing, engaged and participatory process using a phased approach is necessary for inculcating agency.

Apart from the traumas and tragic deaths suffered through fire, AIDS, and suicide, loss has also been felt at APS through constant disappointment regarding funding and change of government policies. However, many participants refused to become victims of their circumstances and gained remarkable strength and resilience through these experiences. Artists are able to facilitate the capacity of dreaming and imagination in others. If there is a belief in the capacity to aspire, goals can be achieved. Creative practice and art-making provide a methodology for transforming aspirations into real and practical goals. The idea that people are not passive beneficiaries but active participants in an ongoing process of self-creation is part of the hidden strength of survival and can be offered as a valuable objective for development practice. In this context, empowerment can be redefined as the ability to become an agent of one's own life and to achieve self-actualization. Agency cannot be given; the concept "I can do" has to be internalized and expressed by each individual.

A "Story of Now": Paper Prayers Responds

Paper Prayers has become a visual tool for an arts-based response to trauma in a range of situations. During the height of the 2016 student protests against the government's insufficient response to funding student access to higher education, many universities deployed private security firms that, together with police, used excessive violence on protesting students. Many students were traumatized by the violence and prevented from returning to campuses. An academic from the Department of Social Work at UJ approached me to train her senior students to facilitate Paper Prayers workshops on campus. I had given her students a Paper Prayers workshop and a talk on visual methods some years previously, and at a gathering of concerned academics, we acknowledged that there needed to be more constructive ways to facilitate dialogues that enable students, including those who were not protesting, to be heard. She had seen the statement that our arts faculty issued on the #FeesMustFall protest at universities, the preamble of which reads,

> As a creative community and a Faculty committed to community engagement and social justice we are deeply concerned that the right to free expression and dignity is compromised on our campuses, and

> we can no longer stand by and be silent. We believe that the arts and design disciplines present unique opportunities for fostering dialogue, as we deal with the practical, political and symbolic elements of spaces, media, identity, and culture.

The lecturer, along with other socially engaged academics, suggested that we offer a series of Paper Prayers workshop on the lawns of the campus. This would provide a safe space for traumatized and other students who are desperate to be heard. An intervention for "creative conversations" through paper prayers was galvanized.

Plate 1. Aftermath of the 2003 APS fire. (Courtesy of APS.)

Plate 2. Collaging fragments from the remains of the 2003 APS fire. (Courtesy of APS.)

Plate 3. One Man Can mural, Newtown, 2007. Giving artists a voice as democratic citizens. (Courtesy of Sonke Gender Justice.)

Plate 4. APS students painting a wall to honor John Taos's story from Rwanda and to protest against xenophobic violence, outside the Johannesburg Art Gallery, 2008. (Courtesy of APS.)

Plate 5. Chivurika Embroidery Collective, Mphambo village, Limpopo Province, 2002. (Photo by author.)

Plate 6. Phumzile Rakoza, from the Lefika La Phodiso Art Therapy Centre, attending a Paper Prayers workshop, APS, 2008. (Photo by D. Rasiel.)

Plate 7. Embroidered panels by Karos workers, Letabele, Mpumalanga, 1998. Photo by authors.

Plate 8. Reclaiming Lives tribute wall, featuring etched steel plates overlaid with waxed prints by 100 artists, 2006. (Courtesy of Aardklop, Sasol Wax Awards.)

Plate 9. Installation at Sasol Art Gallery, 2006. (Courtesy Sasol Wax Awards.)

Plate 10. Kim Berman, Mourning Our Future, panel 1 of 5 etchings (800 × 1600 cm), 2006. Courtesy Visual Arts Network.

Three

Engaging Government Policies

Phumani Paper

Sustainable job creation is a primary driver of South Africa's transformation toward a stable democracy. This chapter considers the challenges of partnering with the South African government in one of its poverty alleviation projects, as part of its reconstruction and development program strategy (RDP). The project turned a grant to the University of Johannesburg to support job creation into a nationwide handmade paper and craft industry for South Africa, called Phumani Paper.

In its conception and evolution, the founding of Phumani Paper is analogous to the creative process of making artwork. My vision was to create a new arts industry that could draw on local resources available to the marginalized poor in poverty nodes, both in rural communities and in urban informal settlements where there are no jobs or industries. The idea of creating craft from waste materials—a process that is labor-intensive and requires input from trained artists—emerged out of a personal desire to help art practitioners to become trainers and agents for community change. While this was an ambitious idea, it was important to initiate a process of designing a program that was collaborative, so that it could draw on skills, resources, and institutions as well as involve local communities as partners. This resulted in a dynamic and complex method of addressing poverty alleviation.

The program that this chapter presents has gone through many cycles of change and has been sometimes robust and explosive and sometimes fragile and tenuous. One of the program's main problems is that none of the Phumani Paper sites are alike. Despite attempts to seek a formula for sustainability in the development of craft groups, one has never been found. However, one basic criterion is clear: the Phumani Paper program has a relatively high

survival rate in comparison to other South African cultural projects.[1] From its inception in late 1999, 10–15 out of 21 small enterprises were still operating at the end of 2010 and carried on surviving after the Phumani umbrella body closed down at the end of 2012. The following analysis will reveal some of the factors that made for success as well as the primary reasons for the poor levels of sustainability in cultural industries set up by government. Further, it explores some insights into a concept of development that supports the qualities of democracy, aspiration, creativity, and agency.

Amartya Sen's concept of "development as freedom" will frame this chapter, as it embraces development as the fostering of individual and community agency in any program of economic aid. His insights on gender also offer important implications for this analysis. The great majority (90 percent) of participants in the Phumani Paper projects are women. Sen argues that female education, reproductive agency, and economic empowerment enhance not only women's positions but society as a whole: "The changing agency of women is one of the major mediators of economic and social change, and its determination as well as consequences closely relate to many of the central features of the development process."[2] He sees the leadership of women as a crucial aspect of "development as freedom." This chapter tells the story of "we can do" and focuses on "women on purpose," the creativity and resilience of the women of the many handmade paper projects that were set up to provide livelihoods for unemployed women across South Africa.

I will use complex systems theory[3] to analyze both the complex structure of the program and the many blockages and subsequent reroutings that have become characteristic of the Phumani Paper program. Although government's role has facilitated the development of Phumani Paper through funding and initial vision, it has also obstructed its growth and caused significant damage. I offer various case studies as a way to understand and develop alternative and regenerative responses to the recurring disappointments resulting from broken promises, inadequate funding, and poorly conceived government policies implemented by high-handed officials. These policies and their implementation have tended to prevent, rather than encourage, an enabling environment for sustainable development. I assess some development projects that have failed as a result of this top-down approach required by government.

In addition to analyzing the impediments to successful change, this chapter will document the remarkable resilience that has resisted the burnout characteristic of so many government-funded cultural organizations in South Africa. I address the question of whether, in the erratic environment

of government funding, creativity and imagination can catalyze hope and aspiration, sustain the participants' continued dedication to their groups, and alleviate poverty. I further investigate the role of the artist in facilitating this process.

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

The Beginnings of Phumani Paper

South Africa has an unemployment rate of 36–42 percent.[4] Its daily infection rate of HIV is the highest in the world, and it has among the highest rates of domestic violence, rape, murder, child abuse, road accidents, crime, and corruption. The story of the "rainbow nation," *ubuntu*, and transformative democracy is no longer the good-news story of the world. Liberation heroes who fought to free South Africa were overwhelmingly elected into power as leaders, but most have fallen off the pedestal, many drunk with power and the good life, greedy and corrupted with business and land acquisitions. They no longer champion the rights of the poor but splurge taxes on mansions and parties valued at billions of rand. South Africa's police service is infected with corruption and poor leadership, and its members have a license to shoot to kill, indiscriminately and irresponsibly.[5]

According to Adam Habib's *South Africa's Suspended Revolution: Hopes and Prospects*, economic policy under President Jacob Zuma is threatened by the levels of corruption in government and in society more broadly. The existing political leadership "does not have an inspiring track record" with regard to "bridging organisational divides, moulding an economic consensus and developing an ethical value system."[6] Hundreds and thousands of AIDS orphans and vulnerable children are left to fend for themselves and are preyed on by sex-trafficking syndicates from outside South Africa's borders who find the nation one of the most lucrative and fertile environments for underworld dealing. For many unemployed South Africans, life is cheap. Unemployed men are stripped of their dignity, pride, and a sense of self, and they, in turn, abuse the most vulnerable. Apartheid damaged South Africa's humanity as a nation, and the wounds continue to fester and rot. Yet for many South

Africans, new opportunities and their own resilience have created spaces for flourishing.

Hand papermaking was the kernel to a small 1996 research project linked to the printmaking department at the University of Johannesburg (UJ).[7] At that point, all rag papers for fine art prints in South Africa were imported and were therefore very costly. One of my rationales for founding Artist Proof Studio (APS) in 1991 had been to make printmaking an affordable and accessible medium for artists. When I studied in the mid-1980s for my master's degree at the School of the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, papermaking was offered as part of the fine art curriculum. Because this was not the case in South Africa and because imported papers remained prohibitively expensive, hand papermaking presented an opportunity for new research and development in UJ's Fine Art Department. I therefore involved all my senior printmaking students in experimenting with papermaking and established a small research unit called the Papermaking Research and Development Unit.

From 1996 on, I was able to support their further studies through the research funding I had raised. Part of the research was to investigate the design and manufacture of locally made equipment and tools. In 1997, the papermaking research unit received funding from the Metropolitan Life interuniversity competition, to expand the papermaking project started through the Paper Prayers initiative in Winterveld. This enabled my senior students to become trainers in papermaking, as part of the first community outreach program of UJ's Fine Art Department. The Winterveld project, called Tswaraganang (a Setswana word meaning "unite"), continued to make paper and craft products for 16 years, until they closed in 2013.

In 1998, I received a fellowship grant from the University of Johannesburg to travel on a research visit to a papermaking project in Ecuador, where I visited a small village whose livelihood was dependent on the farming of cabuya, or sisal fiber. Native to the Andes, this fiber had been cultivated for centuries for the weaving of coffee and coco sacks. Due to industrialization and the evolution of the petrochemical industry, market demand replaced sisal bags with plastics, and the local sisal industry was negatively affected. CARE, an international social justice and poverty relief organization with a branch in Ecuador, recognized the potential of papermaking as a replacement industry for the cabuya farming communities. With funding from the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), they established the partnership Sustainable Uses for Biological Resources (SUBIR), in collaboration with Rutgers University and Dieu Donné, a papermaking studio in New York.[8] The partnership ensured that cabuya fiber that was manually harvested

and decorticated (stripped from the fleshy leaves) was processed into pulp and paper and exported to the United States. Although the purpose of my journey had been to research handmade papers for artists, this experience served as the inspiration to propose a papermaking program for poverty alleviation, as an appropriate rural industry for processing agricultural waste in South Africa. This program was successfully funded in 1999/2000 and was later named Phumani Paper. *Phumani* means "go out" in isiZulu.

During South Africa's post-1994 transitional phase to democracy, South African educational policy, as put forth in a white paper of 1997, directed tertiary institutions and research councils to develop appropriate technology for development. Partially as a legacy of this period, many higher education institutions still list three tenets for academic excellence: learning, research, and community outreach.[9] All three were contained within the new proposal to government to support poverty alleviation and job creation through establishing handmade paper projects across South Africa.

Toward the end of their budget year in 1999, the Department of Arts, Culture, Science, and Technology (DACST) awarded the first part of what became a large annual grant to UJ's Papermaking Research and Development Unit, to initiate a "rural technology station" that would demonstrate the application of papermaking for poverty relief.[10] Ben Ngubane, the minister of DACST at the time, required evidence of new job creation in the cultural industries, to present at the opening of Parliament in February 2000, in his report on growth strategies for new cultural industries. Drawing on the lessons from the Tswaraganang project established in Winterveld established two years earlier, my students and I managed, in less than six months, to develop a government pilot[11] (or demonstration) site for craft packaging from sugarcane fiber in Eshowe, KwaZulu-Natal (KZN) (*see Plate 11*).

The pilot project in KZN proved to be a great success, which initiated a substantial multimillion-rand grant for handmade paper programs that would roll out across the whole country. An official in the Department of Science and Technology worked with me to develop a proposal for a national poverty relief program that would address poverty alleviation through appropriate use of technology in each of the provinces in South Africa. The university's Papermaking Research and Development Unit was allocated a grant of three million rand in 2000, and my research unit was charged with establishing 21 projects in seven provinces for the purpose of creating 460 jobs in its first year. Called the Papermaking Poverty Relief Program during its first year of funding, Phumani Paper became the flagship community engagement program of UJ.

Papermaking as a Medium for Community Engagement

Few media present as many possibilities as paper. The physical qualities of paper and paper pulp are ideal for a vast range of applications for art, craft, or even paper furniture. Handmade papers can be thick, thin, transparent, opaque, fragile, or as strong as textile; they can be torn, sewn, folded, pierced, embossed, and manipulated in countless ways. Paper pulp can be cast, built up in layers, watermarked, sculpted, sprayed, and used as a painting medium or poured into molds. The process of papermaking not only requires the bonding of fibers; it requires teamwork and collaboration. Paper is a medium that is able to connect and transcend differences across disciplines, individuals, and applications as well as to accommodate a broad range of sensibilities. The processes and products bring people together in ways that are creative and that contribute to the remarkable resilience of so many of the Phumani papermakers.

Five research projects conducted by master's students were needed to establish sustainable enterprises for the Phumani Paper program. The foci of these research projects included the development of cotton rag and sisal plant fiber for use in making archival acid-free conservation papers (Marshall 2003), the investigation of the suitability of invasive plant species for making handmade papers (Coppes 2003), the application of paper-based craft technologies such as paper clay (Ladeira 2004), using cast paper pulp for making three-dimensional craft products (Tshabalala 2005), and expressive possibilities for paper as art-making (Warren 2006). Another master's student investigated the sustainability of Phumani Paper sites for craft development (Cohn 2004).

There was an abundance of harmful invasive vegetation in Gauteng, Western Cape, and Eastern Cape, such as water hyacinth, milkweed, black wattle, Port Jackson willow, and others. After preliminary research and experimentation, my students found that the inner bark (bast fibers) of these plants had suitable properties for making paper and natural plant dyes. Other plant wastes, such a river reed, sugarcane, maize stalks and leaves, sisal, and banana stems, were plentiful in certain regions and were also good for papermaking.

With Phumani Paper registered as a section 21 company in 2005, the national office served as a sales and resource center, accessing markets to support up to 21 producer units in seven provinces.[12] Phumani Paper contracted between 20 and 35 staff members nationally between 2000 and 2008. This outreach and staffing was reduced to 17 full-time contract staff and 10 station managers. My role in Phumani Paper was director and research leader,

and I was able to include my research activities within my position as senior lecturer (now associate professor) in UJ's Visual Art Department.

The company's first impediment resulted from the program requirements for poverty relief imposed by the government, whereby Phumani Paper was forced to start on a large scale. Severe damage was caused to the project's sustainability by the government's lack of long-term planning and setting of attainable goals. For example, during its first year, while the provision of standard community wages to over 450 participants was a requirement, no policy existed for sustained financial support. The government also reduced the funding for wages over each of the following two years. Because all staff and facilitators received only one-year contracts renewable annually for the three- to four-year program, there was no certainty of continuity. Funding provided was often disbursed months late. As papermaking had no tradition or history within South Africa, the government had little understanding of the needs of the program or of the challenges of establishing a new cultural industry for the country. The government rationalized the decrease in funding for wages as an incentive for the projects to become independent businesses, but no funding for marketing research was provided in the grant.

As problems of sustainability emerged at each site, it became increasingly evident that it was not possible to impose a concept of entrepreneurship on rural areas if it has no integration within the local community culture. The government's increasing emphasis on entrepreneurship as the central tenet of its initiatives for poverty relief proved damaging to the project. In response to consistently reduced and unreliable funding, the organizational structure of the Phumani Paper national office at UJ was forced to mutate into a sales and distribution center that identifies markets and sources orders for producer units.

For the first five years (1999–2004), in different phases of the program, the Department of Science and Technology's government grant and supporting independent grants had been awarded to UJ with all administrative and financial transactions being processed through the university. The executive officials overseeing the Phumani Paper program pessimistically projected that out of 20 units, only 5 would survive without continued funding support. This projection provided the rationale for the university's decision to withdraw its administrative and financial support of Phumani Paper in 2005. As will be shown in this chapter, they were proved wrong and underestimated the resilience of many of the groups who have survived independently.

Further challenges complicating Phumani Paper's desired goals were the 2004–5 negotiations over the merger between the Technikon Witwatersrand and Rand Afrikaans University, which revealed the latter's extreme resistance

to hosting Phumani Paper on campus. The UJ management's decision to discontinue the project in its current form posed challenges that threatened Phumani Paper's very survival. As a result, Phumani Paper embarked on a new direction that focused on market-driven approaches. Although its continued growth remained steady, its existence was still quite tenuous, as its sales base remained insufficient to support all its enterprises and operations.

The setting up of Phumani Paper as a nationwide program for poverty alleviation had required collaboration and partnerships—between government, higher education, local communities, and the NGO sector—that, in the end, had the advantage of promoting multidisciplinary approaches to the creation and dissemination of knowledge. However, the government was the weak link from the start. In 1999–2000, the National Treasury allocated poverty alleviation funds to most of the ministries, but departments such as the Department of Science and Technology (DST) had no experience or personnel to manage these funds. Their primary function had previously been to promote scientific research and innovation.

After the university received three million rand (then equivalent to about $300,000) in government funds for the national poverty relief program, the chief director in the DST assisted me in conceptualizing the original proposal in line with government objectives, which was that each of the papermaking projects could be linked to existing industries in each region. She proposed that we target all nine provinces in South Africa, but she subsequently accepted the fact that our existing networks extended to only seven.

The objective of the Phumani Paper national program was to set up small papermaking projects in areas affected by extreme poverty. The first points of contact for identifying suitable sites for Phumani Paper and partnerships around the country were the five small papermaking facilities that Paper Prayers had initiated to service the campaign of AIDS awareness. These included Winterveld, Mmabana Art Centre in the North West Province, Bushbuckridge Youth Centre in Mpumalanga, AIDSLink in Hillbrow, and Artist Proof Studio. Subsequently, other sites were identified, and other groups were set up.

It became evident that the challenge of finding a one-size-fits-all rollout model was totally unrealistic. The government wanted uniformity on budget expenditure and organizational structure in each province. It could not accommodate the fact that groups were unique and, even after receiving training in the options available to them, needed to design their own constitutions.

The requirements by government officials also fluctuated annually with the frequent changes in representatives assigned to the programs. For ex-

ample, one official in the DST required that groups register as cooperatives; two years later, a different official recommended the forming of close corporations as a more appropriate profit-generating model. Such interference on the issue of type of legal registration by government officials caused confusion in Phumani Paper, but the training that each group received empowered them to make their own choices about their enterprise structure. Although Phumani Paper groups were able to reject these officials' attempts to impose their particular whims, this was not always the case.

The subsequent registration of Phumani Paper as a section 21 company required that its board of directors become responsible for the organization's good governance and financial operations. As part of the process of development toward a business model, the management team contracted marketing consultants who assisted Phumani Paper staff in designing diverse strategies in order to secure a long-term future for the new cultural industry of making handmade paper in South Africa. The strategy included the establishment of funding sources, such as UNESCO's Artist in Development Programme (AiD), which trains key Phumani Paper regional managers to develop their own products and access new markets. The UNESCO pilot projects in Africa examined the phenomenon of the high failure rate of craft projects and their dismal record of profit. A more positive report of the impact of five of the Phumani Paper enterprises, from an assessment commissioned by UNESCO, has provided valuable findings for insights that can be applied to aspects of the challenge of achieving sustainability within the South African craft sector.

Other donor partners for Phumani Paper programs included the National Research Foundation (for research and development), the Ford Foundation, the National Heritage Foundation, and the Kellogg Foundation. A further strategy that the management team employed to promote sustainability had been the establishment of international linkages to secure expert advice in the research activity area. For instance, the PhotoVoice participatory action research (PAR) program undertaken with the University of Michigan (June–July 2005) involved the pairing of students from the University of Michigan and students from the University of Johannesburg who were assigned field placements to assess the viability of markets in six Phumani Paper sites.[13]

An additional sustainability strategy was achieved when the MAPPP SETA[14] (funded through the skills levy of the Department of Labour) approved a series of pilot accredited learnerships to teach a basic qualification in making handmade paper to regional site members. Phumani Paper developed the country's first certified skills training in hand papermaking.

As a result, over 120 Phumani Paper participants who did not have a high school leaving certificate were able to receive a one-year NQF2 skills qualification.[15] For many women who had very low literacy and numeracy levels, this was the first qualification they had ever received. Subsequently, Mandy Coppes and Bronwyn Marshall, master's students under my supervision, wrote the curriculum for an advanced qualification in archival paper production in 2007, and over 30 Phumani Paper project leaders who had a school leaving certificate (between two and four from each site) were able to obtain the advanced certificate, or NQF4 qualification, in archival papermaking. The motivation for having skilled producers in each unit was to prepare for the establishment of archival papermaking as a much-needed industry for South Africa's conservation and heritage sector. When the units transitioned into independent enterprises, it became clear that Phumani Paper's national office required a business-focused director to implement a directed marketing strategy. I managed to secure dedicated funds for 2006 to hand over the organization to an executive director, who was tasked with securing future markets and programs.

The change from a faculty-led research and development project to a commercial enterprise functioning from UJ met with further challenges and obstacles. Nevertheless, until his departure in 2008, the executive director managed to maintain the operational running of the section 21 organization, and it saw gradual growth in sales and market access. The production of acid-free archival paper for the conservation and art industries turned out to be the most promising market.[16] However, the suspension of the government's pledge to fund the development of the archival paper unit in 2007 reduced the organization's projected growth and financial viability significantly.[17]

While the biggest challenge of development is considered to be economic sustainability, I propose instead that the focus in the case of Phumani Paper became the resilience to survive. Some of the sites operated for between 8 and 10 years, and some even managed to sustain themselves for up to a decade after government funding officially ended in 2004. Each group offered different lessons for surviving government-funded development, and each group developed creative solutions in order to survive the inconsistencies and disappointments connected with funding and organizational support issues. In 2012, some of my collaborators and I launched the book *Women on Purpose: Resilience and Creativity of the Founding Women of Phumani Paper*,[18] which describes each of the 21 sites and pays tribute to the founding women. Rather than describing each site and the challenges of every region here, I have selected stories of failures and successes and include case studies that reveal

some of the diversity in participatory methodologies that characterized the evolution of the sites.

A Casualty Story: The Kuyasa Case Study

One of the casualties is a case study of Kuyasa Papermaking in the Western Cape. The story demonstrates the crucial role that culture plays in sustainability. Often it is the failures and weaknesses within a program that offer the most valuable lessons for designing more successful development interventions in the future. Initially, Kuyasa, situated in Kommetjie, Cape Town, was one of the most economically viable Phumani Paper enterprises. The plant fiber used was extracted from the plentiful invasive Port Jackson willow trees. The Working for Water clearance program managed by the government public works created many informal jobs; for instance, street vendors sold bales of wood cut from the strands of vegetation.[19] Kuyasa recycled the inner bark of this tree to create craft products. The outer bark of the plant was boiled to use the tannin in the plant to produce a rich walnut-colored dye. The papers and products were stained with the dye, and simple geometrical patterns were stamped or stenciled with household bleach to form elegant African-style patterning of the products.

The group of 12 members (originally 20) had market links with the wineries in Stellenbosch in the Western Cape. These wineries ordered wine cylinders from Kuyasa for gift packaging in order to demonstrate their corporate support for environmental management (clearing of invasive plants) and poverty alleviation through job creation.[20] The project supported the income of 12 of its members from their monthly sales to the robust tourist industry in Cape Town. The group's monthly income averaged between R15,000 and R20,000 (equivalent to about $2,000 at the time), an impressive sum that provided a healthy monthly allowance for each member.

A common challenge for Phumani Paper groups has been access to markets, as many of them are situated in or near identified poverty nodes. This challenge of "economic participation" was not a problem for Kuyasa, however, as—at that time—they had more orders than the members could fill. Why did this group fail? I suggest that this situation arose as a result of a particularly South African racial and cultural issue that should have been addressed at the outset.

In line with the government's commitment to cultural diversity, the participants in the Kuyasa group belonged to two communities: Ocean View, a mixed-race (or, as they describe themselves, "Cape Coloured") community;

and Masiphumelele Township, a primarily isiXhosa-speaking group. They were drawn from an adult basic literacy center that operated in the townships, as well as from the group of unemployed workers from public works projects. From 20 members in the first year of the project, a group of 12 remained with the enterprise for five years. During that time, they moved to an industrial site for small businesses, between the two communities. The group participated in a mentorship program with Serving Emerging Enterprises (SEE), led by the University of Cape Town Graduate School of Business. The opportunities for success were in place, yet the project did not succeed.

From the start, there was conflict between the two groups of "Coloured" Afrikaans speakers and black isiXhosa speakers, and it seemed to be insoluble. The mixed-race group members wanted to clock in and out each day and to earn a basic wage. This mode of work is a common phenomenon among the historic fishing industry in the Cape from which this group came. They were unhappy that their income fluctuated according to sales, and they were highly suspicious of their black colleagues.

The isiXhosa-speaking group members were more willing to be entrepreneurial but were reluctant to mix with their Afrikaans-speaking colleagues. Because of the complete lack of trust between the groups, they elected two leaders to represent the interests of each clique and divided themselves into two groups, separating the papermakers (the isiXhosa-speaking members) from the crafters (the mixed-race group). Phumani Paper facilitated numerous group discussions and even hired consultants to facilitate conflict resolution interventions. These efforts seemed to maintain equilibrium for months at a time, but the group's problems were never resolved. An outside supervisor was just able to manage production while trying to keep tensions at a minimum. What kept the group going for so long was a shared passion for making paper and products, a commitment to and pride in their attractive products, which were well received.

However, when the group registered as an independent cooperative in 2005, the members became co-owners of the business, and group cohesion plummeted even further. A high dropout rate led to mistrust and anger, and the members began stealing money from each other. The elected leaders of the group fired each other, and the project imploded. The enterprise was closed down, and the assets were eventually passed on to Siyazama.[21]

The lesson here is clear: development projects that do not build on the existing cultural context and acknowledge conflicts from the outset are likely to fail. Cooperation amid diversity cannot be imposed; it must be fostered as

a desirable goal by the particular community. Open dialogue, contestation, and accommodation needed to accompany the training from the start. The lessons of the Phumani Paper case studies support the necessity for organizations and NGOs involved in community development to define what participants can do together to address the particular aspirations, needs, or problems of a given community. Arjun Appadurai calls this approach "deep democracy," whereby specific forms of "self-governance, self-mobilization and self-articulation are vital to changing the conditions under which activists among the poor are changing the terms of recognition, globally and locally for the poor."[22]

A Success Story: The Twanano Case Study

In contrast to the Kuyasa story, the case of the Twanano project demonstrates the attributes of a sustainable enterprise. Twanano is situated in Ivory Park, an informal settlement situated near Midrand, about 60 kilometers (just over 37 miles) north of Johannesburg. When establishing projects in 2000, Phumani Paper identified Ivory Park as a suitable site, as a papermaking project there would be able to partner with an existing environmental collective called Eco-Cities, which was dedicated to conservation. The link that provided the unemployed with options of working on recycling, construction, or papermaking was called Twanano Recycling Co-op. The members of each subgroup self-selected according to interest, which enabled choice, an important foundation for future sustainability. It deepened the independence of the group, which, compared to other project groups, was less reliant on the Phumani Paper national office. However, there were many challenges. When it was initiated in 2000, the site provided by the municipality for building a papermaking workshop lacked electricity, and water was available only from a shared tap some distance away. Funding from the local public works program enabled the people who chose the construction option to lay the foundations and dig the drains for the water pipes to serve the workshop and office, which became operational a year later.

In addition, the 20-member project developed a constitution, elected office bearers, and opened a bank account with designated signatories. The Twanano group members were trained in basic computer skills and report writing and acquired a secondhand computer and office supplies. After the second year, in 2002, they were connected to a phone and fax machine. The unit installed equipment, designed a working space, and attended training

courses in business skills. As they had no electricity for the first year, they were initially trained in making paper using the Eastern method of hand beating plant fiber to mix with recycled paper waste.

At that time, master's student Mandy Coppes was conducting her research into papermaking with invasive vegetation, in partnership with the Working for Water campaign. She discovered a proliferation of milkweed around many of the informal settlements at Ivory Park and designed a means for processing the fiber into exquisite Japanese-style lace papers. The method of stripping the weed was highly labor-intensive, and the group was able to employ a number of youth and elderly people to assist with the task. After completing their training in making paper and products, the members produced attractive papers, boxes, and journals that were showcased at the World Summit on Sustainable Development in 2002. (*See Plate 12*.) It is important not to underestimate the pride the group took in its creative abilities and the significance of their new sense of self-worth in maintaining cohesiveness and productivity. As Edgar Pieterse comments,

> Why do concerns about pleasure, beauty, risk and aesthetics feature so low on our list of concerns, if at all? Why do we prefer to operate at the level of abstracted generalization about poverty, unemployment, inequality, violence and not at the pain-filled emotional landscapes of denial, fear, rejection, degradation and so on? . . . I fear that in the development universe it is still too tied to the mechanical application of wooden methodological tools.

Pieterse acknowledges the importance of aesthetics and beauty as "a radical confrontation with the complex richness of the 'everyday'" and that "artists and cultural agents can play an important role in respect and appropriate appreciation for the agency and complexity of life-worlds of the poor or marginalized."[23]

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

At Twanano, the goals of capacity building and empowerment were

achieved. The participants were able to meet the basic needs of the project even after the withdrawal of government support. The income from sales paid for their monthly allowance and utilities (e.g., water and electricity) and also enabled secondary jobs to be created, including day care for the project members' children, bark strippers, cooks, recycled waste collectors, and other suppliers of support services. Group members were able to train others in the use of machinery—such as the Hollander beaters and hydraulic presses—as well as in manufacturing papers with hand methods, including using pestle and mortar or batons to grind and beat cooked plant fiber. Their skills in building and expanding the infrastructure and their increased income also led to improving their home living environments. Finally, their acquisition of cell phones was seen as a symbol of their improved standing in their community. For all of the above reasons, this group has survived as a craft-based enterprise. As the business expanded, the original university coordinator and researcher in the project, David Tshabalala, co-developed new products from cast paper, Phumani Pets (consisting of a rhino, a hippo, and other, bright-colored animals), which have enjoyed a broad and consistent market. (*See Plate 13*.)

Naresh Singh, principal advisor of the Poverty and Sustainable Livelihoods Bureau for Development Policy of the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), argues that sustainability is a key indicator of success in development projects. In *Sustainable Livelihoods*, he sets out the conditions that must be met for sustainability among them: economic efficiency, social equity, ecological integrity, and resilience.[24] Twanano is one of the few groups able to survive since the closure of the national Phumani Paper office at UJ in December 2012. Although the loss of the Phumani Paper website formally run from the university has severely affected their markets and income, Twanano continued to support over six people, each of whom earns a basic monthly salary and generates savings for their business.

Intervention Challenges

Twanano and Kuyasa provide just two case studies of the 21 original projects that were established. Each individual papermaking enterprise had unique as well as common challenges. This section explores some of the challenges that arise from a cultural and artistic approach to a development intervention.

In addition to identifying economic efficiency, social equity, ecological integrity, and resilience as conditions for sustainability, Singh specifies that "sustainable development must be intersectoral, interlevel and participatory"

and that "governments should be encouraged to deal with people and communities rather than with numbers, aggregates and abstractions."[25] These conditions support the argument (presented here) that sustainability depends on a recognition of the interdependence between economic, social, and environmental measures. I believe that an effective mode of achieving this involves creativity. In the case of Phumani Paper, the ability to innovate, as well as the pride and sense of accomplishment associated with the transformation of weeds and wastepaper into attractive products, became the mode of achieving this recognition of establishing a sustainable enterprise.

A key difficulty in Phumani Paper's goal of poverty alleviation is the matter of dependency—a subject of vigorous debate in the government and the development community itself. South Africa has a large number of social protection policies, such as pension welfare grants, disability grants, child grants, social security, and free health care for women and children. The state uses the discourse of "we will provide," but it is unable to fulfill its promises to the poor.

Sectors of government have argued that social welfare for the poor may have the tendency to encourage lazy dependent people, and there are perceptions among some, especially in the South African National Treasury, that social grants create a dependency syndrome that inhibits innovation and entrepreneurship.[26] Yet Mandla Seleoane's case studies of resource flows in poor communities demonstrate clearly that social grants are absolutely crucial for the survival of poor and marginalized communities, especially in rural areas.[27] This is true for the rural Phumani Paper projects.

Indeed, the experiences in Phumani Paper suggest that people who receive social grants, especially women, have the necessary stability and mobility to enable other positive choices. This was confirmed by the impact assessment conducted by Lilo du Toit in 2008. Participants who have remained in the Phumani Paper projects for over 12 years often receive grants that allow them the security to invest time in other activities.

Phumani Paper's training and capacity development did foster an enabling environment, as the case study of Twanano demonstrates. Unfortunately, the government reporting systems do not allow for the evaluation of the "softer" factors of empowerment, such as "choice" or "enabling environments." The government's single bottom line was income generation, and the bottom line remains significant. With very disappointing margins of income generation from the majority of the Phumani Paper groups, a basic question to be asked was, is making paper a viable activity in South Africa, and does it respond to market needs?

Handmade paper has no indigenous history in South Africa, but it is closely tied to the cultural industries' goal of using waste products created from producing labor-intensive aesthetic objects for a tourist market.[28] Making handmade paper also met the challenge of establishing a new technology appropriate to rural development. But it became apparent that we had not determined at the outset how broad the market for handmade paper was and how many small businesses it could sustain.

Sen claims that any theory of poverty should be rooted in a theory of society and culture, and he emphasizes the importance of freedom of choice. Hence an enabling environment is the crucial factor in the individual's escape from poverty. When *Development as Freedom* was published in 1999, Sen's definition of poverty caused major shifts in development thinking and set the stage for his proposal of the "household livelihood security framework." According to this framework, poverty is viewed as a matter of capability deprivation: "Poverty must be seen as the deprivation of basic capabilities [and freedoms], rather than merely as lowness of income, which is the standard criterion of identification of poverty."[29] These deprivations involve disadvantages resulting from handicap, gender, age, race or caste/class, or any other means of marginalization.

Sen identifies the five freedoms that are prerequisites for addressing these deprivations: (1) political freedoms, (2) economic opportunities, (3) social opportunities, (4) transparency guarantees, and (5) protective security. His analysis rejects the previous development focus on monetary income as the predominant measure of poverty and well-being. Focusing on basic capabilities rather than deprivations, Sen's analysis was consistent with the Phumani team's approach to promote self-sufficiencies and agency, rather than handouts. The story (or case) of the archival papermaking project provides a more extended analysis of the government's failure to achieve its own objectives.

In 2005–6, the Department of Arts and Culture (DAC) took over support from the Department of Science and Technology (DST) and awarded UJ and Phumani Paper a one-million-rand grant (about $100,000 at the time) to establish a research and development facility for the production of acid-free conservation paper and board. The pilot project established the first southern African archival paper mill with the capacity to produce suitable African-made archival paper for the South African National Archives. The mill was set up as a small workshop on the UJ Doornfontein campus in 2005 and subsequently moved to join the UJ Faculty of Arts, Design, and Architecture campus in Auckland Park in 2013. The Phumani Archival Paper Mill at UJ has the capacity to design and produce specialist handmade archival papers

and to collaborate in paper arts. (*See Plate 14*.) It is able to support the creative process by way of specific equipment and different papermaking fibers. It is also equipped to produce archival paper of the standard required for artist's printmaking editions.[30]

The project emerged out of research conducted for a master's thesis by one of my students, Bronwyn Marshall (2003), and was planned in partnership with the South African National Archives. Although the DST had ended its funding support to Phumani Paper in 2004–5, it supported the expansion of handmade paper for the heritage and conservation sectors through the South African National Archives. After the archival paper mill at UJ was launched by the deputy minister of the DAC in November 2005, Phumani Paper was encouraged to apply to the DAC's Investing in Culture and Heritage Division for the expansion of this new industry as a flagship project. Government identified the necessity of producing "proudly South African paper" to supply national archives and heritage institutions throughout the African continent, for purposes such as the restoration of ancient manuscripts in Timbuktu, Mali.[31] The conservation industry spends millions of rand each year importing specialist material from the United States, Japan, and Europe—money that could be used to create jobs and expand the handmade paper industry with locally produced cotton archival paper.[32]

In his budget speech on February 2006, South Africa's finance minister Trevor Manuel, announced a one-off allocation of nine million rand for the development of archival paper.[33] Yet these funds were never disbursed.[34] Our proposal to government was to convert some of the existing Phumani Paper enterprises into specialist archival paper and board producers, and a three-year business plan was developed in partnership with the director of the National Archives, who had championed this project. A grant agreement was provisionally awarded in April 2006, with a range of requirements, among them that the roll-out be implemented in each of the nine provinces. I had submitted a proposal that called for a more phased approach, building on the capacities of the existing mills and their various levels of sustainability. However, the new government official assigned to head the project made very specific demands in order to match the national strategic objectives to support heritage development in places such as the Northern Cape and Eastern Cape.[35] Her mandate was to construct nine new archival paper mills, one in each province.

No feasibility study was done to determine whether there was a need for nine plants in the locations identified. I wrote several letters to the directors of the National Archives and the Investing in Culture and Heritage Division,

in which I pointed out that the United States has fewer than five archival paper mills to service the needs of their massive art market.[36] As Phumani Paper had been struggling to build a market to sustain the existing papermaking units, we recommended that we expand slowly in accordance with market demand, rather than establish six new projects in provinces that could not sustain a continued specialist market for cotton acid-free paper. The directorate was adamant in its position, which was to apply the same approach used by the DST in 2000—to roll out as many projects nationally as fast as possible in order to create jobs. As the DST experience shows, while such funding may create the required number of jobs in the first year, this result was only possible because those jobs were funded, and many of the jobs would be lost if and when the funding ended. Further, the government's placement of the mills would not necessarily draw on the expertise and skill that had been developed in Phumani Paper over the previous years. However, the DAC's primary objective was to respond to the perceived need to service developing regional archives and heritage museums. The rationale was to build a supplier paper mill in the same geographic proximity as each regional archive. The proposal was to initiate the first mill in the small town of Pilgrim's Rest, in the province of Mpumalanga, on the property of the regional museum and archive being established at the time.[37]

I was convinced that despite the multimillion-rand funding the department was prepared to invest in this project, the result would be a failure, and I was not willing to comply with the DAC's requirement. Phumani Paper's board of directors supported my view and contracted an independent feasibility review, which assessed six units as viable. Due to the units' history of successful group practice, they would be the most likely of the 16 groups to manage the large grants needed to expand their small businesses. These were three units in the North West Province (where there is ready access to the raw material), one in Gauteng (the pilot research and development unit), and one each in the provinces of Limpopo and the Free State.

Professor Thomas Auf der Heyde, director of research at UJ, drafted a letter to the department, stating that these six groups had the necessary track record, training, qualifications, access to expertise, experience, support, and access to raw material. He commented that they would be in a position to convert their existing enterprises into viable plants or to supply units for the archival paper industry. However, the department remained unconvinced, refusing to continue to support the existing six groups, as they wanted new centers to be set up, one positioned near a heritage museum in each province.

This case study is illustrative of a closed-system approach, which has ra-

tionally and mechanistically calculated an equal distribution of funding to be dispersed geographically. In my opinion, it is also symptomatic of the intransigence of powerful government officials who want to be seen as creating their own program and who are unable to value the history and knowledge of local NGOs. Logistically, each region is not comparable in terms of access to expertise and markets, product developments or guaranteed orders, or access to raw material. Yet equal allocation of funding to each province seems to be an immutable aspect of the negotiation for implementation.

The contradictions abound: government purports to require independent sustainable businesses, but it sets them up to be dependent on government. For instance, the National Treasury's funds for poverty alleviation required allocation as community wages, but these wages were not guaranteed beyond a one-year cycle. The further requirement that was introduced for the setting up of the archival paper mills was that funds could not be awarded to an NGO implementing agent, such as Phumani Paper, and had to be allocated directly to the community facility or small business. There are no facilities of that kind in provinces such as the Northern Cape or Mpumalanga, and the Phumani Paper group in the Western Cape is a craft unit made up of disabled people with no training in archival paper production, who have no skills to manage a grant of one million rand.

In September 2007, I approached the deputy minister to hear the case of Phumani Paper of behalf of UJ. I attached extensive documentation of my unanswered correspondence to the directorate involved. I was granted a hearing, and all the officials involved were present. In response to my presentation, the deputy minister set certain conditions, including an agreement to call an *imbizo* (special meeting) for all papermakers to address concerns directly with the ministry. The *imbizo* never happened, despite three invitations from Phumani Paper for government to address representatives of the paper enterprises. It appeared that the model envisaged by government to service the African archival conservation market would require a corporatized factory-type system that would employ workers to produce a specialized manufactured product. But the market and expense of the necessary high levels of skill and expensive equipment would not allow for more than one producer unit in South Africa. This closed-system culture values the directive approach—it does not permit people to take initiative or demonstrate their expertise.

In contrast, Phumani Paper proposed a partnership approach that assured a shared vision. This approach entailed the risk, chaos and innovation, and flexibility and unpredictability that characterizes an open system. Phumani

Paper maintains that successful entrepreneurial activities need to take calculated risks in order to be ultimately sustainable.

The case of the proposed archive paper mills highlights the difficulties in present South African conditions in implementing development projects that are aimed at substantially increasing the voice and agency of the poor. Phumani Paper provided an excellent opportunity for empowered groups to finally access significant resources and directly manage funds that could meaningfully create a viable industry in a poor community. However, the conditions outlined above have thus far ensured that this opportunity could not be realized. For this reason, Phumani Paper ended its partnership with government. The changes in government regimes and officials who all had different requirements created inconsistency and a lack of trust among the enterprises, which put the partnership agreements between the groups and UJ at risk.

As previously stated, Phumani Paper was set up according to a project model (for poverty relief) that reflected the objectives of government's reconstruction and development program (RDP), which was a social protection framework that would provide livelihoods for people. Each member of the Phumani Paper projects received a fixed wage of R450 per month (about $45 at the time) for approximately two years, as stipulated by the conditions of the government grant. This ensured that the number of participants reached the ministry's minimum of 460 jobs created from a new cultural industry in one year. However, after a two-year period of subsidized wages, incoming government officials of the Mbeki administration came up with a new requirement that the projects had to become entrepreneurial; in other words, the projects had to become profitable businesses and sell enough to sustain the fledgling micro-enterprises by the following year. This new demand reflected a change in approach from the RDP framework of the Mandela government to the neoliberal policies of the Mbeki administration (1999–2008).

The entrepreneurial model assumes a market orientation. The DST had made a significant capital investment in the form of equipment infrastructure and training, and Phumani Paper, as the implementing agent, had to try to retrofit the project to a market model. But a project that was initially created to support skills training and capacity building suddenly also had to create markets for the products produced. Unfortunately, the handmade paper craft products that Phumani Paper had designed were directed at a tourist market in which they were not competitive with comparable and much cheaper Chinese and Taiwanese imports. To make matters worse, during the first three years of funding for poverty alleviation, there was no budget allocation for

marketing. The expectation of economic sustainability after the second year of funding support was thus completely unrealistic. The alternative strategy that the Phumani Paper team created was to use the required government grant for monthly stipends to purchase the group's stock, thereby simulating the enterprise model. The university office of Phumani Paper became a showroom and wholesale outlet. But as has already been indicated (earlier this chapter), that commercial strategy had its own challenges in the university.

Complex Systems

In my attempt to understand and apply the lessons learned from the generally destructive interaction of Phumani Paper with government, I have found that systems theory offers a useful set of analytical tools to address the challenge of negotiating dialogue within a complex web of relationships. Within the "web" of relationships between government, Phumani Paper, its partner institutions, community groups, and individual members, there are complex networks that sometimes break down and hinder growth. According to systems theorists such as Immanuel Wallerstein (1991), Fritjof Capra (1996), and Ilya Prigogine (1980), simply dissecting an organism's parts will not help us understand how it interacts with its environment, nor can we understand social systems by only examining the bodies within them. The relationship between social systems and people is environmental. The individual reacts, adapts, and engages within a complex process of response and change, which is amplified by self-reinforcing feedback related to the sudden emergence of new forms, emotions, and ideas. This cyclical process can produce complex patterns of reaction, whereby each aspect of feedback has a compounding influence on its next iteration.[38] One of the key characteristics of the organization of living organisms is their tendency to form multileveled structures of systems within systems, "or living systems nesting within other living systems."[39]

This tendency is well exemplified by the Phumani Paper experience. For example, at the thriving Twanano paper project, there was continual self-reinforcing feedback that resulted in the emergence of new forms and ideas. The process of development included environmental recycling, such as the use of milkweed fiber and the production of new products from wastepaper pulp. Twanano's exposure at the international platform of the World Summit on Sustainable Development secured orders of environmentally friendly products for commercial suppliers such as the Body Shop. In this way, the feedback process has had a regenerating influence. Further, a research project

by one of UJ's master's students, David Tshabalala (2005), led to the production of cast paper sculptures, which were developed by yet another group of students into Phumani Pets. (*See Plate 14*.) A French agency that saw these unique products at an international trade fair in November 2007 subsequently provided significant orders for exporting them. Since then, Twanano has regular clients that sustain the group with a steady flow of income.

In open systems theory, a prerequisite for growth requires systems that interrelate and interact to form a generating whole. In this respect, the Kuyasa case study provides a revealing contrast to the Twanano case. At Kuyasa, the feedback loops and interactive flows were consistently blocked, and the system was unable to feed or renew itself. Fritjof Capra's distinction between designed and emergent structures can be equated with the designed structure imposed by government frameworks for development and can be contrasted with the emergent structures arising out of the various formations of the different Phumani Paper groups. According to Capra, who has applied systems theory to social situations, a designed structure is based on rules and procedures, whereas an emergent one enables the continual development of new structures through innovation. While designed structures are formal and based on official blueprints, emergent structures represent an informal network of relationships that "continually grows, changes, and adapts to new situations."[40] An application of this theory becomes apparent where the blueprint required by government for the equal distribution of resources to establish archival paper mills in each province did not take cognizance of strengths and capacities on the ground.

The use of the metaphor of living systems for understanding the process and evolution of Phumani Paper suggests that the resilience and sustainability of the units are the result of continual creativity and renewal, or "self-making." As long as the individual groups do not reach a state of equilibrium or stasis, such as was the case with Kuyasa, they retain the ability to sustain themselves. In every community, there will be contradictions and conflicts. A community needs stability and change, order and freedom, and tradition and innovation. In ecosystems, the complexity of a network is a consequence of its biodiversity. Thus a diverse ecological community is a resilient community capable of adapting to changing situations.

The organizational systems discussed in all this study's stories of using the arts for social change are complex. Therefore a linear reductive understanding of each case study would be inappropriate. Complexity theory argues for the importance of possibilities that lead to creativity and system transformation. It proposes that systems are most creative when they operate with a combi-

nation of order and chaos. These premises encourage organizations to value diversity, change, and transformation, rather than predictability, standardization, and uniformity. A core assumption is that to understand social complexity is to value "appreciative inquiry"—that is, surrender and wonderment—over certainty.[41]

According to Mark Taylor, author of *The Moment of Complexity*, "When there is too much order, systems are frozen and cannot change, and when there is too little order, systems disintegrate and can no longer function." Significant change, he argues, takes place between "too much and too little order." Falling between order and chaos, the moment of complexity is the point at which "self-organizing systems emerge to create new patterns of coherence and structures of relation."[42] It is my contention that artists cultivate or possess the qualities needed to participate in complex systems. Ideally, visual artists, similar to good jazz musicians,[43] are able to abandon what does not work and to create innovation that takes the system in a new direction. They grapple with the constrictions of patterns and structures and try to break out of these constrictions in order to create something new, being fully aware that committing to either path entails a risk. They can embrace that risk and let go of the familiar. Ideally, musicians and artists can challenge themselves to stretch beyond comfortable limits; they can create fresh responses rather than stock ones, and they should be careful not to become too linked to comfortable habits that have worked in the past. They are also able to make use of whatever material is at hand and to value the affirmative potential of found material and employ it in a purposeful and coherent way. While this may be a rather idealistic description of the qualities of a "good artist," the values of creative practice can be applied to facilitating creative growth within a group.

Capacities for Resilience and Self-Creation

I have suggested that systems theory, when applied to sustainable development, also makes a case for the value of integrating the methodology of the creative arts in initiatives such as Phumani Paper. The process of art-making achieves two goals: it values the whole person and their cultural values and, from that base, asks questions that facilitate dynamism, prevent equilibrium, and promote growth and agency. The artist's questioning and facilitating of creative practice become catalyzers for change, and the resulting disequilibrium allows for transformation. One of the participants at the Winterveld project confirmed this assertion when she stated, "I am a paper-maker, and a paper-maker can make a plan."[44]

On reflecting on the question of sustainability, the capacity for resilience is predominantly apparent in the case of Phumani Paper. The first Phumani Paper intervention was in 1999–2000. By 2012, 15 of the original 21 paper enterprises were still surviving and holding onto the vision of hope for a better, more prosperous future. Although the Phumani Paper national office closed in 2012, approximately six to eight groups were still functioning by 2016. This phenomenon continues to amaze me.

The sales figures seem to indicate a different outcome. Handmade paper and paper crafts have not had much success in penetrating the market in South Africa. Sales are erratic, and the groups struggle to make enough income to pay each of their members at the end of each month. Sales figures in 2008–10 indicated a moderately upward trend, but with margins of profit that were too minor to sustain the national office without subsidized funding. Income from sales, therefore, is not the lifeblood of the groups. It is also evident that Phumani Paper's national office had not been sufficiently successful in delivering on its core mission of identifying markets for Phumani Paper products. This indicates that something other than money sustains the people remaining in the Phumani Paper organization.

I suggest that though the success of this program (from 1998 to the present) has not been in the area of poverty alleviation through income generation in the way that government intended, the initiative can claim success in terms of addressing the other kinds of poverty that Sen articulates by engendering capabilities. The real success of Phumani Paper is its ability to incubate and nurture resilience. This resilience in the participants and in the wider organization of Phumani Paper derives, in my view, from the belief in the capacity to envision a better future. The participants believe that they have the capacity and skills to achieve success. My own efforts over the years to support organizational and funding efforts for Phumani Paper is a response to the resilience and the shared aspirations of the participants. Documenting and describing the different expressions of that resilience is a way of identifying and sharing the lessons of "deep development."

Twenty-three of the founding women of Phumani Paper were interviewed by the research team of the Cultural Action for Change program, in order to begin to understand the root and power of their resilience and the reason why Phumani Paper is among the estimated 5–10 percent of the poverty alleviation programs initiated in 2000 that are still operating.[45] All of the stories told by the women in the Phumani groups are inspirational. They are moving and heartbreaking. They are powerful and humbling.

One recent example of resilience and a belief in personal capacity is il-

lustrated in the story of Hermina Sekati from Amogalang in Mmakau, a remarkable project that finally closed down in 2007. This group, mostly made up of pensioners, was dependent on orders from Phumani Paper, as the women were not entrepreneurial or mobile, being unable to leave their village to go out and seek external markets. Yet their endurance and belief in their own work and the will of God was inspirational.[46] Sekati was in her sixties at the time and believed that the skills she acquired were valuable to teach to the next generation and an important asset to retain in Phumani Paper. A small grant[47] allowed her to travel for two hours to the Tswaraganang project, to volunteer and pass on her special skills in stenciling patterns in handmade paper using colored paper pulp—a unique product developed through the product development training that Amogalang received from Aid to Artisans, a UNESCO-funded agency.

In an interview, Sekati attests to the power of belief in her own empowerment: "The stress of being alone (after my husband died), and having no money was one thing. . . . Since I started to work, my stress has gone because I work with other women. We talk, and I forget my troubles." She went on to add, "I'm learning so much here. I dream to drive a car. I am an example to others."[48] The project participants are often seen as leaders in their communities; they have dignity and pride; they have skills and knowledge. They are no longer victims of the desperate poverty around them. They create change. Despite the extreme conditions of poverty and the many years of sacrifice and commitment of the Amogalang group, the resilience of Sekati found a way to continue the group's legacy of contribution.

Self-creation is a purpose and outcome of teaching visual arts practice. One of the core questions of this investigation is, what would it mean to include self-creation as an objective for development practice? I suggest that self-creation is part of the hidden strength that accounts for the success of the Phumani Paper program. The stories of the resilient women of Phumani Paper articulate this capacity of self-creation.[49]

The Bosele Papermakers, Lehurutse

Jacobeth Lepedi, founding member and chairperson of the Bosele papermaking group, explained her position on leadership and pride to Jane Hassinger, a coauthor of *Women on Purpose*.

> Here in our community, we are the role models. Every time when people open their new projects, they bring them here to encourage them. They see how we survive as older women in the project . . .

Fig. 3.1. Hermina Sekati demonstrating new products to the Tswaraganang group, Winterveld, 2008. (Photo by D. Rasiel.)

> Maybe we don't get enough money; but we motivate them that if you do something, do it. Don't hesitate. Even if there is a challenge, go on. One day you will see. You will reap. I am proud about this project.
>
> I don't want to leave this project.
>
> I make people comfortable and I listen to people and I care about them. I want to help young kids that are not doing anything at home. At my church I teach Sunday school. I am interested in building an orphanage. I have been looking after a young boy. If I didn't take care of him he would have become a street kid.[50]

During a visit in April 2007, I asked the women at the Bosele papermaking project in North West Province about their goals for the future. Lepedi had just won the provincial prize for the community builder of the year, and their group had won the best project award for the second year running. The women saw themselves as proud businesswomen, who are recognized as role models in the surrounding villages. They have created jobs and earned prestige for their community. The Bosele papermakers also support the local orphans and teach papermaking in schools. Jacobeth responded to me that what she would really like is to be able to go out one day and order a cappuc-

Fig. 3.2. Jacobeth Lepedi, from the Bosele group, Lehurutse, 2008. (Photo by D. Rasiel.)

cino just because she felt like it. Everybody laughed, because it seemed to be an outrageous and self-indulgent wish.

Each rand that Jacobeth earns from the project is accounted for, as she is a single parent raising children who she supports with the aim of sending them to university. That a rural woman struggling to make ends meet wanted to order a cappuccino—or saw this as an ideal—was, for me, a sure indicator of empowerment and aspiration out of poverty. A cappuccino is seen as a luxury item available only to women of status and social position.

Bosele papermakers were awarded a large government tender by the North West Development Agency in August 2008. It was not too long before these businesswomen had the economic agency to drive their own car to the Mmabana Mall for a cappuccino. They now have a company van, and Kgomotso, one of the members, drove the group to Johannesburg in June 2012 for the exhibition and launch of the book *Women on Purpose*. Bosele continues to operate independently, and the group has expanded and diversified its activities. This group still services the Phumani archival paper mill at UJ, as its primary supplier of sisal fiber.

Some Conclusions

In this chapter's attempt to draw conclusions that could be useful for better understanding in the field of development practice in the arts and crafts sector, the following themes have emerged: the complexity of practice and the importance of culturally sensitive approaches to development, the value of systems approaches to development and the role of government in supporting and/or undermining these approaches, the sensibilities that arts processes can contribute to social development, and the role of aspiration and imagination in relation to resilience and sustainability. Resilience, like art, is responsive and generative, and it enlivens individuals and communities. At a roundtable conference at the University of British Columbia in Vancouver in 2012, I and the other participants arrived at the following understanding regarding resilience and its relationship to art and social transformation:

> Art is directly relevant to resilience because it is participatory and inclusive: it emerges from the deepest layers of human beings; involves an implicit recognition of shared humanity and creativity; evokes imagination and creates alternative visions in collaboration with others; is spacious in accommodating mystery and spiritual aspects of people; and contributes to healing, empowerment, and self-esteem for individuals and groups.[51]

The story of Phumani Paper demonstrates the value of placing visual arts practitioners in unfamiliar contexts (e.g., that of development) that lead to creative, innovative practices. Because of their unfamiliarity with development discourse, artists are unlikely to be prescriptive, hierarchical, or disabling. Interactions with groups require consultation, group process work, and improvisation. The idea of visualizing alternative futures and engaging in collective thinking in reaching for those dreams is a part of self-creation, and this process was a component of the initial phases of forming this complex organization. As funding requirements grew tighter and more rigorous and as deliverables needed to be linked to log frames, Phumani Paper learned to adapt and comply, at least on the surface, with the institutional practice of the South African government's development requirements to qualify for continued funding.

Pieterse identified the top-down process as typical of development practice and cautions that it is counterproductive to bypass what already exists in communities, in favor of "organizational forms that are more recognizable to development programs." Pieterse further claims that many intervening government agencies or NGOs tend to assume that poor communities lack structure. Therefore, "upon arrival or 'descent' in a given area, the propensity is to establish yet another new organizational formation to act as an interface."[52] This "descent" approach was exemplified by Phumani Paper's experience of the government's proposed directive to establish nine archival papermaking mills across the country, irrespective of sustainability potential or community needs. From this "descent" perspective, Phumani Paper's intervention in local communities was, in some ways, a top-down effort born out of the objectives of the reconstruction and development program, where the communities were not consulted as to whether learning to make paper was of value to the group. The initial directive was, in fact, imposed on them. However, the methodology of implementation was consultative and participatory.

As the principal investigator, I identified papermaking as an innovative technology for job creation, new research, and skills training. I believe that what made this intervention different from other top-down approaches to poverty alleviation was the use of creativity and a commitment to participation and shared decision making. The artists who became the skills trainers in the various Phumani Paper sites used a method of teaching that required dynamic and active participation. The process of converting waste vegetation and recycled paper into products of beauty and value evoked excitement and

magic in the creative process. This, I believe, has contributed to the pride and resilience that has sustained commitment and involvement in the groups over the years, whether or not they still make paper.

The implication of much development practice is that the "beneficiaries" of the intervention are passive receivers. My own experience has confirmed the arguments of Sen, Swilling, Pieterse, and others that counter the mistaken assumption that development can be "given" to people, particularly development in moments of exceptional transition characterized by the post-1994 government of South Africa. How can one ensure the practice of development to restore dignity and social justice and, at the same time, guarantee "delivery"? Can the process facilitate the discovery of the individual agency needed to make positive choices? On this issue, I agree with Alan Kaplan, who advocates an approach that treats all development contexts "as 'living processes' in order to anticipate non-linearity, surprise, multidimensionality, and especially pre-existing agency."[53] This approach is akin to Appadurai's "deep democracy," a concept useful for development activists who work toward stimulating "pre-existing agency" in community groups through creative participation of specific aspirations or needs.

My proposal, as stated earlier, is that success in development could be partially defined in terms of resilience, which, in the domain of craft enterprises in post-1994 South Africa, means survival. Government policies and practices function within closed systems, and as I have argued here, this premise is partially why government-funded poverty alleviation projects have a poor survival rate. If we can agree that resilience and the survival of small development programs constitute their success, then development projects or programs that adopt an open-system approach to thinking and organizing can succeed through facilitating an enabling environment for survival and growth. The story of Roselina Molefe, a papermaker from the Tswaraganang project in Winterveld, exemplifies the concepts of resilience and agency.

> There is a Sotho saying: "a mother holds a knife at the sharp end."
>
> I have learned to live with my challenges. Even if I don't have salt in my house, I can cook without salt.
>
> As women, we should get up and do things for ourselves. I am a Tsonga woman and Tsonga women are oppressed, so they don't have a say in whatever. Their ideas are not taken into consideration. A Tsonga woman cannot work, so I grew up knowing that a woman is nothing. I thank God that I achieved so much and I believe that women can move

Fig. 3.3. Roselina Molefe, 2008. (Photo by D. Rasiel.)

> forward and women are powerful. I know now what is good and what is bad. I didn't know how to speak before in front of people because we are brought up that way. Now I can speak.[54]

Molefe was rescued from dire circumstances. When her husband died of AIDS, she was chased out of his village in Mpumalanga, accused of bewitching him. Her husband's family burned her belongings and starved and beat her. A visiting doctor, Dr. Carpenter, brought Roselina and her child to the Sisters of Mercy convent in Winterveld (about one hour outside of Pretoria). They were not sure whether she would live. Filled with shame, Roselina rarely spoke. She survived extreme poverty by collecting a weekly food parcel from the church. Sister Sheila Flynn, a fine arts honors student of mine and a volunteer with the Sisters of Mercy, brought Roselina to a papermaking workshop at the university as part of the outreach program we had with the Winterveld group. Through a translator, Roselina told the group that she was inspired and amazed that she could make paper from rubbish, turning waste into something beautiful.

That workshop took place in 1997. Roselina is now the longest-standing member of the Tswaraganang papermaking group in Winterveld, which was

established that year. She has since told me, during the course of an interview, that papermaking has kept her alive because it has given her life some worth. She is now somebody; before, "her life was like waste."[55] She is one of the few hundred people in the country who can make paper and support her family.

In December 2012, Phumani Paper's national office, situated on the Doornfontein campus of UJ, closed. When packing up Phumani Paper's offices and dumping much of the documentation of 12 years of reports, archives, and records of each of the 300–400 people involved in the 21 projects around the country over the years, I felt like I was attending a funeral of a close family member. The paper craft products that filled the stockroom were donated to some Phumani Paper groups and to four small NGOs or community projects linked to UJ. APS bought the remaining handmade paper stock and entered into a partnership with the Faculty of Art, Design, and Architecture regarding the support of collaborative projects with the archival paper mill. In this way, a spark from the debris from the burial of the national office kept a part of Phumani Paper alive. Some of the small independent rural projects have since quietly died, while others have managed to keep going.

In the midst of packing up the mill, I received a call from a woman who was planning to start a packaging business using handmade paper at her smallholding outside Pretoria. She wanted to take over much of the equipment. Roselina, from Winterveld, had called me a week earlier to say that the Sisters of Mercy were about to close down the Tswaraganang group, as it was not able to sustain sufficient orders. I approached the craft business with the proposal that they employ the three members as papermakers and accommodate them on their site, to which the business agreed. The Tswaraganang group offered to lend the new company their equipment, thus becoming shareholders. Roselina subsequently phoned to tell me she is happy to be working again. Her daughter passed her high school examinations, and Roselina will be able to afford to keep her family going. Both she and her small son are on antiretroviral treatment and thriving.

Roselina's story suggests that the creative process was the catalyst that alleviated her spiritual poverty and provided hope and dignity that have kept her alive for the past two decades. The AIDS Action intervention (discussed in chapter 5) provided her with the tools to support her ability to make a purposive choice to seek treatment, overcome her fear of rejection, and stay alive for her children, herself, and her group. Her story illuminates many themes of this chapter that explore how visual arts and crafts can enable individuals to fulfill their potential. In placing people at the center of their own development, they have an important role to play in social transformation.

Plate 11. Zulu pots and plates packaged with paper handmade from sugarcane fiber, 2002. (Photo by S. Sellschop.)

Plate 12. The Twanano papermaking group (holding milkweed fiber) with Deputy Minister Thandeka Mkhonto, 2002. (Photo by author.)

Plate 13. Phumani Pets produced by the Twanano group, 2007. (Photo by S. Sellschop.)

Plate 14. Training of papermakers (Nkosinathi Ndladla, Percy Madia, and Eustacia Zitha) at the Phumani Archival Paper Mill by Robbin Ami Silverberg (NY), University of Johannesburg, 2005. (Photo by Andras Borocz.)

Plate 15. A Paper Prayers intervention in HaMakuya, Limpopo Province, 2012. (Photo by author.)

Plate 16. The KwaZulu-Natal paper and craft packaging group, Eshowe, 2001. (Photo by author.)

Plate 17. A paper prayer and narrative produced in the AIDS Action intervention, by Kgomotso Oodira from Madikwe, 2007. (Photo by S. Sellschop.)

Plate 18. National Phumani mapping workshop, University of Johannesburg, 2008. (Photo by D. Rasool.)

Plate 19. Paper Prayers workshop with Hlasane, 2008. (Photo by S. Sellschop.)

Plate 20. Mamoeti Mano and Masechaba Molelekoa creating their paper prayers, 2006. (Photo by D. Rasiel.)

Plate 21. Women on Purpose launch, University of Johannesburg, 2012. (Photo by S. Sellschop.)

Four

Engaging the Academy

Aspects of the legacy of apartheid remain embedded in South African institutions, many of which remain untransformed. The current political class in South Africa demonstrates a disregard for the struggles of the poor. Students and youth have asserted their voices to demand free education, with some of the protests resulting in destruction and violence. Since 2015, university students and workers have set in motion processes needed for deep and enduring social change and have defined the critical role that learning and education play in engaging such change.

The #FeesMustFall movement—also known as the Fallist movement—brought into focus the debate about those issues of transformation that deal with matters of access, race, identity, and the future of the universities. #FeesMustFall demands the "decolonizing" of higher education as well as the provision of government-subsidized fees for the poor. This situation requires a response from educators, scholars, and students. While the call for greater government subsidy for the poor is legitimate and must be addressed by the state and universities, the issues of decolonizing the curricula in how and what we teach provide exciting opportunities for these transformations. Decolonization aims to liberate education from the epistemology of power, inequality, and exploitation. At a public lecture, African scholar, Achille Mbembe spoke to the challenge facing decolonizing universities, involving fairness and decency, as having two sides: it calls, first, for a critique of the dominant Eurocentric academic model and, second, for imagining what the alternative to this model could look like. In Mbembe's words, "At the end of the decolonising process we will no longer have a university. We will have a pluriversity." He further refers to a "non-racial university" that is about "radical sharing and universal inclusion" (Mbembe 2015). I argue that the arts can provide a model for opening up methodologies of learning that are demo-

cratic, engaged, reciprocal, and accessible, as a counterpoint to colonial traditions of learning, which generally operate from the top down.

This chapter considers the role of universities as a site for transformational change and investigates two core challenges facing higher education in South Africa. Selected stories of change introduce innovative approaches to engaging the academy. The first challenge responds to the need of a South African university undergoing transformation, which requires greater participation by all stakeholders in creating more spaces for addressing some of South Africa's most critical social crises. This position supports the basic principle that education is a public good and should be regarded as necessary to the development of citizens in a democratic society. In a contemporary South African university, transformation traditionally refers to a process of change from an oppressive regime to a democratic social system, one that provides not only equality of educational opportunity but also a more inclusive educational structure.

The second challenge dealt with in this chapter positions the arts and the artists' role as catalyzers of transformation in the academy. I propose that arts-based approaches open free and co-creative spaces for student learning and participative engagement. The arts and visual approaches for engaging personal and social learning strengthen critical and innovative thinking and position students and lecturers as agents for change.

Responding to Transformation

The questions arising from the first challenge to be considered here, that of responding to transformation, are

- How can educators meet the challenge of transformation to deepen democracy in South Africa?
- What kind of research would ensure the production of new knowledge and enable researchers to exercise agency as participative democratic citizens?
- How can programs supporting the "public good" become part of an agenda shared by universities and arts programs?
- How can the higher education system incorporate community engagement as part of its core priorities in practice?

In 2001, the planning proposals of the South African government's Department of Education set out the need to evolve "an equitable, sustainable and

productive higher education system that will be of high quality and contribute effectively and efficiently to the human resource, skills and knowledge and research needs of the country" (Department of Education 2001: 6). The desired system would further contribute

> to the advancement of all forms of knowledge and scholarship, and in particular address the diverse problems and demands of the local, national, southern African and African contexts, and uphold rigorous standards of academic quality. (Department of Education 1997: 1.14)

South Africa's ongoing disputes over pedagogy are part of a much wider international scholarly investigation of the public role of the university, which has shaken the image of tertiary education as an ivory tower. One of the first scholars to address the need for a radical pedagogical practice was the Brazilian activist and educator Paulo Freire. In South Africa, Freire's *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1970) was a valued and banned text, sought after by progressive left-wing activists during the anti-apartheid struggle. It provided a foundation for much of the philosophy of education for liberation that was part of the student opposition struggle against oppression. Central to Freire's approach, which I share, were the complementary concepts of building on the students' existing knowledge base and of collaborative learning. According to Freire,

> There is no such thing as a neutral educational process. Education either functions as an instrument to facilitate the integration of the younger generation into the logic of the present system, or it becomes the practice of freedom, the means by which men and women participate in the transformation of their world. ([1970] 2003:16)

Freire's radical approach to transformative education has been augmented by feminist scholarship, as well as by South African educators such as Jonathan Jansen (2004), Nico Cloete and Teboho Moja (Cloete et al. [2001] 2004), Ahmed Bawa (2006), and others, who have provided an ongoing strong critique of an increasingly conservative trend throughout the educational system globally. The feminist scholar Chandra Mohanty contrasts pedagogies of accommodation—comparable to Freire's "instrument . . . for integration into the system"—with pedagogies of dissent. She writes,

> Feminist pedagogy of dissent . . . attempts to link knowledge, social responsibility and collective struggle. And it does so by emphasiz-

> ing the risks that education involves—the struggles for institutional change, and the strategies for challenging forms of domination—and by creating more equitable and just public spheres within and outside educational institutions. (Mohanty 2003: 201)

After democracy was implemented in South Africa, it seemed as though Freire's democratic model was indeed about to be achieved. The Department of Education's white paper of 1997 and the 1996 white paper produced by the Department of Arts, Culture, Science, and Technology were far-sighted documents that incorporated some of the most advanced theories of knowledge production and insisted on the importance of research to social transformation. As a result of the newly implemented government policies, exciting spaces opened in education, all addressing the crucial goal of transforming a colonial-dominated education system into one that was more appropriate to an African model.

At that time, much of the country was filled with optimism and hope that was fostered by the impending democratic political change. Transformation in higher education institutions such as the former Technikon Witwatersrand (now University of Johannesburg), which had been the primary training institution for the mining industry that had propped up the apartheid government, was imminent. However, substantive transformation demanded a deep institutional soul-searching that questioned both the purpose and content of a Eurocentric curriculum and that imagined new ways of producing knowledge. The Technikon had a strong tradition of practical applied education linked to vocational practice. Rooted in the geography of the city of Johannesburg, it was founded in 1903 to serve the needs of the gold mining industry. As the Faculty of Art, Design, and Architecture (FADA), along with other Technikon programs, merged to become the University of Johannesburg in 2005, FADA found itself in an urban research university that was becoming more responsive to publicly engaged teaching and research, as well as more ambitious to acquire the reputation for rigor and achievement associated with premier research institutions. This was happening just as the area of publicly engaged scholarship and teaching was maturing nationally and internationally.

It is my contention that in order for higher education to play a role in democracy and transformation, it must recognize that education is not solely about the transfer of knowledge, training for job placement, or even the conveying of entrepreneurial skills linked to the demands of supplying a qualified workforce to industry and business interests. Higher education must also

be about matters of civic engagement, critical thinking, civic literacy, and the capacity for democratic agency, action, and change. It should involve inclusion and social responsibility. In "Reconstructing Democracy: The Citizen Politics of Public Work," Harry C. Boyte challenges educators to claim and exercise their often unacknowledged power, by helping their students to rethink the aims of education (specifically the meaning of citizenship in the 21st century) and the challenges of addressing public problems. Boyte also points out that students in "this competitive, technocratic culture learn how to make arguments, and to demonstrate the flaws in others' arguments, but not how to tap the talents and wisdom of others in organizing collective work for the common good" (Boyte 2001).

I share the opinion that our role as educators is to help nurture in our students a deep respect for others and an informed and empathetic understanding of community engagement and social responsibility. It is vital that education be viewed as providing the moral leadership to support the values of democratic practice. This view is endorsed by many public scholars who argue for the need to explore alternative models for bridging the gap between higher education and the broader society. I support the position—expressed by Boyte (2012), Giroux (2013), and many others—that higher education is one of the most important sites where the battle for democracy is being waged.[1] The challenge facing educators in racially mixed student bodies includes not only the politics of race but also the politics of pedagogical transformation of the ways in which meaning and identity are constructed, communicated, and integrated into the curriculum.

In the United States, education is considered to be moving away from the public good, with a greater emphasis on equipping students with the competence to contribute to economic competitiveness (Hall 2007: 11). Similarly, Cloete and Moja identify the major function of education in South Africa to be the production of potential employees in the corporate world, rather than citizens who participate in a democracy. These scholars argue that a form of colonialism has emerged in the information age and that the market has colonized the academy. The primary purpose of the latter has changed, from public scholarship serving transformation, to education that serves the needs of production and exchange.

> Higher education has two important functions in the knowledge economy. The one . . . is to produce medium-skills level professional graduates for the professions in the service sector; the other is to pro-

> duce highly skilled knowledge producers for high-level [corporate] innovation. (Cloete et al. [2001] 2004: 244–45)

Equally disturbing in this model is that access to higher education is based on the ability to pay for tuition, with the result that many people are denied access to higher education institutions.[2] South African educator Craig Soudine (2015) argues that this model "furthers the project of white domination" and that "crude power is evident in the admissions practices [of some of the] the emerging universities," where admission policies "exercise a kind of physical violence on young people of colour." Crucially, however, there are always individuals who resist these developments and provide "alternative ways of seeing the world" (Hendricks and Vale 2005).

Contemporary South African university culture is rife with contradiction and ambivalence. As the student movement has shown to be urgent, higher education should be a space to engender ideas and practices that enhance cooperation, collegiality, social sharing, and social responsibility. This would allow space for transformative processes that can address the structural characteristics of social inequality. All 26 of the South African universities have been badly affected by running battles and extreme violence, with some students using disruptive tactics to close down their campuses until their demands are met. Increasing security on campus has not been a solution, and the challenge for transformation and access requires more creative responses from university and government actors.[3]

The challenge of engaging the university as a democratic public sphere, rather than an institution that has aligned itself with market values, also links it to a concern with managerialism. Some contemporary academics have criticized the audit culture of neoliberalism and corporatization in universities, concerned with performance productivity, research outputs, and competitive ratings, rather than with educating students to be critically engaged citizens. For example, Enver Motala calls for a rethinking of the prevailing conventions of scholarship and "the asphyxiating grip on it of peer review" (2015: 23). He argues for more "intellectual activism" and maintains that thoughtful disputation, critical inquiry, and dialogue essential for a democratic, informed, and thinking citizenry seem to be obligatory and unavoidable (2015: 33).

Imagining an Alternative Model

The second challenge proposed in the introduction to this chapter maintains that the arts and artists can play a role as catalyzers of transformation in the

academy and that innovation and creative approaches provide strategies to embrace change. In examining the role of the artist and art students, I explore how community-based arts research can counter the influence of competitive, power-driven, conflict-ridden organizational processes that often characterize the academy, as well as how, in so doing, it is able to introduce systems geared to facilitate more consensual, cooperative ways of learning. This exploration of the role of the arts in contributing to research and education for democracy expands to consider the challenges of making the research relevant, fluid, inclusive, and collaborative and to pursue an understanding of an "African" research and education paradigm for the arts.

I believe that the principles of social justice must be part of an artist's education in order to counter the dominance of material values in society more widely and to instill a desire in students to address social crises. The foundational base for the model of teaching and learning that is geared to "deepen democracy" starts with the existing knowledge of the learners or participants. It considers learning to be collaborative rather than force-fed. Some of the challenges involve participatory training of students in lessons of leadership, public engagement, social responsibility, human rights, and empowerment. The arts can play a role in introducing the concept of research as relevant, fluid, inclusive, and collaborative. According to Henry Giroux (2013),

> The view of higher education as a democratic public sphere [is] committed to producing young people capable and willing to expand and deepen their sense of themselves, to think of the "world" critically, "to imagine something other than their own well-being," to serve the public good, take risks and struggle for a substantive democracy.

As a full-time senior academic in the Visual Art Department at the University of Johannesburg (UJ) since 1994, I have been involved in the energizing and challenging process of linking research activities with community engagement and artistic practice. This process has established a dynamic arena that has required a rethinking of the way knowledge is created, taught, and retained and that has created new spaces for innovative pedagogic practices. As I will show, such practices have, at various stages, encountered dramatic resistance and opposition from gatekeepers within a hierarchical educational infrastructure.

I consider what possible and appropriate strategies are able to counter the conservative trend that is shutting down innovative, imaginative programs, where the rationale is given that the latter are noncompliant with

the given academic structures of schools and departments. While many scholars argue that democratic engagement and social justice is not the job of the arts, the artist, or academic art programs, I question what it will take to disrupt the dominant aesthetic discourse of visual art and how we can begin to realize more democratic and inclusive modes of artistic and cultural production. It seems important to question whether university art programs adequately prepare art students to play a role beyond attending gallery openings and whether our academic arts programs go far enough in critically engaging students to be able to constructively mobilize for action in response to social injustice.

A common generalization is that academic institutions protect the autonomy of art and that autonomy gives art its authority. Academic visual arts programs are aligned more closely with the values and trends of globalization and the international art market than with public engagement. The notion that art is a practice addressed to an elite audience is ironic, as it stems from the image of the artist as a so-called misunderstood loner at odds with society. These clichés contribute to the idea that there is a marked distance between the experience of the artwork and everyday life.

The premise for my own research and educational work over the past two and a half decades has been that arts-based participatory practice is key to achieving engagement in "public work." Arts-based research and social engagement allows for the possibility of moving from reflection and theorizing to action. It encourages students to become engaged citizens with the ability to contribute to a post-apartheid society. My own practice supports the notion of learning and research as a process that specifically aims to generate knowledge that will impact the community positively. The visual methods of engagement described in previous chapters challenge the power relationships that occur when academic experts come into the field with preconceptions based on their existing knowledge and skills. Participating in visual activities extends the tradition of academic social science methods where research is something "done on" people and places.

Involvement in community arts programs has had a profound influence on our university graduates' choice of careers. Their learning moves beyond the ability to apply a critical analysis and the ability to demonstrate flaws in others' arguments. They have felt empowered to bear the responsibility of tapping into the knowledge of others so as to contribute to collective participation in efforts that deepen both democracy and the "public good." The purpose of teaching to the public good and teaching for change remains a challenge for academics, researchers, teachers, and supervisors, if we are to

accept our role to graduate critical, responsive, and caring students who have agency in their communities. According to the philosophy of transformative arts-based learning, excellence in teaching involves engaging students in the structures of deep learning, the outcome of which is personal agency.

It is my contention that artists already possess or can cultivate the qualities needed to transform knowledge. In their creative practice, they are able to abandon what does not work and to move in a different direction. They grapple with the constrictions of patterns and structures and try to break out of them. They embrace risk, let go of the familiar, and challenge themselves to stretch beyond comfortable limits. Artists are also trained to make use of whatever material is at hand: they value the potential of found material and use it in a purposeful and coherent way. In other words, the philosophy of pedagogy of freedom, introduced into the South African context in the 1970s by Freire's writings, constitutes a very appropriate fit with the practice of the critical investigation of the relationship between society and knowledge creation. Moreover, I believe that the artist has the creative ability to actively engage that relationship. As Mohanty argues, "The pedagogy [of dissent] does not entail merely processing received knowledges . . . but also actively transforms them" (2003: 201).

Furthermore, I consider that higher education should apply its considerable knowledge base and resources to the task of reducing pressing socioeconomic problems that undermine social justice, such as poverty, social dislocation, inequality, HIV/AIDS, and public health. The three stories highlighted in subsequent sections of this chapter challenge a model of practice that has often been resistant in a closed system, with a deep understanding that the arts provide the necessary "free" spaces for students to experience their own agency and potential inside and outside the academy. They introduce the notion of active citizenship through community-engaged research programs in visual arts at UJ. I present them as small pockets of resistance to the entrepreneurial imperatives of higher education, which can therefore provide models of sites of learning. I believe that the core methodology of artistic and cultural practice lies in open systems of thinking and self-creation. When applied to development practice, this approach contributes to fostering and sustaining agency and empowerment.

The three narratives—involving papermaking research, the Arts-Based Approaches for Development project, and a case study of a master's student—offer examples of master's-level and fourth-year learning programs that use a participatory approach to community-based research and that engage student learning though their participation in arts interventions. Students learn

that they, as responsible citizens, are in a position to push against the grain and find creative ways of giving a voice to the voiceless. Students must have a say in their education, and academics and educators are well placed to activate knowledge, passion, responsibilities, and imagination that are crucial to sustaining and deepening democracy. In this way, higher education can be "an upstream institution in society" and a "key to change" (Boyte 2012).

As detailed in chapter 3, the history of Phumani Paper is a story of community engagement through a papermaking research project I introduced in the Faculty of Arts, Design, and Architecture at UJ in 1996. I was convinced that student projects that engage in poverty alleviation would promote consensual and cooperative ways of learning and could provide an alternative objective to the technocratic processes that characterized the academy. They could also be adapted to fit the demands of the criteria that generate quantifiable outputs for the university, such as publications in accredited journals that have economic value. Yet the key issue for me, at the time, was to ensure an ethical and social justice approach that would give a broader access to knowledge generation beyond the academy and its accredited publications—the difference being that there would be more value for the poor and less focus on the elite.

Elements in academic bureaucracy had tried and sometimes succeeded to shut down radical, innovative programs—on the pretext of retaining "quality" and "real research," protecting academic integrity and the exclusivity of the academy. Despite these regressive tendencies, South African documents on education policy surprisingly reflected a continuing adherence to the idea of higher education as serving the public good. One of the challenges issued to higher education institutions by the Department of Education in 2001 was to pursue an approach in higher education that would "produce young men and women who will personify good, and in this way ensure that in the years ahead South African political, social and intellectual life will not be banal, self-centred and mired either in greed or desperate attempts at survival, but rather will be rich and vibrant, engaging questions of social justice and intellectual and political actions towards achieving a humane society" (Badat 2001: 5). However, there was a dislocation between policy and practice, apparently not uncommon in other areas as well.

The case study of Phumani Paper is a useful example of community engagement and a research activity that attempts to address some of the challenges of integrating research and community development in a university. It started as an experimental research and development project in hand pa-

permaking, which I undertook with my students. Only some years after the Papermaking Research and Development Unit had been established did our work gradually became informed by educational theory, which redirected our efforts to apply methods of action research cycles. Through ongoing support from the National Research Foundation (NRF), for expanded knowledge areas, I was able, from 2000, to offer the mode of community-based research as a study option for senior and master's students. The concept of public scholarship significantly challenged the traditional approaches and methodologies of scholarly research in the academy.

Julie Ellison, a professor of literature at the University of Michigan and the founder of a nationwide consortium of American colleges, Imagining America, has powerfully articulated the role that scholarship could and should play in public life.[4]

> Public scholarship does not mean simply the delivery of knowledge to the public in accessible forms. Nor does it mean that faculty scholars become service providers. Public scholarship is not the same as public intellectual work (academic production that has a public audience) or faculty investigations of public culture or the public sphere. Rather, our approach to public scholarship grants faculty members agency and interests as civic professionals working with peers in a community of practice and inquiry. (Ellison 2005)

This definition of public scholarship provides a useful way of framing the challenges that I experienced for community-based research at UJ. In our context, I perceived the main challenge to be for the university, its faculty, and department and postgraduate supervisors to be able to accommodate, supervise, and provide evaluation guidelines for the kinds of hybrid projects described by Ellison. However, my experience with the supervision of master's students involved in such publicly engaged projects revealed the hopeless inadequacy of our accepted guidelines for evaluating the typical fine art master's student (which consists of their art practice linked to a theoretical explication).

Assessment of my students' research revealed an inability of evaluators to support research whose primary outcome was directed at the public good. The postgraduate students' noncompliance with a narrow fine art model was seen by examiners as the students' failure. It necessitated seeking out international experts and scholars to transform these students' initially poor re-

sults into highly rated achievements. This experience made it clear that it is imperative to create guidelines for examiners capable of evaluating "public good" research projects.

Although public scholarship is only recently becoming an accepted term in South Africa, similar concepts can be found elsewhere in the world. Harry Boyte has continually developed the concept of the student researcher as citizen as a model of providing the appropriate balance to Ellison's concept of the "public scholar." Boyte's model, promoted through the Humphrey Institute's Center for Democracy and Citizenship in Minnesota, makes a powerful argument for the value of public scholarship by student researchers, an argument relevant to an inclusive model of empowerment. His assertion confirms my own experience.

> Young people want opportunities to break out of cultures that treat them as objects to be manipulated and amused. They want to develop a public life in living communities, and engage in work of consequence for themselves and the larger society. They want to be recognized and valued for their efforts. Public Achievement, in its largest aim, is part of the movement to change the culture "from Me to We," building societies in which all people are valued, and of which all can be proud. (Boyte 2006: 10)

Boyte maintains that students want to be treated as "critical agents," directly involved with working for change in their communities, and that we need to "reinvent citizenship as public work" for a larger democracy (Boyte 2001).[5]

Key proponents of the movement of public scholarship are included in a valuable anthology of case studies called *Civic Studies*, the authors of which see civic studies as a strategy for reorienting academic scholarship so that it addresses citizens and learns from them in turn (Levine 2014:5). This emerging field of civic studies in humanities and the social sciences supports a socially engaged arts practice that has been on the margins of the academy. Its academic recognition in the fields of the social sciences and humanities is very timely in bolstering pedagogies of social justice.

When I began teaching at the Technikon Witwatersrand (now UJ) in the mid-1990s, the research arena was wide open, and the agenda for transformation had been initiated. Key components of the NRF-funded research projects were redress and community relevance. The research activity I initiated—papermaking for economic development—had thrived in this environment. At that time, there was no master's program; the master's of tech-

nology (MTech) program was established in 1996. Incoming fine art students had almost no foundation in research methodologies, whether quantitative or qualitative. Ironically, however, this absence cleared a creative space for developing a curriculum suited to the individual student's projects or needs.

At the same time, the government offered funding opportunities for research projects in the newly defined cultural industries sector. Hand papermaking was one such industry, and the first two master's students I supervised in my program developed their research projects in the field of hand papermaking. As there was no precedent for this kind of research in South Africa, the two students—Bronwyn Marshall and Mandy Coppes, whose projects are discussed in chapter 3—sought additional outside assistance from other disciplines and external experts in the field. This opened doors to innovative knowledge production through collaboration and multidisciplinary methods of investigation. These students investigated appropriate papermaking technologies for sustainable rural livelihoods, specifically the conversion of agricultural waste into craft. We entered a "space of possibility." This approach emulated the principles of chaotic systems more closely than any deterministic or rational methods that refer to cyclical processes of discovery and change within a system of unpredictability.

As discussed in the previous chapter, I received a grant from the government to use research to create hundreds of new jobs in handmade paper crafts through the establishment of Phumani Paper as a poverty alleviation program. In addition, the NRF awarded full research bursaries in this new activity area to four master's students and support to four students pursuing a bachelor's degree in technology in each year from 2000 to 2005. The program, called Art for Social Change, was renewed annually, with two new master's students in the four-year grant being supported in activist and community arts and a few fourth-year students receiving support as research assistants each year.

The concept of "cultural industries" defined and framed by government in the 1994 white paper of the Department of Arts, Culture, Science, and Technology opened up further new opportunities for research projects in the arts sector. In the absence of a predetermined methodology for the research process, the creative space of inquiry and the drive to make a difference to the poorest of the poor facilitated a dynamic process of discovery. As a result, my students and I operated in an environment that felt like a creative incubator. It was not prescriptive—neither policed by bureaucracy nor constrained by academic conformity.

The project was engaged in research directly applicable to the public good.

The stakes were high. The government grant tasked the research unit of the university to establish at least 460 new jobs in its first year of implementation. The teams consisted of postgraduate students, research interns pursuing bachelor's degrees in technology, papermakers with expertise, and facilitators and local community artists (primarily drawn from Artist Proof Studio), all of whom worked alongside each other. There was no hierarchy of privilege or knowledge. White and black university students were learning with and supported by their community-based counterparts in rural and township community centers. Knowledge was shared, methods were experimented with and invented, and an exciting world of multidisciplinary and multicultural opportunities was explored.

Further collaborations with papermakers from the United States as well as local artisans led to the design and construction of new equipment that was continually adapted to our evolving needs.[6] I applied for and subsequently received a patent for an unusual design and modification of a duplex Hollander paper beater.[7] An accomplished Johannesburg-based artist, Durant Sihlali,[8] arguably the father of contemporary South African papermaking and an innovator in papermaking technology for artists, provided essential expertise, supervision, training, and advice to the students. Research into product design, plant dyes, invasive vegetation, sculptural applications, and livelihood opportunities emerged in collaboration with student and staff members in different design departments and centers within the university.

Building on the contacts we had established through Paper Prayers (discussed in chapter 2), the students and community artists visited rural villages, learning about local environmental initiatives and investigating ways to tap into local industries and community centers. Partnerships with NGOs that were active in each community assisted us in setting up workshops and recruiting participants to join a new enterprise of converting wastepaper and waste plant vegetation into handmade paper and paper products. Each research project conducted by a master's student involved investigating and devising new technologies for craft development, to enhance income generation within the Phumani Paper projects.

These research projects were not originally designed specifically as action research (AR) but exhibited its essential characteristics, in that they "improved the quality of the lives of the participants" and facilitated ways for people to reflect and act to address specific problems (Stringer 1999: 17). My master's students and I who worked in community-based research outside of the fine art paradigm encountered the threat of exclusion from the fine arts discipline during the period of curriculum revision. Among other challenges

we faced was the perception of "crossing the line" from "fine art" into "craft," when we required artists to design tourist items. As Sipho Seepe writes, "The next generation of scholars must still reckon with the possibility that interdisciplinarity can frequently lead to exclusion from one's own discipline" (2004: 39).

The value of working across disciplines went further than expanding the knowledge base and capacities of all of the students concerned. Most of them received funding, internships, travel opportunities, and job placements through and beyond their studies. As researchers, these students were fully engaged and inspired by the challenge of their groundbreaking efforts in a new field and produced very substantial research. Each spent two to three years of dedicated energy in the field before attempting to write up research findings in a master's dissertation. The students were not "out there" researching "the other" but were attempting to co-design and co-produce new knowledge from local resource bases within each of the Phumani Paper groups. Each group had different needs depending on local vegetation and access to resources such as electricity, water, transport, and raw materials. Therefore, issues of design, technology, and training required specific attention from each unit. All new paper and product research was transferred, tested, and either owned or rejected by the community participants. Designs that integrated projects' own local or customary cultural expression, such as indigenous patterns or material references, found favor with community members.

At the time, our experience, which we termed "community-based research," was instinctive, experiential, and imaginative. The success of this approach for research is reflected in the quality of our educational program's graduates. Most are still fully engaged in their own careers as art educators, trainers, and/or community facilitators for social and economic upliftment.

David Tshabalala's Story

Master's candidate David Tshabalala, whose story was briefly introduced in chapter 3 through his role in Phumani Paper, is a good example of a practitioner who was a dedicated community activist and possessed the ability to conceptualize, transfer skills, and assist others. Although a conscientious researcher, he had poor to average academic qualifications and writing skills. Most institutions would not have accepted him for a master's program, but on the basis of my motivation as his supervisor, the Technikon Fine Art Department agreed to admit him. At that time, the government imperative for educational diversity and redress supported the position

Fig. 4.1. David Tshabalala (Reproduced with permission.)

that artistic talent and discipline could compensate for mediocre or poor academic preparation. Further, when the system opened up to transformation, access, and community engagement, funding opportunities became available to encourage the enrollment of postgraduate black students from financially and educationally disadvantaged backgrounds. Tshabalala was from a poor rural family and was keen to improve his qualifications and to become a role model in his community.

In 2002, when South Africa was hosting the World Summit on Sustainable Development (WSSD), the Friends of the Earth, an international NGO focused on environmental action, offered Phumani Paper the opportunity to participate in a recycling project aimed at poverty relief, requiring the production of 10,000 paper dolls for a public installation. I handed this project to Tshabalala, who was a fourth-year research assistant at the time. The project included the participation of 10 marginalized community groups (ex-prisoners and HIV-positive men and women), setting up a range of partnerships, creating new technology in paper casting for manufacturing 10,000 dolls, and skills training for a range of stakeholders. The project turned into an extraordinary learning process in leadership and conflict resolution, as well as community facilitation.

The results were spectacular. At the WSSD, Tshabalala led a protest march

of 500 people to hand a memorandum to the minister of environmental affairs. The installation of 6,000 dolls, which impoverished participants made from recycled waste, symbolized the key themes of the summit: globalization, environmental decay, and poverty.[9] A photograph of the installation was published on the front page of the *New York Times*, and it symbolically presented the three sustainable development issues of the conference—economic, environmental, and social. Tshabalala was subsequently encouraged to write up this highly successful and complex project as a case study for his master's dissertation. There were problems, however. The project was completed for the WSSD and was set up according to community imperatives and partnerships, not with research as its first objective. I proposed action research as an appropriate and acceptable practice to assess the project and suggested that Tshabalala conduct a subsequent research project in three-dimensional paper-based products to follow up the impact of the intervention.

Resistance to accepting this methodology as appropriate in the art and design academic domain was revealed when I sought examiners to evaluate Tshabalala's thesis. The external examiners rejected the project as noncompliant to accepted standards in fine art practice. In contrast, two internal examiners and a US-based external advisor (a visiting Fulbright scholar during the project phase of the candidate's research) had passed the candidate with a solid second-class pass, noting weaknesses in the literature review, organization of written materials, and theory, but highly commending the project as community-based research with numerous beneficial outcomes. Yet the internal Academic Promotions Committee expressed concern, in writing, about "a lowering of standards." The committee then required the dissertation to be rewritten under the guidance of another, appointed co-supervisor, in a manner that would take into account the external examiners' concerns.

A new co-supervisor, a social scientist, was appointed. The personal, experiential voice of Tshabalala in his capacity as the researcher was significantly reduced, and the document adhered to an acceptable formula of presentation in the social sciences. The second version was evaluated a year later and commended by the readers. The question of whether social science methodologies, used exclusively, are appropriate to postgraduate theses in the visual arts was never raised.

The value that this case study has contributed to the Faculty of Art, Design, and Architecture was evident in the subsequent acceptance of interdisciplinary co-supervision, as well as the acceptance of specific criteria to assess research in the community-based arts. This case study indicates that

progressive scholars need to develop evaluation strategies that are adequate to research and integrate visual arts practice into social movements, in which community groups and organizations play an important role. In 2005, the candidate became the second black postgraduate student to receive a master's degree from FADA. Deeply committed to community development, he acted as the manager of a skills learnership at Phumani Paper that offers accredited training for enterprise development. He was the first person in his family and village to receive a university degree and became a role model for young arts practitioners.

I subsequently have had to contest the poor evaluations of three other master's students engaged in community-based research projects, which should be assessed fairly against guidelines in accordance with public-good values, by academics familiar with action research methodologies. Ultimately, the difficult process had a positive outcome. I proposed drafting guidelines for the evaluation of future master's projects of this sort, and guidelines were approved by the Faculty Research Committee in 2007. Furthermore, a dissertation in community-based art is now an official option in the Fine Art Department's revised requirements for the master's degree in visual art.[10]

Evaluating this mode of research includes the importance of the voices of the stakeholders as well as the researcher and a focus on ethical values of caring, social justice, and human dignity. The experience of introducing community-based research in the arts at UJ suggests that the most effective way to develop a methodology of evaluation for innovative new work in community-engaged research in the arts in South Africa is to adapt evaluation policies based on the methodologies of public scholarship and participatory research. We adapted the key criteria proposed by the Imagining America tenure team's advocacy for public scholarship in universities, to the goals of evaluating community-based arts action research. These included scholarly and creative work jointly planned and carried out by co-equal university and community partners and a focus on intellectual and creative work that benefits the "public good" (Ellison and Eatman 2008).

Community-based action research suggests the possibility of more socially responsible uses of research that enable students and community participants to have a more direct impact on significant issues that continue to diminish their lives. This kind of research seeks to formulate ways of living and working together that will enhance the life experiences of the student and community participant. Finally, it embraces richer, more intense forms of inquiry using artistic forms of expression.

Deep Democracy: A Sequel to David Tshabalala's Story

Arjun Appadurai identifies "self-governance, self-mobilization and self-articulation" as vital to achieve "deep democracy" (Appadurai 2004: 82) The notion of *ubuntu*, in which an individual's well-being is intertwined with that of others, links to this understanding of deep democracy. There are numerous attempts at articulating the practice of *ubuntu*, such as the quest for an *ubuntu* culture at Artist Proof Studio, capacity building for empowered and shared leadership, and participative and dialogical practice. The story of David Tshabalala leaves the door open for new possibilities to self-create in the ongoing quest to apply the creative arts to deepen democracy.

After graduating from UJ, Tshabalala continued working for Phumani Paper, co-developing the learning materials and training program for the Sector Education and Training Authority's accredited qualification in papermaking. When the managing director of Phumani Paper left for a new position in mid-2008, his resignation was followed by that of his secretary and, weeks later, the finance administrator. There was insufficient funding to fully replace his salaried position, and as one of the two remaining directors on the Phumani Board, I invited Tshabalala to step in as program manager. I and Mandy Coppes, then creative director, offered to mentor Tshabalala in his new position. The organization was experiencing extreme instability, as these staff losses came two weeks before its national annual general meeting, with representatives from all 15 sites ready to converge in Johannesburg for a week-long workshop on strategic planning. My own capacity was limited at the time due to my teaching schedule, increasing the vulnerability of Phumani Paper. This situation provided yet another instance of the relevance of chaos theory and the need to have faith in the adaptability and creative resilience of Phumani Paper. The concepts of "self-governance, self-mobilization and self-articulation" acquired momentous significance, as this opportunity provided an extraordinary moment for the organization to reinvent itself.

Five months after Tshabalala took over the restructured organization, Phumani Paper was awarded two funding contracts and a number of high-profile strategic opportunities. Growth and sales were at their highest peak, and delivery was excellent. Agency, mobility, passion, empowerment—in fact, all of the key themes—seemed to be met. Tshabalala—the small village artist—emerged first as a university student, trainer, and community leader and then as a national program manager who rose effectively to assume the challenge of transformative leadership. Art as agency seemed to have been

fulfilled. Subsequently, Tshabalala was offered a lucrative position to manage an Italian craft organization in South Africa for four years. In 2013, he was employed in a permanent position as a university lecturer in the Durban University of Technology's Fine Art Department, where he has proved to be an excellent academic role model and has returned to his academic career path as an agent of change, and in 2017 he was invited to apply for the position of head of department.

A Story of a Public Art Action Intervention

Despite positive developments, research continues to happen in the elite world of higher education, while activism and community engagement take place on the ground. Until we bridge the gap between these efforts, we have not truly transformed South African education. Although many writers, policy makers, and educators agree on the need for transformation in higher education in the building of democracy in South Africa, this challenge still seems to engage only small pockets in the margins of the system.

A gradual process of change is occurring through ongoing dialogue with students, faculty, and administration. According to Stuart Hall,

> The transformative conversational process really rests on a few basic principles—we listen carefully to others, allow their perspectives to denaturalize our own assumptions, engage with enthusiasm in explanation of our own lives and perspectives and learn to work with that process of dialogue toward understanding, and mutual tolerance of abiding differences. (Hall 2007: 69)

The American activist Andrew Mott, of the Ford Foundation's Community Learning Project, asks a crucial question: "If poverty, race and community are such central issues for our society, why don't institutions of higher education develop programs to educate people for careers as leaders and supporters of community change efforts?" (Mott 2005: 5).

Mott describes some key elements for developing the skills that university graduates need to lead the process of change, all of which are relevant to the South African context. University-based programs can be one important route for developing these leaders, but the curricula must be reshaped to accomplish this specific purpose. First, low-income communities must be the prime movers, in order to ensure that the change reflects their needs and pri-

orities. Second, they must build their own effective organizations to represent their interests and must hold those organizations accountable.

Unlike the postgraduate community-based research activities of Phumani Paper, the initiative presented in this section embeds social change objectives directly into the formal learning program of fourth-year honors students.[11] In 2011, after receiving a new NRF grant for three years, I introduced a required module for my fourth-year students, to prepare them for engaging in public art interventions. Students attend a nine-week formal learning program providing them with the theoretical and methodological context for the course in the first academic semester. Between 2011 and 2014, funding enabled me to take 15 students on a one-week field trip to a remote rural community as part of their engaged service learning. The research design of the community-engaged course is based on the learning cycles of participatory action research, and the coursework focuses on the overlaps and differences between the approaches of experiential learning, service learning, and community-based research and engagement.

In action research, assessment is part of the research process and therefore forms part of the tool kit students need for full understanding of the methodology. It is also fundamental to effective community engagement. The specific methodological tools to facilitate effective community engagement that were introduced in this case were appreciative inquiry (Hammond 1998) and "most significant change" (Davies and Dart 2005). The appreciative inquiry (AI) approach to organizational change and community development focuses on the positive, on what works as opposed to what does not work. The "most significant change" (MSC) technique is a form of participatory monitoring and evaluation. It facilitates the identification of positive and negative changes and is particularly effective in engaging complex social change programs with diverse and emergent outcomes (Davies and Dart 2005: 8). While AI envisions the future and is therefore most useful in the planning stage of an intervention, MSC monitors and evaluates the program during the management cycle.

One aspect of the course I require has been community arts counseling (offered by art therapist Hayley Berman). It introduces students to empathetic listening and to arts processes for group communication. The experience and capacities gained through this course introduce students to an additional set of career options in the fields of community-based arts, arts for development, and the use of visual arts in advocacy and political activism. The course offers students a structured learning opportunity to experience a

cultural context very different from their own, while practicing visual art and passing on art-making skills. This contributes positively to a disadvantaged community, which invariably receives generous hospitality and goodwill in return. In addition, it allows participants to reflect critically on their personal identities and their roles as artists in South African society.

The experiences of students involved in this process reflect the priorities Mott has listed. It gives them the opportunity to participate in hands-on engagement with real-life problems and introduces them to the field of social and community change. It requires multidisciplinary expertise, grounded in both theory and practice, and advances both to create real partnerships with community individuals and organizations. It strengthens participatory processes that are designed to build on community assets and strengthens the students' abilities to lead community change.

The students in this process graduate with a significantly greater knowledge base than that of other graduating visual art students, as well as analytical capacities and practical skills that are gained through the use of experiential teaching methods and participatory action approaches to research. Most of all, students learn empathy, as a result of which many of them become deeply committed to social justice and democratic values. They are trained as active citizens in community change efforts and exemplify the skills that university graduates need to lead the process of change.

The NRF introduced the New Knowledge Field program, with one of the new fields called the Community Engagement Programme, in 2011. In response to my proposal entitled "Arts-Based Approaches for Development," I received funding for three years (2011–13) from the NRF and for one year (2014) from UJ, to implement a partnership program, between UJ's Visual Art Department and Tshulu Trust (a nonprofit organization based in HaMakuya, in the northeast of Limpopo Province), to conduct interventions that respond to some of the key development thrusts of poverty: public health, food security, education, and small business development.

This community-engaged research project considered three questions. First, how can the visual arts be used to contribute to the development and the empowerment of a rural community in a national poverty node, and how can arts students and lecturers contribute meaningfully through active engagement within a tertiary education learning program? Second, what learning opportunities are made available to visual arts students through such community-engaged learning, and how might this change their understanding and practice as artists and democratic citizens? Third, what are the most effective methodological tools to facilitate effective learning and ensure a

positive impact on the community, and how can such efficacy and impact be monitored and assessed? I set out to address these questions through annual student interventions and research projects using arts-based approaches for assessment and social development in HaMakuya.

As part of the former homeland of Venda, HaMakuya suffered systematic underdevelopment during the apartheid era and now is recognized as a national poverty node. In HaMakuya, basic infrastructure is still sorely lacking, and service delivery is low. There are no paved roads, and water is available only from shared communal taps, frequently inadequate for comfortable daily living. The area has 13 primary schools and one secondary school. Unemployment there is estimated at over 90 percent, and the location's only substantive source of cash income is government grants. Areas of development that have progressed well over the past 10 years include the introduction of cellular communications technology, the rollout of electricity, and significant improvements in infrastructure and teaching in primary schools. Health provision is still at local health clinics, with no hospitals in the immediate vicinity of the surrounding villages.[12]

Tshulu Trust is a community-owned organization set up to support poverty alleviation and enhance local economic development by assisting the HaMakuya community to exploit its natural and cultural resources sustainably.[13] Tshulu Trust's key initiatives are Tshulu Camp and the HaMakuya homestay program, both of which run from a central administration office. The trust also runs a resource center that contributes to education, with a particular focus on English language skills and environmental education.

Dr. Lara Allen, a director and co-founder of the trust, who was also my doctoral study advisor, invited me to collaborate by way of introducing a community arts intervention in HaMakuya. We investigated a three-year NRF funding grant to pilot arts-based approaches to rural development. As part of the program entitled Arts-Based Approaches for Development, the NRF provided funding for the establishment of a community-engagement course in the curriculum for fourth-year visual arts students at UJ. Students attended a nine-week module and were given the option of participating in either the weeklong intervention in HaMakuya or a workplace internship elsewhere.

The focuses of the arts interventions were identified and requested by the community partner. In 2011, the first year of the intervention, the Makuya Clinic and the local social workers wanted Tshulu Trust management to assist with HIV awareness and testing in schools, as well as with improving the communication between foster families and adopted children who have been

orphaned through HIV/AIDS. In the second year, the focus was on assisting home-based care workers and health workers with their communication strategies on the prevention and treatment of malaria, bilharzia, and tuberculosis. The third-year focus was linked to a nationwide awareness campaign on teen pregnancy and rape.

Working together with artists, community members were able to identify specific advocacy messages and present them creatively to a wider audience. In the last two interventions, I extended an invitation to the Wits University organization Drama for Life and to Wits University's Music Department to collaborate with the UJ visual arts students, in using additional arts approaches to respond to Tshulu's request for improving the effectiveness of their public health campaigns. Drama and music in schools seemed to be an extremely effective and popular method to support the local care workers. The role of the drama practitioners in the interventions was to enroll active participation by every community participant through song, dance, games, and applied drama. They opened the space for embracing participation, dialogue, collective decision making, the management of conflict and difference, and an engagement with the environment.[14]

The three visual methodological tools for social change introduced were PhotoVoice, Paper Prayers, and collaborative mural making. For its methodology, PhotoVoice uses photographs made by individuals in the community to stimulate the expression of narratives about their lives and "entrusts cameras to the hands of people to enable them to act as recorders and catalysts for change in their own communities." (Wang and Burris 1997: 369). Engaging these methods in seminars prior to the field visits provided the rationale and tools for critical reflection and evaluation (Goldbard 2006; Patton 2011).

Fourth-year and master's students spent a week at the site to initiate arts-based interventions that included photography, printmaking, and mural painting. (*See Plate 15.*) Students also participated in homestays, cultural exchange immersions in which groups of four students stayed with a Tshulu-trained translator and guide in a village homestead for two days and nights, taking part in the daily activities of the household. The goals for homestays were to immerse art students in the everyday life of a rural community, to sensitize them to the ethics and complexities of collaborative interventions, and to allow them to reflect on how the arts can be used to build bridges across differences. The practical goal was to develop a manual for arts-based tools for monitoring and assessing change, to be used by community members and researchers. It was expected that this model could provide systematic evidence of the viability of using a complex, holistic approach to knowl-

edge inquiry and practice. However, immersing students in homestays in a rural and poorly resourced environment was not a desirable option for all the students, and they were able to choose a different experiential learning option if they wished.[15]

After completing the course, the students were required to write a reflexive essay on what they had learned in the three primary categories of service learning—academic enhancement, civic learning, and personal growth (Ash and Clayton 2009: 29). These essays demonstrated a depth and complexity of understanding and self-awareness. Apart from the transformative impact of catalyzing social change, the community-engaged learning course influenced the participating students in other ways, including in their practice as visual artists. In their body of artwork, the fourth-year art students were expected to interrogate from a personal perspective. Their experience in HaMakuya surfaced directly in some of the students' final portfolios, and their course evaluations attested to the positive influence of this program in their education.

In addition, the essays of the Wits Drama for Life students reflected a profound learning experience. Two of the students returned to HaMakuya during their holidays, to volunteer their time in advancing skills of drama facilitation to a group of eight home-based care workers. The analytical discipline required to describe, examine, and articulate their learning from their homestays significantly increased the depth and extent of understanding exhibited by the UJ and Wits Drama for Life students, compared to groups not required to go through this process of structured reflection and interpretation.

As Katrina Norvell and Sherril Gelmon assert, "Engagement can be a transformative process. When entered into in a genuine way it can lead to change on the part of institutions, community partners, students and faculty because it requires ongoing reflection and evaluation strategies designed for continuous improvement" (2011: 265). This formulation underscores that community engagement is not necessarily transformative in and of itself. Rather, transformation occurs as a result of ongoing reflection and evaluation in the striving for continuous improvement of the engagement.

Since its inception in 2011, the Arts-Based Approaches for Development project overcame many of the challenges set out previously. The Art for Social Change program helped to establish HaMakuya as a demonstration site for interdisciplinary university-based engaged research. It introduced a master's project in fashion design that has established a sustainable sewing cooperative. It has developed partnerships with the Wits University Drama for Life program, through which five master's students were able to train community health workers in using drama to get across public health campaigns such as

malaria, tuberculosis, and teen pregnancy in schools. It has established a partnership with UJ's Industrial Design Department, which initiated a doctoral study in the use of a low-energy stove that might reduce the depleting use of indigenous wood for cooking. As a result of the Arts-Based Approaches for Development project, a UJ sociology master's student embarked on a study of foster care of AIDS orphans and the involvement of the state. He also conducted a two-phase impact assessment of the intervention. Visual arts students have worked in schools with teachers to introduce basic art techniques and printmaking skills that continue to be used in their classrooms.

The partnerships with schoolteachers and health workers have opened up communication that has supported continued projects linked to health campaigns and reduced incidences of bilharzia among children in the art and drama workshops in schools. The intervention has also provided learners, teachers, and health volunteers with strategies to engage, in the classroom environment, with the problems of teen pregnancy and rape. Other outcomes include the establishment of an art and drama club at the youth resource center, the use of visual tools for team building and strengthening leadership in the organization, and the establishment of PhotoVoice as a strategy for conducting homestays that are reciprocal and collaborative.

A special roundtable discussion of the Peter Wall Institute for Advance Studies was held on-site, bringing together academics across institutions to introduce a citizen-centered approach to community-engaged approaches for higher education. This included academics and community organizers from eight different institutions and proposed a follow-up think tank of institutions to engage academics to consider comparative studies of how the arts can strengthen resilience and introduce citizen-driven change in other rural and/or urban communities (LeBaron and Cohen 2013). This public arts intervention has opened a range of possibilities of research and development objectives for reflection and further engagement, including a series of academic articles. Tshulu Trust in HaMakuya has made itself available as a rural research demonstration site to address some of the greatest problems facing our democracy—inequality and poverty.

Conclusion: Students as Change Agents

Community engagement that is research driven, problem focused, and theoretically informed can enrich educational experience as it provides significant value to the communities and organizations it serves. It does so by allowing student and faculty involved to see how their ideas matter in their social ap-

plication. In the article "Reimagining the Links between Graduate Education and Community Engagement," Marcy Schnitzer and Max Stephenson identify some of the advantages of participating in community engagement. First, individuals encounter points of view and perspectives quite different from their own or from those suggested by professional education. In addition, students and faculty must grapple in some fundamental way with how to honor and ensure the dignity of all with whom they interact. Finally, community engagement requires students to develop a very high order of analytic and reasoning capacity. Students cultivate the ability to listen attentively, reason by analogy, and engage with communities to collaboratively address framed challenges that permit common understanding of social problems. Schnitzer and Stephenson state,

> Civically engaged graduate students are not simply processing abstract knowledge and offering it as technical assistance, but are applying, shaping, and contributing to the co-creation of knowledge that, at its best, has the advantage of reflecting community needs and aspirations. (2012: 280)

The authors conclude that engaged research provides unparalleled learning opportunities for students, faculties, and communities (282).

It is my firm belief that strong and creative grassroots organizations in South Africa are central to building a healthy democratic society. They bring low-income people together to address issues that matter; they are in the forefront in support and treatment of those affected by HIV/AIDS and other public health challenges; they create ties and partnerships and strengthen communities; they build social capital, develop leadership, build self-reliance and skills, and represent the interests of the people who would otherwise be marginalized or ignored. Many NGOs are critical vehicles for delivering responsive services and launching important projects in community development, but, as Mott asserts, universities must play an increasingly central role in this endeavor.

A high priority should be given to supporting university-based efforts to prepare the next generation of leaders and scholars for leading grassroots organizations and the networks and institutions that are critical to their growth and success. The arts in particular should not be excluded from this critical role for community change. These projects represent a radical challenge to pedagogy as it crosses several "sacred boundaries" in higher education.

Burmese human rights activist and 1991 Nobel Prize winner Aung San Suu Kyi said,

> The quintessential revolution is that of the spirit . . . To live the full life one must have the courage to bear responsibility of the needs of others . . . One *must want* to bear this responsibility. (Aung San Suu Kyi 1991)

Approximately 10 master's students involved directly with community-based research through Phumani Paper and Arts-Based Approaches for Development have demonstrated this courage and assumed a leadership role in community facilitation, training, and development. Furthermore, there are many other university graduates whose exposure and involvement in community arts programs have had a profound influence on their choice of career in community-based arts. Their learning moves beyond the ability to apply a critical analysis and demonstrate flaws in the arguments of others. They have learned to "want to bear this responsibility" of tapping into the wisdom of others in order to contribute to collective participation that deepens democracy.

As proposed in this chapter, the arts are ideally suited to applying imagination, collaboration, and scholarship to integrate all three pillars of learning (teaching, research, and community engagement) in higher education. Change is the intended outcome of community-based action research. Arts-based research allows for the possibility of moving from reflection and theorizing to action, and it builds students as engaged citizens with the ability to contribute to democratic engagement in a post-apartheid society. The values and practices of engagement connect knowledge that is produced inside and outside of academic institutions—a model well suited, in my opinion, for a transformed paradigm of research and evaluation of community engagement in the arts.

Five

Assessing Arts for Social Change

How can we assess or measure change? Textbook methodologies often presume that there are rational and objective ways of analyzing data for research purposes. This chapter explores ways to assess complex change using visual arts methods and practice, as well as to present it in forms that can satisfy the multiple stakeholders of academia, donors, and community.

My own experience and the multifarious theories undermining experiential research prove that, as Keyan Tomaselli so succinctly writes, "socially immersed researchers" are "more like flies-in-the-soup swimming around, trying to make sense of the sticky, tactile, enveloping, and more often than not, bewildering field experience,"[1] rather than participating in its development. The project presented in this chapter tries to do it all: it attempts to participate in project development as participatory practice, to provide a rational analysis of data, to make sense of it through formative assessment strategies, and also to evaluate changes in individuals or groups. In this discussion, the term *evaluation* implies a measurement of value of the program, "summative assessment" is the summing up of results (quantitively as well as qualitatively), and "formative assessment strategies" are more fluid, as they are used by the project teams to grapple with planning, start-ups, implementation phases, methodologies, and criteria used to assess different kinds of change. Arts-based research methods can widen the scope and enrich the methodologies of doing participatory research, which has the effect of conflating the boundaries between action, practice, research, and assessment.

This chapter presents a case study of a complex combination of participatory interventions that aimed to promote change by reducing the stigma and silence around HIV/AIDS. Arts-based approaches were used to encourage members of the Phumani Paper enterprises to participate in voluntary counseling and testing. This chapter describes four phases of this initiative,

stretching over four years. The pilot phase consisted of an outside team consulting on program design, questionnaires, and indicators for change and designing the baseline study for the research aspect of the project. Phases 1 and 2 conducted arts-based interventions for up to 14 Phumani sites, using the visual methods of Paper Prayers and PhotoVoice, among other multimodal approaches. These phases were also the formative assessment stages of gathering narratives and visual testimonies. Each action cycle required team reflection, revision, and restrategizing of the design that informed the next phase. Phase 3, the consolidation phase, used the visual tools of mapping and murals to evaluate change and identify indicators of agency.

In many ways, these multidisciplinary, multimodal interventions were chaotic and experimental, and the team would identify with the description of "swimming around, trying to make sense of the sticky, tactile, enveloping, and more often than not, bewildering field experience." Yet, because we could simultaneously satisfy the institutional requirements of a formal assessment report, we created spaces for risk taking and experimentation. Parallel to all the interventions based in participatory action, a traditional impact assessment conducted by social scientist Lilo du Toit monitored change, using established qualitative and quantitative methods to assess the objectives of the program across each of the phases. This included academic, funding, and community objectives.

In chapter 1, I proposed a set of principles and methods that may be useful to researchers and activists who are using the arts to engage communities in social change. I also introduced the field of peace building in the arts, which has been influenced by John Paul Lederach's use of the term *moral imagination*, which he defines as "the capacity to recognize turning points and possibilities in order to venture down unknown paths and create what does not yet exist."[2] In many ways, the very processes of research and engagement in poor communities can be compared to art-making. Contemporary artists engage in complexity; they are active agents in that they use multiple geographic and cultural references. Practice and life are messy, and the boundaries between art and life are porous. In general, artists are able to imagine and create other realities as part of their creative practice, and this allows for imagining solutions rather than focusing on problems. I claim that artists who engage in artistic collaborations with identified communities can bring into the field additional qualities—such as aesthetics, multiple modalities, imagination, alchemy, and reciprocal processes of becoming—that can enhance, deepen, and enrich practices of engaging social change.

Cultural Action for Change: A Case Study

The focus of this chapter presents the case of a series of project interventions called Cultural Action for Change. The four projects explored in the preceding chapters—Artist Proof Studio, Paper Prayers, Phumani Paper, and community engagement at the University of Johannesburg (UJ)—form the spokes of the wheel in this book, as it examines various organizational missions and discourses. These involve distinct components of my own professional, educational, activist, and managerial activities. This chapter therefore attempts to connect the discussion of the four different organizational ecosystems through the common challenge of assessment. One of the questions explored here is whether there is an integrated methodology that is adequate to the situations of different but linked organizations and, in particular, is effective for their complex learning and educational objectives.

The four-year program of participatory interventions engaged experimental strategies of engagement and assessment that I developed during the course of research for my doctoral dissertation. My proposal to the funder was that this intervention could help save the lives of participants, during a period in South Africa's history where access to treatment and support for HIV was arguably at its lowest. Assessing how significant change occurred required a multimodal and mixed-methods approach that included participatory arts-based interventions parallel to the traditional research survey methods that could quantify the data. In this case, surveying and coding methodologies became core to mediating and translating between quantitative and qualitative information. This chapter presents the "verifiable data" collected by a social scientist, alongside and often integrated with descriptions of the complex systems approach of the interventions in each site. The ambitious goals of the phased interventions that included reducing the stigma and breaking the silence around HIV/AIDS, as well as increasing the agency of participants in the Phumani projects, required close collaboration based on trust and transparency between the coalition members and participation of the funders, the organizations, the evaluators, the implementing team, and stakeholders.

This multidimensional project emerged before Michael Quinn Patton released his 2011 book *Developmental Evaluation: Applying Complexity Concepts to Enhance Innovation and Use*, which would have provided greater theoretical support than was then available for an evaluation program that I and a team constructed. The evaluation program was innovative, complex, and uncertain. For this project, I adapted and enriched methods of participatory

community-based research to encompass both the action-based interventions and the participants' own assessment of those interventions, through participants' use of visual methods and narratives. An explication of how the methodology worked through Paper Prayers and PhotoVoice is discussed later in this chapter, through the example of how the three phases played out in the Kutloano papermaking project. The participants, students, and facilitators demonstrated that the visual arts can enrich people's quality of life, alleviate spiritual and economic poverty, and even save lives.

I have found the theory of complex systems to be a useful lens for engaging in and assessing projects employing the arts for social change, as it accommodates engaged and multimodal approaches and methods. Patton recognizes this and developed this framework for "social innovators" who are "change agents" and who try to bring about major social change. The theory of complex systems shows that great changes can emerge from small actions and that change involves a belief in the possible or "impossible."[3] Patton acknowledges that traditional evaluation approaches are not always well suited for such turbulence, as its reductive data aims to control and predict, to bring order to chaos. Developmental evaluation accepts such turbulence as the way the world of social innovation unfolds in the face of complexity. The evaluator is often part of a development team whose members collaborate to conceptualize, design, and test new approaches and experimentation in the field.[4] Patton's identification of the characteristics of complex systems for developmental evaluation provides a useful guide to reflect both on practice and on arts-based tools of assessment.

Complex adaptive systems in organizations include characteristics that are nonlinear, emergent, dynamic, adaptive, uncertain, and co-evolutionary.[5] These characteristics also describe the "noisy organizations" defined by Haridimos Tsoukas (Tsoukas and Hatch 2005), who develops a narrative approach to understanding organizational complexity. The case study of Cultural Action for Change presented here depends on interdisciplinary transference between funders, academic and arts organizations, public health and nongovernmental advocacy organizations, and community-based organizations and groups. The sharing of methodologies from one organization to another is how "noisy organizations" learn and are enriched by each other. Harnessing these narratives is fundamental to assessing how complex and community-motivated projects and organizations support transforming paradigms for democratic change.

Cultural Action for Change addressed the broad challenges of this study:

how creative strategies responded to stated imperatives for democratic change, how they effectively reacted to social trauma, to what extent government institutions impeded or facilitated arts and culture programs, and how organizations are able to learn from each other. This project was particularly complex because the funding agency required certain criteria and objectives and, similarly, because the academy needed to be assured that the research was credible, verifiable, and undertaken scientifically. As a result, Cultural Action for Change needed to apply a range of methods to yield a model of assessment.

Phillip Nyden (2014), an established sociologist, points out that academics may be well trained in methodology and theory but are not always trained or experienced in "the political process of bringing about change." I agree with him that the "problem-oriented approach" assumes that "the community has a deficit and obscures that fact that academic researchers themselves may have a deficit that needs to be corrected by experienced community leaders and activists." This position acknowledges that the field is focused more on social problems than "social solutions."[6] In my practice, the theory of assessing social change is significant for the process of constructing innovative ways in which the arts and culturally sensitive approaches can be instructive to attempt "social solutions." In this way, solutions require shifting the paradigm as well as the agency of participants and collaborators.

My project proposal to the Ford Foundation enabled it to collaborate across three of its program disciplines: sustainable livelihoods; HIV/AIDS, including reproductive health; and higher education and research. In turn, the successful grant allocated funding from these three discipline divisions to the three collaborating programs Artist Proof Studio, Phumani Paper, and my UJ research activity Art for Social Change. I served as the conduit across the three programs, each with their distinct objectives and roles. The Ford Foundation also funded an independent social science researcher to apply the discipline's approach of using "hard quantitative data" to measure impact, alongside the "softer," arts-based participatory methods of visual arts activities, such as generating narratives with the aid of PhotoVoice, Paper Prayers, and social and visual mapping. These various approaches, implemented by partners across multiple organizations, were used by each community site to monitor and manage their own research data.

As has been explored throughout this book, the context of advocacy and policy work presented methodological challenges that required imagination, experimentation, and innovation. As an interdisciplinary team, we attempted

to adapt established methodologies used for nonarts activity by introducing a range of arts-based methods. The program comprised all of a complex system's intricacies, elsewhere referred to by Patton as "wicked problems and questions." "Wicked problems," he explained, "arise when an organization must deal with something new, with change, and when multiple stakeholders have different ideas about how the change should take place." As we have found and as Patton noted, "Wicked questions often express an embedded paradox or tension."[7] Developmental stories are not linear but provide opportunities for creativity and innovation, sometimes at the edge of chaos. A question then arises: how do we become effective and efficient, as well as resilient and adaptive?

Participatory evaluation approaches are those in which community members undertake data collection, require community efforts around organizing responses to HIV testing and counseling, and participate in multiphase timelines for feedback and reporting. These participatory approaches to building capacity, enhancing evaluative thinking, deepening levels of understanding, and problem solving were the multiple methods and modes of inquiry for social action in diverse phases. It is important to understand that the assessment process itself could co-create new knowledge that has value to the individuals and organizations participating in the process.

The first goal of the Cultural Action for Change program presented to the Ford Foundation was to provide support and increase the agency of participants of the Phumani craft enterprises affected by the HIV pandemic. As stated previously, the HIV/AIDS situation in the country in 2006 was extremely bleak. Our aim was to enable the women in the groups to break the silence, confront their fear and the stigma of HIV, and seek voluntary counseling and testing, thus reducing the number of deaths in their project community. This ambitious project was motivated by an unacceptable loss of life among members of the Phumani papermaking projects. For example, of the 16 members involved in the Eshowe papermaking project in 2001 (*see Plate 16*), 9 members had died from AIDS-related illnesses by 2008. The program's second goal was aimed at collective learning through empowering the groups themselves to effectively manage their own enterprises. At the same time, the Phumani Paper national office and regional staff were challenged to investigate markets for increased economic stability. Finally, the academic component of Cultural Action for Change had to be structured to test the efficacy of participatory learning by employing students, who, in turn, could become researchers and teachers.

Framing the Approach: Concepts, Issues, and Theory

The three strategic areas of the research focus were the role of culture in development, visual culture in relationship to arts and crafts, and a gendered approach to AIDS action. In their approaches to the concept of culture, Lourdes Arizpe, Amartya Sen, and Arjun Appadurai (all 2004) revise the lay interpretations of culture as tradition, mainly those constituting unchanging customs from the past. They stress that culture is dynamic and future-oriented, which requires different systems of meaning on multiple levels. The underpinning theories of both Sen and Appadurai are particularly helpful in grappling with the principles of the Cultural Action for Change program.

Appadurai argues that people's capacity to aspire is tied to the locality of voice, which, in this context, can be defined as the capacity to inquire, share, dream of a better future, and plan actions that transform silence into articulated goals, accompanied by the development of the power and self-efficacy that people gain through long-term organizing. He argues that "voice must be expressed in terms of actions and performances which have local cultural force." "There is no short cut to empowerment," he continues, explaining, "It has to take some local cultural form to have resonance, mobilize adherents and capture the public space of debate."[8] Appadurai's notion of voice is based partially on a linguistic capacity. I maintain, however, that the 11 official languages spoken in South Africa make this linguistic model challenging.

We have found that a more successful process to achieve capacities of empowerment is through multimodal approaches, which use participants' stories as well as the visual arts of photography and printmaking in order to develop voice that can transcend language. A pivotal working premise is that the power of voice is expressed as action, in the capacity to initiate social change. The expansion of a more complex understanding of language and voice contributes to a more flexible and user-centered model of participatory assessment tools.

HIV and Women's Empowerment

The trauma experienced by the members of Phumani Paper rural projects across the country as a result of illnesses and deaths resulting from HIV/AIDS was overwhelming. The shocking statistics were that over 1,000 people were dying of AIDS each day in South Africa.[9] Experience from the Paper Prayers campaign suggested that people were saturated with information on HIV, yet infection rates continued to be high.

In response to this puzzling and frustrating phenomenon, the AIDS Action intervention took the position that there was an obligation to try a new approach. The standard information workshops with demonstrations of condom use had been conducted repeatedly for decades and had resulted in very little change in sexual behavior. However, arts activists found—and interviews with various stakeholders and beneficiaries reinforced—that a participatory approach is better received than simply what Helen Gould refers to as "learning a lesson."[10] The pilot project in the first phase designed a sound methodology to train multidisciplinary teams to offer weeklong interventions in the targeted communities. The resulting interventions used visual methods in combination with storytelling and narrative, to explore the concept of self-creation and agency. This pilot phase also assisted in establishing the baseline assessment and research design, using tools such as indicators and interview questions for project members and stakeholders across the selected sites.

The realization of the idea of freedom as the ability to achieve a fulfilling life required an engagement with and transformation of the social and cultural norms that constrain women's choices. Although the AIDS Action intervention was built on existing cultural values, it did not necessarily accept all of them (e.g., entrenched patriarchy) but, rather, attempted to understand these values as a starting point for change. The AIDS Action intervention recognized that it could not achieve any radical change of patriarchal culture, including men's sexual behavior, but it proposed that the creative process that evokes the expression of voice can reduce the stigma and can empower women to seek support and treatment that may save their lives. While, in general, men in the intervention locations have been reluctant to relinquish their claims to sexual privilege, women could work to save themselves and help change their communities.

Mixed Modes of Assessment

One of the quantitatively measurable indicators of change was through the number of people each project member has referred for voluntary counseling and testing at the end of the AIDS Action intervention. While the quantitative data is valuable (85 percent of participants claimed that they themselves were tested and that they referred others: see table 2), the qualitative results provide a richer elaboration of the impact. For example, comments that a group leader from the Bosele group in the North West Province made during an interview conducted at the end of the first phase of the two-year intervention (April 2008) demonstrate this power of voice expressed as action. In her

PhotoVoice narrative, the group leader cites various instances of referral of family members for testing and counseling, as well as disclosures that were made in the group and that contributed to greater group cohesion. These findings became key indicators of the success of the AIDS Action interventions.

This shift reflects a broad challenge to expert-led interventions where development workers do things for people rather than creating an enabling environment to provide the poor with the tools and the voice to, as Appadurai has said, "navigate their way out of poverty."[11] All members of the team assisting me with the program shared the fundamental belief that poor communities need to become the authors of their own development. Our challenge across organizations in Cultural Action for Change was to develop the capacity of participants to discover alternative modes of vocalization or "voice" that do not require specific linguistic competence or knowledge. The approach proposed was that visual and cultural literacies can compensate for the possible limited ability among many participants to express thoughts and ideas solely by relying on a linguistic voice. For example, the use of language and storytelling flourished during the participants' spoken interpretation of their PhotoVoice and artistic images. These visual and verbal narratives were rich testimonies that could be tracked as evidence of change.

The members of the Phumani Paper groups see themselves not only as crafters who are building on traditional practices but, more important, as individuals who have acquired skills that can transform waste into objects of beauty. It is important to distinguish between income-generating craft and the more creative and free expression of visual art processes, such as the making of a paper prayer artwork. When the group makes expressive prints, the participants may or may not be producing a salable item, but they acquire a different "capability" that, I argue, enhances agency. Sen's capability scheme considers skills in learning, reasoning, valuing, deciding, operating, and cooperating. He also acknowledges motivation, imagination, and morale in his "capacity approach."[12] However, if a person is creative, it means that he/she can make a plan, make a decision, produce an artwork, and respond to the world. This is a further capacity for projected power to act, to critically assess your own and your group's change, and to use the imagination, as complexity scholar Paul Cilliers (1998) also recognizes. The imagination is key to presenting complex processes characterized by a large number of interacting and interdependent elements in which there is no central control.[13] This is a basic premise to framing the structure of the case study presented here. As the final impact report revealed, these interrelationships became fundamental indicators of how change, in the form of a greater capacity for agency, can occur.

Table 2. AIDS Action Intervention Participants' Knowledge of HIV Organizations, Referrals of Others for Counseling and Testing, and Own Testing, 2007

Project	Knowledge of HIV organizations since APS training	Suggested testing or treatment? (midterm report)	Referred to HIV organizations? (final report)	How many referred to HIV organizations (final report)?	Have you yourself tested since training? (final report)	Have you advised anyone to test since training? (final report)
Limpopo Province						
Khomanani Paper Art	I know of places since the training	No	Yes	Between 1 and 5 people	Yes	Yes
Dikgophaneng Papermaking Project	I know of places since the training	No	Yes	Between 1 and 5 people	Yes	Yes
North West Province						
Madikwe Paper	I knew of these places even before the training	Yes	Yes	Between 1 and 5 people	Yes	Yes
Bosele Papermaking project	I know of places since the training	Yes	Yes	Between 1 and 5 people	Yes	Yes
Gauteng Province						
Tswaranagang Papermaking	I knew of these places even before the training	Yes	Yes	1 person	No	Yes
Thandanani	I knew of some but heard of others in training	Yes	Yes	1 person	Yes	Yes
Thuthukani Papermaking/ Designers	I knew of these places even before the training	No	No	I haven't referred anyone	No	No
Twanano Papermaking co-operative	I knew of these places even before the training	Yes	Yes	1 person	Yes	Yes
Rags 2 Paper (Phumani Archive Paper Mill)	I knew of some but heard of others in training	Yes	Yes	1 person	Yes	Yes

Western Cape						
Siyazama Papermaking	I knew of these places even before the training	No	No	I haven't referred anyone	No	No
Eastern Cape						
Rising Sun Paper	I know of places since the training	Yes	Yes	Between 6 and 10 people	Yes	Yes
Lukhanyo Paper	I knew of these places even before the training	No	No	I haven't referred anyone	No	No
Free State						
Kutloano Paper Project	I knew of these places even before the training	Yes	Yes	Between 1 and 5 people	Yes	Yes
KZN						
KZN Papermaking and Craft packaging	I know of places since the training	Yes	Yes	Between 1 and 5 people	Yes	Yes
Imboni Craft	I know of places since the training	No data	Yes	More than 10 people	Yes	Yes

Note: Table of findings by Lilo du Toit.

While this case study does not address the application and impact of art therapy as a professional discipline, it is clear that the methods of the interventions share the premise of art as therapy, with both providing the essential energy for the process of applying art toward healing and empowerment. Martina Schnetz presents a convincing case as to why artistic expression is helpful in dealing with trauma in therapy. She describes traumatic memories of illness and death as "being wordless, decontextualized, meaningless patterns that affect the individual on many levels without them being able to consciously work with them on a cognitive and verbal level."[14] In relation to the use of image/word approaches in group therapy sessions for posttraumatic stress disorder, she writes, "It appears that the image-making process using the dialogical image/word approach seems to facilitate a process for individuals to reconnect and integrate their mind, body and spirit within a social context in a more primal, intuitive way."[15] These therapeutic capacities she identifies seemed to provide some of the rich texture that deepened our understanding of the process of how participants were able to acquire increased agency through art-making.

The visually based methodologies of Paper Prayers and PhotoVoice provided opportunities to "break the silence" in a safe and supportive environment. For some groups, the resistance to engage in discussions about HIV/AIDS was initially high, and participants felt threatened by disclosing or sharing their status, for fear of gossip or marginalization. However, that fear dissipated when discussing a photograph or artwork that creates a mode for describing personal feelings in a nonthreatening way. The conceptual approach of using artistic methods in healing and teaching was corroborated strongly by various stakeholders in the program, such as those involved at a program level as trainers, coordinators, and managers. "It has done so in a way I never expected. I have seen the most powerful articulations of HIV-related issues than in any other intervention I engaged in," reported one stakeholder, who added, "If empowerment means being able to make more choices, then yes, I think these interventions contribute to empowerment."[16]

Designing a Method: The First, Pilot Phase (2006)

The pilot phase designed a sound practice-based methodology to train multidisciplinary teams to offer weeklong interventions in the targeted communities serving as Phumani Paper sites. This became the first phase of the intervention that involved participation through the relationships between partners—whether higher education institutions/academics, AIDS activists,

community artists, or group participants—all of whom shared common objectives of deepening democracy and agency. This approach aimed to resist the imposition of a hierarchy of privilege onto those who are seen as disadvantaged. The "outsiders" (students and trainers) were invited into the sites to learn and exchange knowledge, and the community facilitators were tasked with mediating and equalizing skills exchange and, in so doing, upholding the spirit of partnership. Creating diversity in the teams with respect to discipline, gender, culture, and expertise was a strategy designed to resist hierarchy of privilege. This phase also established the research baseline and indicators to conduct a three-year deep assessment of the program.

Four American-based scholars assisted me with designing the mixed methodology for this project, which we called New Partners / New Knowledge.[17] While completing the design of the pilot phase, my collaborators and I set specific goals for the first phase of the intervention: (1) creation of networks within rural communities to provide access to information on HIV prevention and treatment; (2) training in creative skills and actions for the proposed rural and urban projects' HIV/AIDS interventions; (3) conducting research and contracting an independent impact assessment to track the changes that the various creative interventions have made; (4) building support for the Phumani Paper business units to reach acceptable levels of self-sustainability and commercial viability; and (5) engaging in the research methodology of participatory action research (PAR) in order to gather data for subsequent scholarly publications intended to contribute to the literature on social engagement through the visual arts. The team's challenge was to provide the scholars, students, activists, and project participants with a multilayered program wherein each member could learn to democratize rather than colonize experience, using principles of nonhierarchical participation and self-reflexivity.

The pedagogy of PAR was adopted to facilitate community engagement and generate research that was cooperative, inclusive, and useful to each group. Each of the three teams involved in the first phase of the project consisted of two artists from Artist Proof Studio, who were tasked with presenting the Paper Prayers workshop; several students from the University of Michigan and UJ, who documented the intervention and assisted with the introduction of PhotoVoice; a community leader from the regional Phumani Project; an HIV/AIDS trainer; and an academic from each of the participating universities (UJ, the University of Michigan, and Brandeis University). In the first phase, the teams conducted visits to five Phumani Paper sites: Kutloano in Welkom, Free State Province; Twanano in Ivory Park, Gauteng; Tswaraga-

nang in Winterveld, Northern Province; and KZN Papermaking and Craft Packaging, Eshowe, and Imboni Craft in Sodwana Bay, KwaZulu-Natal.

All of the groups had experienced losses due to illness and death, but they had not, prior to this project, received trauma or bereavement counseling or the support needed to cope with the loss of members, the loss of income, and the resulting decline of their businesses. We believed that creative practice could bypass the negative group dynamics that might exist, because the participants' discussions of their own lives were framed by their own images of themselves and their community ties. In addition, with the emphasis on participants being able to determine the subject matter of their images and the direction of the conversation, there was little room for the researcher to impose preconceptions during discussions or when administering questionnaires.

Visual Methods: PhotoVoice, Paper Prayers, and Community Mapping

Multidisciplinary research is not simply cross-disciplinary in the academy but multisectoral and multimodal, in that it involves many sectors of society in engaged and interactive endeavors that use a range of methods to foster social change. The team of researchers, artists, and community activists worked from the assumption that visual and cultural literacies could compensate for the possibly limited ability among many participants to express thoughts and ideas using a linguistic voice. The visual tools enabled dialogue through interactive discussion and storytelling in response to images. This combination became vital to the rich materials generated for the assessment of change in cooperation with participants. The creative strategies that the research teams used for the AIDS Action intervention in the initial phases were the modes of PhotoVoice[18] and Paper Prayers. The use of two different visual strategies helped to ensure that the majority of the participants found a vehicle with which to articulate their concerns, fears, and visions for the future. The rationale for the choice of these two methodologies was based on the proven record of success they had demonstrated in other applications, particularly in the example of Brinton Lykes's (2001) use of PhotoVoice in Guatemala in 1992 and the Artist Proof Studio's organization of the national Paper Prayers campaign in 1998.[19] A visual mapping tool in which a group creates a community map was also used in the third phase of the intervention and is expanded on later in this chapter.

Artifactual Agency

Artifacts made through participants' own craft products, photographs, paper prayer images, or (later) murals assumed a kind of artifactual agency. The artifacts were imbued with significant meaning and became powerful indicators of empowerment. This also made them effective assessment tools. Amartya Sen says of voice, "Instrumental in the formation of real freedom, it is also constitutive of freedom, an achievement, and end in itself."[20] He elaborates his argument as follows: "Critical agency is thus not only to the freedom to act but also to the freedom to question and reassess."[21] Sen's argument about voice and his capacities approach proved to be critically relevant to understanding and assessing creative artifacts as indicators of agency.

An example of how "artifactual agency" manifests can be seen in a paper prayer by Kgomotso Oodira, a monoprint on handmade paper, with an accompanying translated narrative (*see Plate 17*; the original text was handwritten in Setswana on the back of the paper prayer print).

> The black colour means I was in darkness not knowing my status and afraid of it. I attended a workshop about HIV/Aids, they taught me, and I was scared of this sickness because it's incurable ohoo!!! What can I do? Blood test or what? I think of my four kids, think of being in a coffin-dead. Leaving my children alone, I think of the small one. I see a red light and become brave and stress free, I said why other people leave with their family with HIV/Aids, I can't leave my kids alone. I see green grass, sit on it I see birds flying and singing. Then I told myself that HIV/Aids is not death but a challenge. Live to keep your loved one happy and warm. Let us know our status and live a healthy life especially we mothers otherwise our kids will be without parents.

This paper prayer displays sophisticated understanding of color, texture, and symbol, as well as words as metaphor for embodied knowledge. Transferring the understanding of the workshop on HIV/AIDS using a visual voice is the core methodology of Paper Prayers.

Image making is an integral part of information gathering and symbolic representations of experience and understanding. This ability to "be with," as a full participant in the process, is a paradigm shift in how research is conducted with and not "on" participants. Further, in the absence of any therapeutic services to address loss and trauma, the value of an arts intervention,

which is facilitative and relational as well as empowering, offers enormous potential for societal and personal transformation. Many of the participants testified that they were able to use their Paper Prayers to share with their children and husbands the lessons of HIV prevention strategies, such as condom use and voluntary counseling and testing (VCT). Talking about sex, which is taboo in traditional African families, became possible through the discussion of meaning and process in the visual images, thereby taking on "artifactual agency." Kgomotso Oodira's PhotoVoice project completed three months after the first Paper Prayers workshops reveals her own increased personal activism around HIV/AIDS.

> He [my brother] was shocked to learn that he was infected. I was the first person to be informed and I encouraged him to be positive and [told him] that it was not the end of the world. He is now living positively, working and supporting his wife and two kids and he has stopped drinking.[22]

Paper Prayers: Expressions of Hope

As described in the second narrative of chapter 2, the Paper Prayers program uses simple printmaking techniques to encourage individuals to express their emotions about loss and illness. Paper Prayers workshops have proved to be an effective way of using artistic methods to teach AIDS awareness, safe sexual practice, and related behavior change. The structure of each workshop depends on the profile and circumstances of each group. A training manual for facilitators has been developed for HIV awareness and printmaking workshops and includes a description of a workshop and instructions on how to conduct one (see the present study's appendix for a description of the workshop structure).

Paper Prayers are made when one finds objects (e.g., plants or textures) that have a symbolic meaning for oneself or objects that become a message intended for someone else. An image of the object is then composed with color or text and translated into a "visual prayer" as a gesture of hope or well-being. That each person makes at least three prints—one for themselves, one as a gift for someone, and one for the group awareness or advocacy campaign—holds a potent sense of possibility. Hanging the completed paper prayers on a clothesline in a clinic or school presents a visual reminder that each individual can be part of the solution to ending the spread of AIDS, through education and awareness. A set of Paper Prayers prints from every

intervention were collected for the archive and have since been exhibited in different contexts, as powerful testimonies of Paper Prayers as effective and new visual methods for change.

PhotoVoice: Imaging and Imagining the World

The PhotoVoice process uses photographs made by individuals in a community to produce narratives about their lives. It has been increasingly employed by action research scholars—such as Brinton Lykes (2001), Wendy Ewald (2005), Caroline Wang (1999), and Claudia Mitchell (2006)—and its use is especially prominent in the health sector.[23] Developed by Caroline Wang and Mary Ann Burris, the PhotoVoice method

> is a process by which people can identify, represent, and enhance their community through a specific photographic technique. It entrusts cameras to the hands of people to enable them to act as recorders, and potential catalysts for social action and change, in their own communities. It uses the immediacy of the visual image and accompanying stories to furnish evidence and to promote an effective, participatory means of sharing expertise to create healthful public policy.[24]

PhotoVoice enables researchers more accurately to perceive the world from the point of view of people who lead lives that are different from those usually in control of the means for imaging the world. According to Wang, PhotoVoice is a methodology to reach, inform, and organize community members, enabling them to prioritize their concerns and discuss problems and solutions. As Wang (1999) emphasizes, PhotoVoice goes beyond the conventional role of community assessment, by inviting people to promote their own and their community's well-being.

Actively involving participants in deciding what data to gather, how to interpret such data, and how to use it to design interventions is a fundamental requirement of PAR. It recognizes that community members are the holders of knowledge, and this method opens up the possibility for inclusive collaboration and the co-creation of research. PhotoVoice provides an effective implementation of this methodology, through dialogue and community members' participation in deciding on a theme for the photographs they take and then choosing one or two of the photographs they wish to share and discuss. The researcher or student can ask individuals specific questions after or before group discussion, to understand the meaning and significance of

the photograph. PAR also confronts a fundamental problem of community assessment: what professionals, researchers, specialists, and outsiders think is important may completely fail to match what the community thinks is important. Most significant, the images produced and the issues discussed and framed by people may stimulate policy and social change. This is done through framing questions that invite participants to explain their images, using the acronym SHOW(e)D: What do you **see** here? What is really **happening** here? How does this relate to **our** lives? **Why** does this situation exist? What can we **do** to improve the situation?[25]

This methodology is more particularly illustrated through the description of case studies attempting to illustrate how change occurs. For example, the story of Caroline Mashiane from the Twanano papermaking group in Ivory Park exemplifies how change occurred as a result of a woman's ability to relate her story through PhotoVoice.

> This Photograph is of me and my child. When I was pregnant I was praying that God would give me a child, a healthy child. My child is [HIV] negative, and I just want to tell people that because I'm HIV+ I am not a dying person. To be HIV+ is not a life sentence. I look at my child and he's so happy and healthy. I told the team about my status and they gave me the support. They let me talk about my status. I disclosed at Twanano but not to the community or my neighbors, and I can do that and I'm not afraid that somebody will tell somebody. My CD_4 count is 400. I saw the doctor when I was pregnant, but I did not take anything. They're going to test the child after a year.
>
> —Caroline Mashiane, July 2006

A life story articulated in images and words through the use of disposable cameras can also be transferred into a book or record of memories. For Mashiane, these testimonies became memories and legacies for her children. However, unfortunately, the dominant discourse of the Mbeki government at the time was to promote herbal remedies to cure HIV/AIDS. Four years after her testimony, Mashiane lost her fight against AIDS because of her adherence to those alternative therapies.

The AIDS Action intervention provided Mashiane a safe space to disclose her HIV status to her group through talking about her photograph. Mashiane also asked that her image be widely used to educate others. She lobbied strongly for the effectiveness of this intervention and advocated that breaking the silence and VCT save lives. Mashiane was a role model and ef-

Fig. 5.1. Caroline Mashiane, Twanano, 2006. Caroline passed away in 2009. (Reproduced with permission.)

fective leader to her group. Yet her death from her rejection of antiretroviral treatment in favor of herbal remedies prevalent among AIDS denialists was a significant disappointment and was seen as a failure of the advocacy promoted through the Cultural Action for Change networks.

Visual Mapping: Enhancing Connectivity

The later phases of the AIDS Action intervention introduced additional visual strategies of mapping and mural painting. These visual tools tracked the indicators of the increased agency of the participants. This visual strategy formed the basis of a master's study by Rangoato Hlasane, a research assistant and trainer on this project, whose study, focusing on the five women in the Kutloano project, significantly contributed to some of the findings of the Cultural Action for Change program. Hlasane's understanding of the efficacy of public interventions and of organizing communities through the visual tools of mapping and mural painting became a significant contribution to his community organizing, to innovative pedagogical strategies that he subsequently applied to his work in a collective he co-founded (Keleketla! Library), and to his work with young African cultural activists.[26]

The concept of visual mapping was introduced to help situate individuals and groups within their cultural milieus. In order to have fruitful interactions with individuals, we needed to know how they locate themselves in a given

community. These maps assisted the enterprises to develop action plans that plot the identified priorities of the group. Discussion about mapping provides a useful strategy to practically engage with the theoretical concepts of aspiration, voice, and agency.

For this stage of the intervention, UJ representatives and the Phumani team did not visit the sites but, rather, trained the regional project leaders to transfer and implement additional strategies to increase their economic viability. Visual mapping became a valuable participatory practice for planning and enhancing connectivity locally and nationally.[27] (*See Plate 18.*) The group maps also evolved into effective tools for assessing the project by tracking many of the indicators of change, such as reach, income, and activities.

Visual Outcomes as Research Evidence

The results of the first phases of the project demonstrated that artistic forms of expression such as PhotoVoice and Paper Prayers offer a rich and intense form of inquiry and are effective in facilitating the expression of voices that have not been heard before. These methodologies employing visual narrative produce a form of documentary evidence that can contribute to a further process. In her Rockefeller-commissioned study on the impact of cultural initiatives, activist Maria Rosario Jackson identifies a need for "rigorous qualitative analysis of projects." She had found "little theoretical or empirical research that speaks to how arts and cultural participation contribute to social dynamics."[28] The Cultural Action for Change program produced a combination of qualitative arts-based tools together with a quantitative impact assessment.

Artists are not generally trained in data collection and analysis, but I have found that visual methods of engaging creative thinking provide a useful means of gathering evidence. The visual materials generated by the artists and art students on the research team catalyzed rich and meaningful discussions that were transcribed and translated. The resulting materials and outcomes enabled both the researchers and the participants to analyze and draw useful findings from the themes elicited by the narratives.

The Kutloano Story of the AIDS Action Intervention

Kutloano is a Sesotho word meaning "togetherness." The story of the Kutloano group, one of the six Phumani Paper enterprises in the four-year AIDS Action intervention, is presented here as a detailed case study to specify the

formative assessment process and outcomes of the complex Cultural Action for Change project. The practicalities of how the participatory methodologies were used to engender agency and provide evidence of change through the various phases are indicated here and more fully explored in Hlasane's master's dissertation (2010).

At the time of the first intervention, in 2006, Kutloano had five members, all women, who lived in Thabong Township, 6.5 kilometers from the enterprise's premises. Members earned a monthly average of R500 (about $40) from their craft activities. Kutloano indicated that they needed help with the marketing of their products. The national census of 2001 reported that in the Lejweleputswa District Municipality, where Kutloano is situated, 45 percent of the economically active population were unemployed, 56 percent of households lived on R800 (about $70) or less per month, and 27 percent of households had no income at all. HIV prevalence there was 34 percent, above the provincial average of 30 percent. Anecdotal information suggests that such statistics had not improved between 2001 and the time of the intervention, five years later. All five members indicated that they were the main breadwinners in their household. An average household size in this group consisted of six people, mostly dependent children. Members generally lived in brick houses, although one member indicated that she lived with two other people in a shack made of corrugated iron. The members' long-term goals included becoming successful businesswomen, providing a better education for their children, owning a car, and having a bigger house.[29]

Kutloano Phase 1 (2006)

During the first phase of the Kutloano project, the student researcher on the Kutloano team conducted an interview with the project leader. The leader's responses to one of the two questions about HIV and AIDS were

> "Members in our group do not talk much about HIV."
> "People do not disclose."
> "People in the community: they don't talk about it . . . If someone dies, he is bewitched or poisoned."[30]

The group then assembled for the PhotoVoice training. The members of the team introduced themselves to the five women, and a student from the University of Michigan distributed disposable cameras and instructed the mem-

bers in their use.[31] The themes identified were the most significant changes as a result of the illness and the most significant changes that occurred as a result of creative activities.

Discussion about the photographs that would be taken made clear that the women could address changes at any level—self, family, work community, faith community, and neighborhood. Trainers encouraged members to discover their own themes as well. At the end of the training, members of the group were confused by and reluctant to sign the research consent form required for ethical clearance, designed by the University of Michigan academics. Overnight, the team simplified and translated the form into Sesotho, and the resulting discussion with the group about picture and story ownership as well as the subsequent use of the research was productive. Each individual chose to use her full name, not a pseudonym. The forms were signed, and copies were retained.

On the following two days, AIDS activist and counselor Bart Cox presented the HIV/AIDS workshop. All of the members and researchers were engaged in learning and gathering information for themselves, their families, and their communities. Cox provided Kutloano members with resource materials and, on request, gave some Kutloano members color pictures of genitals infected with sexually transmitted infections, to show to their children. He used a variety of visual and spoken approaches, many of which were interactive. Understanding that change could occur only if sexual partners could speak to each other about safe practices, Cox used role playing. He underscored the need for women to speak up for their right to be protected and to move beyond traditional patriarchal gender relations.

In the role-play depicted in plate 19, a participant is playing a woman who attended HIV/AIDS training and is trying to convince her man about VCT. Hlasane is playing a man who at first refuses to take part. Through the discussion featured in this role-play, the man understands and is willing to get VCT. The series of photographs taken by the participants became important advocacy tools for members of the group to use in sharing the training's lessons with members of their community.

When the photographs from the PhotoVoice part of the intervention were returned to the participants during the second week, the group gathered in a circle, and each woman chose one image to present. The depth and emotional honesty of their personal stories made clear that even the most rudimentary image can carry the weight of trauma and convey the strength of perseverance in the face of enormous obstacles. One researcher commented that their narratives demonstrated a subtle grasp of symbolism and metaphor

that she would not have anticipated. In addition, their honesty and frankness in dealing with huge trauma and loss demonstrated their willingness to trust the group as a unit. Finally, it was clear that they were looking forward to receiving their illustrated narratives and to sharing them with family and friends. The testimonies bore witness not only to the difficulties of their lives but also to their courage. The researchers on the team transcribed the discussions and translated the narratives. The narratives and photographs formed rich resources for analyzing themes and contributed to the final summative assessments.[32] The team who conducted the HIV training in the intervention found that the visual methods created a level of comfort that made it increasingly possible to discuss sensitive topics such as sexuality and HIV/AIDS, "because of [the methods'] potential for empowering individuals and groups by virtue of their emphasis on opening up formerly inhibited, stigmatized speech, decreasing isolation, increasing group solidarity and activating social goals in the group."[33]

The interviews and the PhotoVoice narratives represented in this chapter focus particularly on two members of the group, Mamoeti Mano and Masechaba Molelekoa, both of whom indicated change and agency. Molelekoa is 56 years old and had only one year of high school education. She had recently joined an adult literacy program in her area. All the women believe that hard work and walking six kilometers (over 3.7 miles) each day to start work by 9:00 a.m. set an important example for their children. They all express pride in keeping their business alive and an aspiration to grow their business and markets. Mano says, "I can do anything I want to do to help myself."[34]

PhotoVoice projects by Mano and Molelekoa (figs. 5.2 and 5.3; *see also Plate 20*) are powerful examples of how PhotoVoice not only reveals a deep understanding of the visual tools but provides a profound insight into the trauma and heroism of these women's lives. The ability to bear witness, to record, and to hold memory cannot be underestimated as a process of healing, empowerment, and social action. Mano's acknowledgments "I could pray with the paper" and "Using found objects can help me a lot"[35] refer to the "artifactual agency" of the paper she makes, as well as to how the visual voice of the maker can be so personally and relationally engaging with the viewer that meaning can be co-created. The composition of her photograph enhances her meaning. Mano talked about the meeting of the circles and the danger of the intersection in her paper prayer image, yet she left a significant open space in the center of her composition, with each element of the "'making" carefully arranged around the edges, depicting an understanding of the projective agency of choice and action.

It is a great honor to me to talk about this paper [the photograph]. In my collograph plate [lower left corner], the two circles stand for Phumani Paper and Kutloano, brought together in the middle by PhotoVoice. It also means that Phumani Paper and PhotoVoice will be helping Kutloano by bringing information. This information opens Kutloano's eyes. The question mark means when will AIDS come to an end? Who will resolve it?

I never thought I could pray with the paper. I always thought it was just about drawing, but using found objects can help me a lot. The red in the intersection shows some one who is affected, who is in danger. However, the two circles meet just like those who are HIV positive and negative must meet and interact. The two circles therefore have two meanings, maybe more, I could talk about them until sunset.

—M. Mano, 2006

In figure 5.3, the powerful image of Masechaba Molelekoa's hands entering the composition at a dynamic diagonal from the top corner signifies a kind of "projective" agency. The name *Masechaba* means "mother of the nation." Masechaba's narrative and the objects she chose to include in the photograph indicate that she is "a doer" who believes that it is her job to care for people and thus live up to her name.

I took a Photograph of my hands. I trust my hands. I work with my hands. I eat with my hands. I feed my children with my hands. I am a hands person. I help sick people with my hands. Anything I do with my hands, I see it as very important to me, to my family, and to my community. I wear plastic gloves when I bathe sick people. I also cook for those who are ill. In this picture, I happened to be working in the kitchen when my child came home. I asked my child to take the Photograph of my hands because I didn't want to actually be in the Photograph. The ring on my hand is my wedding ring. I was preparing dinner for the ring's owner, my husband.

The fridge in the kitchen is for selling cold drinks. This is a small business that I have been running for some time.

The people I care for usually don't live that much longer. One woman I cared for, I never even met her family or really knew her. I would bring her food before going to work. I cared for her until she passed away. I care for people because I think it is how God made me, it is a gift from God. That is why I was given this name when I was married. My name Masechaba means "Mother of the Nation."

—M. Molelekoa, 2006

Fig. 5.2. PhotoVoice image and narrative by Mamoeti Mano, Kutloano, 2006. (Reproduced with permission.)

Fig. 5.3. PhotoVoice image and narrative by Masechaba Molelekoa, Kutloano, 2006. (Reproduced with permission.)

The approaches of photographing subjects that speak to the participants' personal stories are dialogical and relational and, as such, enter into a process of co-creation with the viewer.[36]

The PhotoVoice workshops concluded with group members devising plans for future actions through which they could implement what they had learned. These actions included continuing the facilitation of Paper Prayers with their children and in their communities; committing to talk more with family, friends, and community members about HIV/AIDS; connecting with potential agents to sell e'Pap (a vitamin-enriched porridge) and Nature's Health products to people affected by HIV/AIDS; continuing to take pictures and using them to enhance sales of paper products; and having more regular meetings between the site members to discuss more effective marketing strategies. Mameki Mangayi, the young unit manager of the group, had earlier expressed an aspiration to help people and to grow as a leader. When we returned for the second phase of the intervention, Mameki had received

a scholarship and registered as a student in nursing college. My own impression is that this group's sustainability is not about economic success and marketing but about resilience and "self-creation." All five members of the Kutloano group saw themselves as role models in their community.

Significant in the images from this intervention are the potency and sophistication of the understanding of and choice of objects as metaphor. Matshidiso Sepagela, another member of the group, tells the story of herself growing up on a farm at the height of racist abuse and exploitation during apartheid. She was taken out of school in fifth grade to be a child slave on the farm. She now views herself as a role model.

> I am proud of what I can do. Before I could not speak; I was ashamed that I did not have an education. Now if a doctor or professor comes to visit us I have something I can teach them.[37]

She identifies her image of the fence with interlinking circles as "a symbol of protection and also a symbol of dignity," depicting strong unity in her (extended) family as its members work together to support each other and prevent AIDS. The understanding of the aesthetic object as having agency—an understanding clearly seen in the narratives of Sepagela and Molelekoa—provides "evidence" of the visual voice as a powerful tool for assessing transformational change.

> I used the fence wire as a symbol of protection especially at home, and also as a symbol for dignity. I have learned about protection for my family. This also talks about the strong unity in my family, working together and learning from each other so that we can support each other and prevent HIV/AIDS.
>
> —Matshidiso Sepagela

> I use leaves from a tree that have been very important to me. This tree grows fruit that is very good for my health. I also boil the leaves when I am sick and drink. When it's hot I sit under this tree.
>
> Even when people get sick, I use herbs for nutrition and as a form of medication on HIV. My family and friends would be helped by this tree.
>
> This workshop is like a tree to me because of the information on HIV and AIDS . . .
>
> Just like the fruit of this tree
>
> —Masechaba Molelekoa

Figs. 5.4a–b. Paper Prayers by Matshidiso Sepagelo and Masechaba Molelekoa, Kutloano, 2006. (Reproduced with permission.)

Kutloano Phase 2 (2007–8)

In May 2007, a year after the first Kutloano intervention, group discussions during the second phase of site visits revealed a remarkable change in attitude and sense of agency among the women, as seen through their powerful and insightful narratives. Replies to the same questions asked before the 2006 pilot intervention and to questions about the most significant changes they had experienced since the previous intervention indicated that the women had regained the ground they had lost.

"We always talk about HIV. People disclose to us; they come to us to get advice."
"I have sent people to the clinic for testing and counselling when they were very sick, and now they are well and on treatment."
"Yes, we have saved lives."
"I have been invited to talk to my church on Women's Day about HIV/AIDS. I will talk about PhotoVoice. I will use Bart's[38] pictures to show the young people about this disease."
"We want to help others with our knowledge."
"All my grown-up sons and my close family have now tested."

Their responses when asked why they thought PhotoVoice and Paper Prayers are effective included "It's easy to talk about photos," "You can use symbols and colours to talk about feelings and things that are not easy," "Art helps to relieve stress—it is a way of healing," and "I'm no longer shy to talk."[39]

Kutloano was one of the smallest and most cohesive of the Phumani Paper enterprises, consisting of only five members. I myself am confident that the arts interventions provided the women with "voice." They identified the changes they saw in themselves articulately: "We are leaders in our community"; "I am confident now; I can socialize and be with other people"; "I know that I can turn a leaf into paper. I do not throw away; I recycle waste."[40] A midterm report that consolidated the activities of the interventions as well as assessments of the first two phases from the participants and stakeholders (including partners, trainers, and researchers) was submitted to the Ford Foundation. After reflection and discussion, the report was accompanied by a proposal to continue the processes for an additional two years.

Kutloano Phase 3: Consolidating and Assessing Change (March 2008–July 2010)

The Ford Foundation extended its funding into a third assessment phase, which enabled the team to conduct broader outreach and extend the AIDS Action intervention to schools and support centers linked to some of the Phumani Paper sites. This phase also focused on the application of additional visual methods of assessment—namely, community mural painting and visual mapping. The final PAR intervention of Cultural Action for Change in the third phase aimed to consolidate and test knowledge about HIV training. Part of this process involved conducting a resource-mapping exercise to assist the Kutloano group in going forward with their action plans.

Hlasane introduced the making of a map of the community, which the group then created on interfacing—an interleaving material used in all the projects for papermaking. The mapping exercise began by applying artist Marcus Neustetter's method of using masking tape as a marker of routes from and to work.[41] The point of the exercise was to locate participants within the project in relation to the broader community of Welkom. Each participant chose their own colors, which they then used to write the names of significant places they pass when going to and from work, as well as other resources around their homes and the project. After the exercise, the women defined the map in their own words: "It can fill the whole wall! . . . This has been important to us. This is a *tshupatsela* [navigator],[42] it's like *lesedi* [light]. In life I need to know or be aware of important places for me where I walk, also where my markets are along my way. It is also about how to direct our clients. Open your eyes and ears when you walk."[43]

When the individual participant transforms her experience and sees things differently, other changes occur. Mapping helps her define herself in relationship to the context in which she wants change to happen. The relationships between people and their environments are highlighted on the map, which could enable participants to imagine new possibilities in the world and not remain solely focused on the day-to-day business of survival. Participants identify new opportunities and plot them on the map in terms of distance, color, texture, or shape, depending on what kind of relationship it could be for the group. This map, projected as a mural on the wall of the community enterprise site, could become a resource for the whole community, providing knowledge and information about various opportunities or assets within a geographic framework. The scope of the map could extend to the village or to an international site of the home of a tourist who purchased products from the group. Aspiration could be mapped out or visualized as a long line with possibilities radiating from its pathway. The resulting environment would enable positive social change.

In July 2008, shortly after the mapping intervention, University of Michigan collaborator Jane Hassinger returned to South Africa to collaborate with me on a book, *Women on Purpose: The Resilience and Creativity of the Founding Women of Phumani Paper*.[44] We had proposed this book as one of the academic outcomes of the New Partners / New Knowledge initiative. Published in 2012 (*see Plate 21*), it documents the stories of 23 of the founding women of Phumani Paper, who had been involved with their projects for approximately 10 years.[45]

Some Findings from the Summative Assessment Report

Three phases of Cultural Action for Change interventions and assessments across six Phumani sites over four years were examined. There were enormous challenges for the project, yet the impact assessment report—conducted by Marcel Korth in 2006 and continued by Lilo du Toit, from the UJ Development Studies Department, in 2007–8—found that the goals submitted to the Ford Foundation were overwhelmingly achieved. These included reducing stigma through participation in and referral of others to VCT (see table 2). Evidences of the voice and agency discovered by many of the women through articulating aspirations and narratives of change were collected and archived, and some were published in *Women on Purpose*.

One of the key outcomes of this interdisciplinary PAR process was the recognition of the value of the program for UJ and Artist Proof Studio (APS) students. The lessons and reflections from the interventions and assessment reports were consolidated into a learning program entitled Arts-Based Approaches for Development and Social Action, funded for its first four years by the National Research Foundation (NRF), which enabled my fourth-year honors students to conduct similar but community-led interventions in the rural community of HaMakuya from 2011 to 2014. Subsequently, I have embedded the Community Engaged Program (CEP) into the formal learning curriculum for the bachelor's degree in technology in the Department of Visual Art at UJ. The following selected findings are extracted from the detailed and complex account of all of the phases.

Empowerment and Agency

Findings demonstrate a marked increase in the Phumani Paper women's awareness and empowerment around issues of HIV/AIDS. The project exemplifies Sen's notion that the leadership of women is a crucial aspect of "development as freedom."[46] In addition to providing information to assist HIV-positive women in choosing options for treatment and counseling, this intervention focused on the changing agency of women that derives from simultaneously improving their economic and social conditions.[47] Another clear finding was that the research methodology of community-based PAR provided a recognized and progressive research context for students and facilitators and helped secure a successful project to establish arts-based methods for assessing social change. Close collaboration between the facilitators

and the project members ensured that knowledge production remained nonhierarchical and that the members' voices were accurately recorded.

Interdisciplinarity

In the AIDS Action intervention, the research team found that all of the stakeholders regarded interdisciplinary collaboration favorably, not only for their own practice, but also for the growth of their students and trainees. In an academic environment, practitioners often do not realize the extent to which they are products of and therefore limited by their particular disciplines. In programs such as these, however, which facilitate real-world engagement while applying the wisdom and knowledge of academia, academics and students have the chance to stretch their capabilities for the betterment of people's lives. As one stakeholder involved in higher education asserted,

> Most problems in life require interdisciplinary perspectives and methods, yet in higher education most of our learning occurs within highly constrained, disciplinary frameworks . . . [Moreover] when knowledge is shared, creative solutions become possible.[48]

Claudia Mitchell argues that visual arts-based methodologies have potential both for engaging people in finding solutions and for deepening understanding of the interplay of knowledge, behavior, and attitudes within a social context. She asserts, "This work forces us to look again at what the purpose of research in the social and human sciences in South Africa should be, and how it should be evaluated. Can it provoke change? Can it afford not to?"[49] This work positions participants as knowledge producers.

I felt there was a need to keep challenging ways of bridging the divide between theory and practice, social science and visual or arts-based methods. Evaluating, analyzing, and measuring are important in serving the ends of academic research and donor requirements, yet the richness and value of creative processes and exchange lie in attributes that are less measurable, in the ability to hope and imagine. The capacity to aspire leads to action, a sense of self, and the development of purposive goals through reflection. The statements of voices from the intervention—such as "I am someone" and "I can make a difference to my life and others"[50]—provide powerful evidence of change that would be muffled if only fed into a numerical summary of similar statements. The interviews conducted by the students in their local language

also became one of the components of the research materials generated, as they functioned as part of an evaluation of the process. In this way, the team attempted to minimize the discomfort that could be a product of a participant feeling like a research subject. Interviews took on the format of dialogue and exchange and were conducted by a member of the team familiar to the participant being interviewed. The combination of participatory and traditional research modes enriched the quality of the data and deepened the impact for community members.

The research team also found that social transformation had the most potential when it integrated local cultural and ethnic practice with multidisciplinary approaches and practices. The cultural contexts influenced the choice of strategies and methodologies and the composition of team members. For example, Stompie Selibe, a musician and APS facilitator, formed a music circle in the Twanano group in Ivory Park. He accompanied the team to a number of sites. According to him,

> The combination of making music together and creating a Paper Prayer as a creative and social activity, is healing and brings people together. The mbira and drum can evoke emotion and have a calming effect.

The Twanano participants reported, "It [the process] gave me courage to do my work. I can't wait to do this work. I have learnt forgiveness," "I feel refreshed,". "For me coming back, brought back a lot of memories of my life and how I was brought up as a child. I feel that I want my childhood back."[51]

Reducing the Stigma of HIV

Du Toit noted that all the projects, without exception, described overwhelmingly difficult circumstances in the communities, with high levels of HIV infection and unemployment, young people dying, children being orphaned, and people generally being unwilling to disclose or discuss AIDS. By the end of the two-year intervention, participants indicated in general that they felt more aware of issues associated with the disease. They reconsidered their own roles and responsibilities, they thought differently about how they relate to HIV-positive people, and they were more aware of the need to test and know their own status.

The majority of Phumani Paper organizations' unit leaders (65 percent in the midterm report of 2007 and 85 percent in the final report of 2008)

indicated that they had personally recommended testing, counseling, and treatment to individuals in their communities and, furthermore, that these individuals now knew where to go for such services. In terms of opening up discussions on the subject, this change was significant. When du Toit conducted a baseline study at the start of the second phase of the intervention (2006), only 2 out of 16 organizations (Kutloano and Twanano) indicated that they had discussed HIV/AIDS within their groups.[52] In the midterm survey (2007), only two organizations indicated not having discussed HIV/AIDS in their groups. Effectively, 12 organizations that had previously been silent on the HIV issue within their groups indicated that discussions and referrals for testing and counseling had taken place since the interventions (see table 2).

The Phumani groups indicated that, apart from the information on HIV, the creative methods used in the interventions taught them skills that they could use in their papermaking and craft businesses. Du Toit noted that the art methods used by APS artists enabled them to access deep, emotional issues of the participants in a nonthreatening and participatory way. A number of the stakeholder interviews referred to the methods' "therapeutic" effects, ability to "bypass language," ability to 'inspire agency in the participant', and accessibility to people "when language falls short."[53]

Some Challenges Revealed in the Assessment Report

A number of difficulties arose that the short project interventions could not address. These resulted mostly from the patriarchal attitudes that the AIDS intervention was designed to confront. For example, in the traditional village of Endlovini in rural KwaZulu-Natal, the local Zulu men are polygamous and infect each of their many wives. The women felt that they did not have bargaining power to advocate the use of condoms and had little recourse to seek treatment. The cost of transport to the nearest clinic was unaffordable, so the women had little protection. The highest rate of AIDS deaths in the country, one in three, was experienced in that region. A solution to that problem became a challenge for the next phase of training. In the second year of the program, trainers arrived on-site with resources and contact information on support services available in the surrounding districts and with particular suggestions for how site members could source information for themselves. We also introduced music and drama or role-playing activities.

The value of this methodology was reflected in the interviews with stakeholders undertaken by the student and artist facilitators, HIV counselors, and academic partners.[54] Students were asked whether they felt as if they

had made a difference in the lives of others since becoming involved with the interventions. Answers in the affirmative were predominant and ranged from being able to help family members to being able to positively engage more broadly with society and being able to provide support and mentor others. No stakeholders provided a negative assessment.

The Archive

The outcomes from the interventions are substantial. Evidence of these are housed in an archive, which consists of a rich database of materials made up of handmade paper prayers and other artworks; consent forms, surveys, and interview transcripts; documentation of mapping workshops; proposals and budgets; and many photographs. It also includes an extensive collection of material in the form of workbooks that document and describe the trainings and site visits and record focus group discussions and the identification of key challenges facing individuals and the groups. In addition, the photo narratives and baseline and midterm impact assessments have opened up a range of opportunities for continuing research. Five additional master's research projects linked to my NRF-supported research activity Art for Social Change were registered during this period and subsequently completed. The Kim Berman personal archives are situated in the Visual Art Department at the University of Johannesburg, with artwork and Paper Prayers materials in the APS Archives.

The book *Women on Purpose* contains many of the photographs, paper prayers, and interviews of the 26 founding women of Phumani Paper. Selected individual stories give an indication of the remarkable portraits and stories documented in the book. The following quotes are from the interviews and transcribed conversations[55] that contributed to the final assessment report and to the book. The women's voices represented in them provide evidence of the claims of agency, resilience, and empowerment.

> I want to see myself be a director of a project. Because now I can say I have a vision, I know how to handle the books, how to handle the people, how to solve the problems.
>
> You must know yourself, you must be proud of yourself. Don't be shy! God gave us talents, use them! Use them! The talents . . . so you can be successful in life. (Tlaki Radebe, Project Leader for Tswaraganang)

Fig. 5.5. Tlaki Radebe, Tshwaraganang, Winterveld, 2008. (Photo by D. Rasiel.)

> Being a great leader means that you should always be truthful and you must never compromise. When something is wrong you must say this thing is wrong. You must not care who likes you or who doesn't like you. I want to see my group flourish. I want to look at that group and say I was the one that started that group. I want to see myself in a beautiful home with my children and living a very comfortable life. (Fundi Biyela, Project Leader for KZN Papermaking and Craft Packaging and KZN Regional Coordinator)

Possibilities and Challenges from the Intervention

Cultural Action for Change expanded various methods to explore creative and passionate engagement with research that can contribute to the transformation of the self and the group. It is a research process that meets South Africa's developmental agendas as well as wider cultural, intellectual, and political concerns. The AIDS Action interventions in the first two phases of Cultural Action for Change demonstrated that using cultural approaches was critical to how the intervention was continually adjusted. A paper by Helen Gould (2007) of Creative Exchange, which is in partnership with UNESCO, investigates how the cultural dimension can be effectively factored into HIV/AIDS communication programs. Gould's report provides evidence that de-

Fig. 5.6. Fundi Biyela, KZ-N Phumani Paper coordinator, 2008. (Photo by D. Rasiel.)

velopment thinking has shifted toward the acknowledgment of the value of cultural approaches to HIV/AIDS.[56] Increasingly, donors are investigating how they can work with other sectors in the cultural web to improve the impact of their work on the ground. As Gould has found, "If culture is a factor in transmission and impact, it follows that prevention and care require a cultural approach."[57] Research by Gould and Marsh acknowledges that creative and artistic activities "offer a way in to building relationships with local communities, of tapping into the cultural undercurrent, of gauging the thinking and experiences of different segments of the community in relation to HIV/AIDS, and of building skills, confidence and capacity to act."[58]

During its AIDS Action and assessment phases, Cultural Action for Change approached the concept of "research" in a multidisciplinary but highly structured fashion that included a parallel impact assessment. The information gleaned from the impact assessments, as well as the stakeholders' interviews, revealed various strengths, such as behavior change, increased agency, and project sustainability. Some of the project's weaknesses relate to problems of access to resources, such as health care facilities, local markets for craft sales, and information about social services and grants available to community members from local government. A range of social issues that needed addressing were identified by the different groups, such as access to environmental improvement funding, small business support, and food grants for

orphans, vulnerable children, and others. We hope that Cultural Action for Change left the tools in place for participants to navigate future opportunities and possibilities.

The Phumani groups were acknowledged by most of the stakeholders as demonstrating more than merely skills development. They involve the growth and actualization of individuals through their income-generating activities and their access to training and skills through their membership in a support group. As one of the Phumani facilitators stated in her interview, "We cannot make a difference in the lives of people if we have not attempted to change certain mindsets. All of the job creation in the world will not make a difference until certain issues are addressed, such as HIV/AIDS as well as self-discipline and responsibility."[59]

The success of the AIDS Action intervention met the objectives of the Ford Foundation in reducing the fear and silence at each site. Another objective proposed to the Ford Foundation was to achieve an increase in productivity and income for the enterprises as a result of greater group trust, information, networking, and agency. However, greater income generation was not consistent, which led to funding and program support for the third phase of the intervention in order to improve market access and increase productivity for Phumani groups.

The Use of Mapping for Navigating a Way Out of Poverty

To address the weaknesses of the Phumani enterprise's ability to generate sufficient income, the team employed an additional visual strategy, visual mapping (as discussed earlier in the chapter), an artistic practice used by a significant number of artists. I propose that the combination of artistic expressions with social change objectives constitutes a rich new research method and development intervention. According to a report by the UCLA Center for Health Policy Research, "An asset map can help you identify community assets and concerns. The map results help to determine new directions for your program or identify new programs that need to be developed."[60]

If a rural woman in one of the sites could plot her journey to work each day and record the places around her as potential assets, resources, or markets, she would be able see herself in relationship to her environment. She would see her connectedness to her community and her world. For instance, the funeral home she passes each day could become a place to sell her handmade paper cards. If fresh flowers are unavailable, she may see an opportunity to make paper flowers as wreaths for funerals. She could attach photographs

and business cards to her map as reminders of new actions or leads to pursue. When the site she passes every day is seen as an asset to her business, that possibility could generate innovation or creative possibilities. When the individual transforms her experience and sees things differently, other changes occur. Mapping helps her define herself in relationship to the context in which she wants change to happen. The relationships between people and their environments could change the focus of members to imagine new possibilities in the world and not remain solely focused on the day-to-day business of survival.

I believe that this application of art practice can be applied to developmental practice that addresses the challenges of achieving economic participation, sustainability, growth, and mobility facing the craft enterprises. It is possible that the prevalence of "scarcity thinking" in communities struggling in poverty can be turned around through mapping aspirations. Such thinking, "victim thinking," and a sense of entitlement ("you owe me") can be reversed to create relationships of possibilities that involve making different kinds of connections, both physically on the map and actually in life.

Voices from the Field

A Paradigm Shift: Lilo

Lilo du Toit, a sociologist commissioned to conduct the impact assessment for the Ford Foundation intervention, has reflected on how she has rethought the value of art in her own life and practice. Her career as a social science researcher has undergone a paradigm shift as a result of her encounter with the arts as creative practice and as a tool for enriching the depth of qualitative data. She speaks of the impact that the program has had on her own methodological approach and within her Department of Anthropology and Development Studies at UJ. She subsequently registered to do her master's research on economic agency and participation among women in enterprise development. Du Toit observes,

> I am interested in how involvement in the AIDS Action program led to personal change for the many collaborators, trainers and stakeholders. With regard to the changes in the people involved in the programme for students and facilitators, the stakeholder interviews as well as the APS AIDS project, polls contain comments to the effect

Fig. 5.7. Lilo du Toit, social science researcher, 2008. (Photo by D. Rasiel.)

that young artists get a chance to exhibit their work, that they gain confidence in showing their work to others, that they gain a sense of being "professional artists," that it doesn't matter whether they are HIV-positive or not, they can still produce their art, that they can contribute to the incomes of their families by getting income from their art. Furthermore, many of the stakeholder interviews among students and beneficiaries indicate that skills have been gained (from things that seem simple, like getting a driver's licence, using computers, to advanced degrees and a chance to be professional artists) that enables greater choice among these students in terms of their lives and career (this *is* development . . . greater choice to live a life that one deems to be "the good").

My art is to come up with ways of measuring things that are immeasurable, and to search for truth. It denotes a devotion and a skill which engages *and* expresses the highest of human faculties: *creating*. Using what has come before and making it better, by innovating and experimenting. *This* is what drives the *decent* society. A society must be decent, for it to be able to produce and protect that which is fragile: life, beauty, truth . . . the good. Aesthetics, and therefore visual and performing arts, is the "soul" of a society, if a society doesn't have art, doesn't produce beauty, its soul is dead. Nietzsche said that we have art so as not to die of life.[61]

The paradigm shift among collaborators previously unfamiliar with working with the arts and artists is a powerful indicator of the role of art in activating change. Through du Toit's involvement in the program, another outcome was that a new honors course for development studies students was introduced in 2008–11, designed by Dr. Naude Malan to engage with the arts and institutional democracy in collaboration with Phumani Paper.[62] This interdisciplinary course and Dr. Malan's Design for Development course subsequently created in 2010 for the Faculty of Art, Design, and Architecture are interesting examples of how personal change has led to institutional change, which, in turn, can produce social change.

The Power of Dreaming: Felicia's Story

In 2007, seven years after Phumani Paper was established, I received the following text message on my cell phone:

> Kim, remember when you came to our village in Elim and we all dreamt where we will be in five years' time. Some of us said we wanted a car and everyone laughed. You said what colour will your car be? Well today I got my car, and it is blue.

Felicia Vukeya comes from a small village in the region formerly known as Venda in northern Limpopo Province. Qualified as a teacher, she joined the Phumani Paper group in Elim because there were no available teaching jobs. She had been unemployed for three years when Phumani Paper opened a small papermaking project near where she lived.

Hearing the papermaking project advertised on the radio, Vukeya came to the Pfuxanani Youth Centre to apply in 2000. She was elected chairperson for the first two years, and Phumani Paper subsequently employed her as a project leader. She attended a leadership training course and learned how to use a computer. Four years later, she was promoted to regional manager of three Limpopo-based Phumani Paper projects. She passed her driving test and saved each month for a secondhand car. Seven years after she joined the project, she had acquired a car and married.

Vukeya now has two children, a stable home, and mobility. She left Khomanani in 2011 and was employed by the local government as a community organizer. Her ability to achieve her dream and become a leader in her community has been an inspiration to many. She still talks about the value of the

Fig. 5.8. Felicia Vukeya, Limpopo coordinator, 2008. (Photo by D. Rasiel.)

dreaming exercise I did with her Khomanani group in 2001, using drawings to envision a better future out of poverty.

A Way Forward

In *The Art of Possibility*, Ben Zander makes the profound observation "You name yourself as the instrument to make your relationships into effective partnerships."[63] This implies that the qualities needed for making a difference are both self-efficacy and, significantly, the ability to connect. I suggest that the tasks of participatory interventions and assessments described in this chapter provide examples of using PhotoVoice and Paper Prayers as cultural expressions that exercise "local cultural force," an influence that Appadurai claims is necessary for prevention and care interventions.[64] I further suggest that visual and community mapping can be used as a tool to navigate the concept of futurity.

Mapping, through the construction and plotting of actions and ways to imagine social and economic connectivity, provides a means to act on Appadurai's proposal that the poor "mobilize themselves (internally) and in their efforts to change the dynamics of consensus in their larger social worlds."[65] As I came to understand the mapping genre as used by both visual artists and

activists, I interpreted the relationships between people and environments as offering a way of linking all the open ends emerging from various interventions. The mapping process is a practical process that can value the past and permit it to coexist with the present, as well as providing a format to plot possibilities for the future. Facts and realities can be seen as platforms for new actions and outcomes. Art practice can initiate transformation, creating new approaches to current conditions.

Among the lessons the Cultural Action for Change research team took forward is the understanding that visual arts approaches (e.g., printmaking, photography, visual art, and mapping) are tools that have the capacities to create and co-create identities, narratives, and practices, in order for cultural processes to be powerful. More specifically, the visual arts can be integrated as developmental evaluation tools for assessing change. Complex evaluation systems engage dynamic and continually emerging relationships. Positive social change that takes place within groups and their individual members is characterized by innovation, agency, and restoration and can be assessed in locally and culturally meaningful ways.

Conclusion

Renovating Democracy: Voice and Resilience

The common elements running through each of the narratives and case studies in this book show that each intervention is based on the democratic values of human rights and equity. Further, the methodology throughout is dialogical, consultative, and designed to facilitate participants in recognizing their own voices. The idea that practice leads to understanding stems from a fundamental ethical principle that human beings have the capacity to realize their own potential. Each intervention described is aimed at encouraging individuals and their communities to believe in themselves and to take steps toward self-actualization. This approach requires individuals to constantly address conflict and difficulty and find ways to shift lethargy, despair, and denial.

Some of the insights that recur throughout the narratives reveal the significance of the values and capacities that emerge from integrating engaged, multimodal, and collaborative learning as viable methods for creating new knowledge. I have proposed that the processes that underpin arts-based community interventions can shape transformative possibilities of both individual and public creativity. Rike Sitas and Edgar Pieterse call cultural interventions that engage and organize public participation "democratic renovations."[1] This concept is an apt descriptor of culturally grounded developmental interventions, as it interrogates an understanding of democracy as a renewable and evolving practice. All arts-based interventions are complex, adaptive, experimental, and innovative and can deepen an understanding of self through its integration in democratic participation. Renovating the understanding of democracy links to the notion of a resilient system that continually updates itself in addressing the stresses that it faces. Indeed, *resilience* is a key theme

throughout this book, and its meaning can be understood through the metaphor of a journey.

The American Psychological Association aptly uses the metaphor of a river trip to describe resilience.

> Think of resilience as similar to taking a raft trip down a river. On a river, you may encounter rapids, turns, slow water and shallows. As in life, the changes you experience affect you differently along the way. In traveling the river, it helps to have knowledge about it and past experience in dealing with it. Your journey should be guided by a plan, a strategy that you consider likely to work well for you. Perseverance and trust in your ability to work your way around boulders and other obstacles are important. You can gain courage and insight by successfully navigating your way through white water. Trusted companions who accompany you on the journey can be especially helpful for dealing with rapids, upstream currents and other difficult stretches of the river. You can climb out to rest alongside the river. But to get to the end of your journey, you need to get back in the raft and continue.[2]

The kinds of challenges encountered by the traveler on the journey reveal the importance of the processes of both navigation and negotiation. In this anecdote of the river trip, the path of the raft is strengthened when all its occupants are working together to navigate the currents and move forward in a positive way. In this respect, as evident in all the narratives in this book, the notion of working together goes further than just cooperation but confirms that our well-being and the well-being of others are integrally connected.

Capacities for Renovating Democracy

In reflecting on the various themes in this book—such as resilience, agency and purpose, hope and imagination—it is helpful to consider what Pieterse calls "sensibilities for practice." Pieterse advocates five different sensibilities that are required to achieve "human flourishing." He confirms the idea that it is the "way of being that counts." He proposes that the development practitioner must be able to practice "code-switching" between knowledge systems, adopt a "multi-focal perspective" in reading the political situation, and employ "self-reflexivity" and "empirically informed and symbolically attuned" knowledge. Lastly, Pieterse emphasizes the importance of having "curiosity" about what is going on.[3] I agree that the practice in pursuit of human flour-

ishing must be constructed as a meaningful dialogue that is not about finding truths but, rather, about constructing "a new grammar of thinking and doing development."[4]

The sensibilities that Pieterse identifies are capacities familiar to art-making practice, and the case studies presented here endorse this recognition of the value of complex systems. John Paul Lederach refers to the "moral imagination," which echoes the recognition of interconnectedness, curiosity, creativity, and risk taking to develop the "human capacity to imagine and generate constructive processes that are rooted in the day-to-day challenges of violence and yet transcend these destructive patterns."[5] Systems that are emergent, dynamic, uncertain, and adaptive continually renew themselves through innovation. This way of becoming is generative in the quest of using the arts to "renovate democracy." The arts contribute to social transformation and resilience because of their abilities to "code-switch" between multiple sensibilities. They provide the practitioner with the possibilities for multiple ways of seeing and reflecting, of generating curiosity, and of being what Pieterse calls "symbolically attuned."[6]

Such insights reveal a number of implications for development policy. It is necessary to redefine the way poverty is understood and to clarify the steps required to navigate new possibilities arising from this new understanding. The case studies in this book suggest that visual voices expressed through PhotoVoice, Paper Prayers art-making, and visual mapping, together with personal narratives, are tools to assist that process. Participatory, collaborative, and multimodal research practice is therefore effective as a methodology for action, assessment, and generating new knowledge. The interventions presented here offer a range of insights for participatory practice and the co-creation of knowledge with participants.

The overall challenges that confront any project are those of finding ways to listen and to integrate this knowledge in a nonprescriptive way. It is necessary to evolve fluid, creative, dialogical, and reflective intervention tools. In addition, it is important to discover ways of reclaiming such terms as *empowerment* and *agency*—overused and jargonized in the academy—both in the practice of development and in government and international NGO rhetoric. It is also essential to recognize that beneficiaries are not inert units within a collective and that this misconception is one of the primary reasons why development projects fail. An important antidote for it is the notion of imagining and making something that is not there appear and become possible.

I suggest that artists understand the importance of imagination and therefore can support others to visualize or dream an alternative future. In

this way, the capacity to aspire becomes key to sustainability in development projects. The creative process is generative rather than definitive. One can learn about organizations and transformative processes from art-making. An artist always acts in the absence of certainty and clarity, and profound possibilities emerge. A conversation by William Kentridge on drawing may extend this understanding:

> What prods an imaginative leap?
> I make a drawing for which you see a foundation or a ground . . . and the interest for me is not only the foundation or ground, but what it suggests.
> I'm interested at the end, in arriving at one, even if it is an incorrect one . . . it's in a way, a leap out of indeterminacy.
> Indeterminacy suggests paralysis if you stay there. I'm interested in indeterminacy as a starting point but not an end point.[7]

Art-making also supports the process of integrating life skills. The Phumani Paper groups were initiated as part of government's promise for "a better life" for the poor. Ironically, participants demonstrated that the successes achieved from their groups occurred not simply as a result of promised government funding but despite those promises not being entirely fulfilled. This implies that the earlier paternalistic approach to relieving poverty through government funding, in which members received a monthly stipend, did little to encourage self-reliance. It appears that this situation is not unique to South Africa. Referring to a situation in India of "waiting for" government to deliver, Arjun Appadurai emphasizes the importance of hope.

> We may say that hope in this context is the force that converts the passive condition of "waiting for" to the active condition of "waiting to": waiting to move, waiting to claim full rights, waiting to make the next move in the process that will assure that the queue keeps moving and that the end of rainbow is not a broken promise.[8]

I propose that art-making has inspired methodologies that were developed and tested in the various projects discussed and are able to convert this passive condition of "waiting for" into the agency of doing for oneself.

Alan Kaplan and Michael Quinn Patton (2011) take this concept further and propose that development contexts should be treated as a "living process," which means that it is important to anticipate nonlinearity, surprise,

multidimensionality, and especially preexisting agency, as well as to "facilitate processes that are already in motion."[9] One of the core themes in each of the projects detailed in this book is the valuing of complex systems and chaos in order to provide a new language and an unfamiliar paradigm with which to approach engaged development. Art is a mode of knowledge that welcomes diversity and the unexpected. It allows for the interpretation of elements that do not fit into dominant theories or codes or a positivist perspective of the world. The methods explored in this book are "living processes". They include participatory practice and dialogue, creative and art practice as alternative modes of knowledge making, assessment methods that use interactive and multimodal processes to engage and mobilize communities rather than measuring business efficiency, and the value of hope and imagination in transforming aspirations into goals for change. These methods support the argument that social transformation requires creativity in order to enhance agency and develop voice and that artists can add an important dimension to development practice that focuses on building resilience.

My approach involves incorporating these foundational principles and linking them to existing participatory community-based approaches that support the values of social justice. In discussing the limitations of fixed methodologies, I have proposed extending the accepted participatory action research and community-based methodologies by incorporating additional capacities and sensibilities that are particular to the arts. These can open the field through "giving voice and telling stories," "creating new visions," and inspiring imaginations that activate processes of becoming. Collaborative artmaking can contribute additional capacities, such as respectful and responsive co-creation, experimentation and risk taking, complex metaphors and meaning making through story telling in various forms, awareness of aesthetics that lift representation to a new level, and the consideration of the presence of the other and co-creating visions and aspirations. These capacities can be achieved by offering convincing experiences that transform aspirations into practical and creative possibilities, celebrating commonalities and differences. The methods of development practice that incorporate artistic sensibilities have succeeded in nurturing and supporting individuals and communities and are revealed in the range of narratives and case studies presented here.

A fundamental purpose common across Artist Proof Studio (APS), Paper Prayers, and Phumani Paper projects is to give expression to the dreams and aspirations of participants who had been silenced or excluded from social empowerment. To understand creative expression of self, we need to be able to aspire to and dream of different possibilities for our future. Appadurai

stresses the value of "futurity" as a cultural capacity, in his recognition that "by bringing the future back in . . . we are surely in a better position to understand how people actually navigate their social spaces."[10] In this context, futurity is the ability to continually grow and change and is thus essentially about sustainability as a practical outcome of aspiration. Through this journey, we have found that sustainability requires citizens to take responsibility for their own futures though collaboration and co-creation. But key to enacting this is the way that the arts can assist to generate hopefulness. Ganz talks about hope as "audacious and substantial."[11] Hope also allows us to deal with problems creatively and is a gift we can give each other to make change.

The process of discovering voice through creative and narrative expression deepens the work of democracy and encourages people to participate in the civic and public arena through exhibitions, social actions, or markets, thereby creating their own economic and social engagement. The type of learning experience advocated here is multimodal and multidimensional. It not only enhances the quality of skills training but also deepens an understanding of each participant's own strengths and agency in ways that expand each individual's expressive voice.

The position I present throughout this book is that creative practice is a core component of self-actualization and is one of the fundamental purposes and outcomes of freedom and democracy. South Africa is a young democracy. It is pushing the limits and experiencing moments of chaos and threat. According to systems theory, this is an optimal time for change and adaptability, as long as communication and networks remain open and porous. The different stories presented here reveal various methods for internalizing and owning that agency as part of a sense of self. If meaningful change is to be sustained in order to achieve full expression of human rights and freedom, members of our society require complete participation in that freedom of expression.

As has been indicated previously, the idea of "developing the poor" is likely to fail because it starts with the wrong premise. While applying theoretical and mechanical developmental tools may introduce programs and opportunities, these are seldom sustained after the funding runs out, and many initiatives and organizations collapse. The government's indicators of success are job creation, good business practice, efficiency, and profitability.[12] I suggest that present definitions of successful development initiatives should be reevaluated. Rather, success should be measured in terms of survival and resilience. Specifically, I propose a change of the hierarchy of the goals of

development—that the focus on economic achievement as the primary or sole goal of a development intervention be replaced by the facilitation of empowerment through self-reliance, resilience, and agency. While an important part of achieving empowerment and resilience is through skills development, I believe that being able to embark on creative practice and aspiring toward change constitute more fundamental and long-lasting goals.

Artist Proof Studio, Paper Prayers, and Phumani Paper can offer development organizations lessons from their relative longevity. APS has survived and adapted itself since 1991, and the Paper Prayers and Phumani Paper programs have each operated for over 17 years. Despite inconsistency and instability in funding and, in many cases, having the odds of survival stacked against them, these organizations and projects have refused to collapse. As has been stated, when participatory and inclusive methods of art-making involve implicit recognition of shared humanity, creativity, and imagination, they offer alternative visions that accommodate mystery and spirituality—sensibilities that contribute to healing, empowerment, and self-esteem.

The Challenges of Transformative Citizenship

In pursuing the question of how development practitioners can arrive at renewed approaches to enhance democratic practice and civic agency, the concept of transformative citizenship can be helpful. This requires shifting the frame of reference from old ways of thinking to critical reassessment. According to Dr. Mamphela Ramphele, South Africans must deal with "stubborn ghosts that still haunt us" and undermine the attainment of our envisaged self: "To transform a racist, sexist and authoritarian culture into one that is aligned to the ideals of our national constitution entails a radical shift."[13] This comment highlights the importance of our roles to remobilize ordinary citizens to participate actively, as agents in transformation. As citizens of a young democracy in South Africa, we all have the responsibility of stewardship. Educating for democracy is essential to help us toward a shared understanding of our Constitution. We can become agents of our own making.

I fear that the conflation of liberation politics with democratic practice poses a serious risk to our democracy. At present, South Africans seem to lack necessary courage, and the culture of fear seems to dominate the political and social fabric of our society. These fears are dominated by HIV/AIDS, poverty, crime, corruption, the devaluing of currency, xenophobia, and the credibility of a Zuma-led government (although there are many other vital issues that

need to be dealt with in our society). Many South Africans seem to operate from a place of emptiness or scarcity rather than abundance. The case studies in this book have demonstrated how the visual arts have facilitated change in individuals, enabling them to overcome their fear (e.g., of HIV/AIDS) and to make positive choices (e.g., seeking counseling and testing). The problem that still needs to be addressed is whether, in the conditions of heightening inequalities and uncertainty, South Africa can remain on the path of transformation as a primary goal toward enhancing a democracy that would promote an ethos of inclusiveness, humanity, and freedom of expression.

Ramphele challenges:

> The question each one of us must ask every day is whether we are giving the best we can to enable our society to transcend the present and become its envisaged self.[14]

As demonstrated in chapter 5 of the present study, the "measuring of impact of social change" remains a challenge. Agencies continue to fund short-term projects requiring measurable results. The academy continues to judge the quality of research on the basis that verifiable and scientific research procedures are being followed. I have argued for radical changes and innovation in assessment criteria and methodologies that embrace the co-creation approach to emergent complex systems. I maintain that these approaches promote values of agency and resilience to become priorities in community development practice. Arts-based approaches also support the notion of uncertainty and experimentation where not knowing can bring renewal and innovation.

In a political climate of intolerance and fear, the arts can be integrated to creatively and productively engage citizens to realize a future that productively engages democratic practice. Another recurrent theme in this book is the role of *ubuntu* as a pathway for resilience and changing practice to support communities, social justice, and sustainable lives. Complexity has been defined as those situations where uncertainty about what to do is high because knowledge is insufficient and because key stakeholders are in substantial conflict.[15] Precisely this complexity of *ubuntu* as a way of humanizing can offer deeply rich and creative approaches for going forward. In a world in which our collective welfare is so integrally interconnected, the move toward models that recognize and support collective engagement in progressive change is important and timely.

Finding Voice in Stories

My conclusion to this book is intentionally open-ended. *Finding Voice* values the notion of voice as key to agency and the responsibility to act. I have used the mode of stories as a way to present case studies allowing different voices to be heard. In the introduction to this book, I presented a notion put forward by Marshall Ganz. In *Why Stories Matter*, he argues that when you do public work, you have a responsibility to offer a public account of who you are, why you do what you do, and where you hope to lead. Eve Annecke and Mark Swilling also highlight the value of storytelling and have found, as I have, that "the dialogical infrastructure" may be more reliable than "ticks in the log frame report."[16]

> There are few countries in the world where the conditions for innovation and creativity are more favourable than those that exist in South Africa. It is easy to blame the inaction of others on the worsening plight of the poor, but as realism about the limits of state action sets in, there are more local initiatives that are grabbing the space and making it happen . . . Over time, these local initiatives will incubate new visions, new leaders, new networks and eventually new multi-class social movements that will simultaneously challenge and complement state action and articulate the linkages to similar processes elsewhere in the world . . .
>
> At the centre of this activity will be our ability to tell and hear the stories of our changing times . . . An extraordinary and surprising South Africa is becoming increasingly visible as a vast array of stories are being told. The challenge will be to defend the space for these stories, or live with the consequence of codifying a single official story.[17]

By retelling the stories of members of APS, Paper Prayers, Phumani Paper, and the community engagement projects of the University of Johannesburg, I hope that their visibility will generate spaces for many other stories and voices to emerge.

Appendix

Making a Paper Prayer: Workshop Structure

We start with a question: for example, *Can art make a difference to a life?*

Introduction

If you know people who are dying of AIDS, is there something you can do? You hear statistics daily and know that there are 2,000 new infections in South Africa each day. Statistically, every fifth person in the room represents how many youth are infected. HIV is a treatable disease and a normal part of our life. We cannot deny it or pretend it does not affect us. This workshop is designed to help us break the silence about this issue. *(This can be adapted to another issue.)*

HIV Workshop

An interactive workshop follows the introduction with a discussion by a trained HIV counselor. *(The workshop can focus on myths, facts, and answer questions. The time frame varies from one hour to three days.)* After the discussion, we make an artwork in the form of a paper prayer.

Purpose

Think of a card you give to someone on their birthday, when they get married, or when they have lost someone. What is the message you want to share with that gesture? In a similar way, if you were to make a card for someone based on something you have heard in this workshop or a message you want

to give them, what would it say? Who do you have in mind: someone who is sick with AIDS, someone who you know has unprotected sex, someone you would like to support to get an HIV test, or someone who you can support to start antiretroviral treatment. Alternatively, you can use this workshop to make a gift for yourself about something new you have learned. *(The message possibilities are numerous and depend on the purpose, audience, venue, and issue.)*

Steps to Make a Paper Prayer Artwork (monoprint)

- Cut linoleum or plastic plates and paper to the conventional format of a paper prayer, in a rectangular strip. (Paper is approximately 10.5 cm × 30 cm.)
- Choose an object from a selection, such as a leaf, a flower, a piece of lace, netting, or a feather; or cut out a shape from paper, a word, or a letter to make your own stencil; or make a drawing on a sheet of paper. What colors do you want to use? For example, will you paint your leaf green or orange; is the leaf alive or changing? What does the feather mean to you? What is the symbol of the netting or of the candle you cut out? Does it represent a memory, or is it a symbol of hope, care, protection, or sadness?
- Think about the composition and where you want to place each object on your plate.
- Use the brushes, sponges, or rollers to cover your textures with a thin layer of ink (water-based). Cover the background of your plate in color using a sponge or roller. Consider if you want to divide the image or have more than one color. What do the colors signify to you?
- Place the (dampened) paper on top of your plate. Then print the image either by hand rubbing with a burnishing tool or, if there is a press, by running the plate under pressure to transfer the ink.
- Lift your print slowly by peeling it away from the plate. This is where magic happens. There is a "wow moment" that translates into an exclamation or smile that says, "I did not know I can do something this beautiful."
- Make a second print by moving the objects around on your plate, or turn them over and print the "ghost" from the ink that remains. You can now repeat the process and make a third print for yourself or as a gift.

Concluding the Workshop

- The prints are strung on a clothesline with paper clips or clothespins to dry.
- In a circle, share the meaning of your paper prayer with the group; or write the meaning or message on another paper to attach to the back of your image.
- You should have at least three prints: one for you, one to give away as a gift, and one to leave for the campaign. The narratives and shared stories from the workshop are a very important component. This is the key to unlocking and naming a feeling or fear through a symbol or object. It can be held and witnessed, and it can be taken home and shared.

Impact of the Workshop

The two- to three-hour workshop is a tool—a catalyst and release. Each person feels empowered in that they have made a contribution to themselves and each other through sharing and owning. Many rural mothers have told me that they were unable to talk about sex to their children before the workshop but were able to use their paper prayers to share the lessons they learned and to explain how they would like their children to take responsibility. The AIDS Action program discussed in chapter 5 demonstrates overwhelmingly positive results where paper prayers were used among the women of the Phumani Paper groups, as one of the tools that helped them to break the silence about HIV/AIDS, participate in voluntary testing and counseling, and refer others to voluntary counseling and testing (VCT).

Notes

Introduction

1. Taylor 2001: 233.
2. Lippard 2005: xxiii.
3. Pirkei Avot (Wisdom of the Fathers), cited by Ganz 2013 (copy in possession of the author).
4. Ganz 2009.
5. Bawa 2014: 231.
6. Eze 2010: 24.

Chapter 1

1. Lederach 2005.
2. Lewin 1946, 1948, 1951; McNiff 2013; Reason and Bradbury 2001, 2007, 2013; Stringer 2013.
3. Heron 1996; Reason 1994.
4. Reason 1988.
5. Reason and Bradbury 2001, 2007, 2013.
6. Fals Borda 1998; Fals Borda and Rahman 1991; Freire (1970) 2003; Hunter et al. 2013; Koch and Kralik 2006; Reason and Bradbury 2013.
7. Minkler 2005.
8. Carr and Kemmis 1986, 2005; Wallerstein 2003; Hills and Mullet 2000.
9. McNiff 2007: 308.
10. Sullivan 2009.
11. Sullivan 2009; Whitehead and McNiff 2006.
12. While Caroline Wang's website (www.photovoice.com) is no longer available, more information on the history, theory, and applications of PhotoVoice can be found at http://www.photovoiceworldwide.com/what_is_photovoice.htm
13. Wang 1999; Wang, and Burris 1997; Mitchell 2011.
14. Brockbank and McGill 2007; Marquardt 1999; McGill and Brockbank 2004; Pedler 2008; Revans 1982.
15. Feyerabend (1975) 1993.

16. Cohen 2003a, 2003b.

17. Lederach 2005.

18. These points are adapted from "Summary of *The Moral Imagination: The Art and Soul of Building Peace*" (Lederach 2005), by Michelle Maiese, available at http://www.beyondintractability.org/bksum/lederach-imagination

19. Lederach 2005.

20. Through her International Centre of Art for Social Change (ICASC), Judith Marcuse connects arts-based social change organizations and leading practitioners in the field in Canada and abroad, creating a global hub for collaboration, research, teaching, and knowledge exchange. Her center and its website provide a resource and network for this fast-evolving field. She presents a compelling case for the arts as effective vehicles for communities to explore and solve complex problems. Marcuse commissioned a valuable study by Yael Harlap (2006) on understanding the domain of arts and social change. In-depth interviews were conducted with individuals from 46 Canadian, North American, and international arts organizations. This study has been updated by *State of the Art: A Report on Art for Social Change (ASC) in Canada*, ICASC, April 2016, available at https://www.icasc.ca/post/state-art-report-art-social-change-asc-canada

21. "Breathing Life into the Ashes: Resilience, Arts, and Social Transformation," Peter Wall Institute of Advanced Studies (PWIAS) Inaugural Roundtable, University of British Columbia, Vancouver, Canada, 2012, convened by Professor Michelle LeBaron (UBC Law) and Dr. Cynthia Cohen (Brandeis University International Center for Ethics, Justice, and Public Life).

22. LeBaron 2012.

23. In *Bridging Troubled Waters* (2002) and *Bridging Cultural Conflict* (2003), Michelle LeBaron writes about intuitive sensing and connected ways of knowing.

24. Cohen 2003a, 2003b; Cohen et al. 2011.

25. Cohen 2003a, 2003b; Cohen et al. 2011.

26. Harlap 2006.

27. I am part of a three-year visiting scholar program at Stellenbosch Institute for Advanced Studies called Being Human Today: Linking Theory and Practice in Social Transformation through the Arts (2015–18).

28. Patton 2011.

29. Hills and Mullet 2000.

Chapter 2

1. Nelson Mandela was sentenced to life imprisonment by the Apartheid government in 1964 and spent 18 of his 27 years on Robben Island.

2. Mbeki turned his back on scientific consensus that AIDS was caused by a viral infection that could be fought by sophisticated medical drugs. The AIDS policy adopted by the government of his day was believed to result in over 330,000 deaths that could have been prevented (according to Harvard researchers quoted in the *Guardian* in 2008: "Mbeki Aids Denial Caused 300, 000 Deaths," https://www.theguardian.com/world/2008/nov/26/aids-south-africa).

3. Two states of emergency imposed in the 1980s as a result of the mounting opposition to the South African Apartheid state resulted in violent repression, including mass arrests and detention without trial.

4. I left South Africa in 1983 and lived in Boston for seven years, volunteering for an African National Congress development organization in exile and working as a printing assistant while studying for my master's degree at Tufts University and the School of the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston.

5. The history of South African community art centers has been extensively documented (Hobbs and Rankin 2003; Sack 1988; Hagg 2004; van Robbroeck 2004; Minty 2004; Gaylard 2004), in publications that collectively chart the indispensable role that centers like Polly Street (established in 1949) and Rorke's Drift Arts and Craft Centre (founded in 1962) played in the development of contemporary black South African art. Arguably, it was the center at Rorke's Drift that determined the subsequent development of a number of other art centers, including APS, as many of the founding members of APS had graduated from that center in the 1980s.

6. Founded in 1984, Funda is one of the oldest independent training institutions in the visual arts in South Africa, established in response to the inaccessibility of specialized training in the visual arts for black South Africans under apartheid.

7. The Katlehong Art Centre provided art facilities to artists living in East Rand townships of Johannesburg from the mid-1970s, while the Johannesburg Art Foundation, founded in 1982 by the late humanitarian and painter Bill Ainslie, provided an open, multiracial art school in Johannesburg.

8. Graduates who taught in various community art centers include Mbongeni Buthelezi, Ezekiel Budeli and Simon Mthimkhulu (Funda), Percy Madia (Johannesburg Art Gallery), the late Osiah Masekameng (FUBA), Obed Mbele (Katlehong), Brenda Ramadia (Curriculum Development Project), Chris Molefe (Mofolo Art Centre), and others.

9. Hayley Berman, my sister who runs Lefika La Phodiso Art Therapy Centre in Johannesburg, brought her team to work with us.

10. All these dreams became reality, including the minibus that we acquired in 2015 through a government grant for a mobile print unit.

11. The APS management at the time consisted of a board of directors chaired by Charles Nkosi (head of Funda), other founding members, and some personal and professional friends and colleagues. The board subsequently evolved into a more formally constituted team after the fire.

12. Tutu 1999.

13. Posel 2006: 89.

14. Interview by Darnisa Armante, intern from Brandeis University assisting with data collection, August 2004 (available in Kim Berman's personal archive housed in in the Visual Art Department at UJ).

15. Cooperrider and Srivastva 1987: 159.

16. Cooper 2006: 89.

17. Soyinka 2004: 1.

18. Mathews 2005: 124.

19. Men as Partners, a subsidiary of the United Nations agency Engen-

der Health, established itself as a Johannesburg-based organization dedicated to changing patriarchal culture and the harm it causes. APS collaborated with this organization for five years until it merged activities with Sonke Gender Justice Network, an NGO that addresses the HIV and AIDS epidemic from a gender-focused perspective. The partnership agreement with Engender Health / Men as Partners allowed for an exchange of skills without financial payment. In exchange for the training received from the facilitators, the Men as Partners organization acquired visual aids useful in their ongoing advocacy work.

The APS participants apply their skills and talents to envision a society free of prejudice, one that fosters equality between men and women. They create drawings and images that reverse stereotypes—such as men carrying babies on their backs, men hanging and ironing washing, and men nursing the sick. These murals can be seen in public spaces in and around Johannesburg (e.g., outside Baragwanath Hospital in Soweto). In addition, some of the narrative pictures are painted on mobile screens and panels used for teaching aids, as well as reproduced on the brochures and website images of Men as Partners.

20. 16 Days of Activism is a worldwide campaign to generate an increased awareness on the negative impact of violence and abuse. It takes place from 25 November to 10 December (International Human Rights Day).

21. Mandela's birthday, 18 July, is observed as an annual international day, declared by the United Nations in 2009. Inspired by Nelson Mandela's call, on his 90th birthday, for all to make a better world, the observation promotes an action of 67 minutes (one minute for each year of Mandela's public service) in the service for good.

22. Freire (1970) 2003: 35.

23. Sonke Gender Justice website, 2006–7. Available at http://www.genderjustice.org.za/publication/sonke-annual-report-2006-2007 (see pages 17–24, quote at p. 24).

24. Komives and Wagner 2009, xviii.

25. Sam Nhlengethwa, an established South African artist represented by the Goodman Gallery, is a role model to many emerging black artists.

26. After the fire, in 2004, Brandeis University intern Darnisa Amante conducted an interview with Thabang in which he describes, in his own words, the sense of loss that he felt at the time. This interview and 30 others by Brandeis University interns are available in the Kim Berman personal archive housed in in the Visual Art Department at UJ.

27. Ganz 2013.

28. Nathan 2009. "Habits of mind" is a unifying framework. The term was first coined by John Dewey (1859–1952) in the early 20th century, and the concept was subsequently popularized in progressive American schools.

29. Munyaka and Motlhabi 2009: 71–72.

30. This is Margaret Mead's most cited quotation in varied ways. According to her biographer, when and where she said those words is unknown (Bowman-Kruhm 2003: 142).

31. Macedo 2003: 26.

32. Freire (1970) 2003: 88.

33. Statistics vary, and most are dated. See, e.g., United Nations Statistics on HIV infection: http://www.globalhealth.org/hiv_AIDS/, http://www.avert.org/statistics.htm, and http://www.unicef.org/southafrica/hiv_AIDS_729.html

34. According to the national statistics service of South Africa, Statistics South Africa, rape victims in the country were more likely to be young women aged between 16 and 25 (http://www.statssa.gov.za/).

35. Lorde 1984: 38.

36. The Names Project was established in 1987 and displayed the AIDS Memorial Quilt on the National Mall in Washington. The quilt had 40,000 panels containing 70,000 names memorializing people who died from AIDS. The quilt is exhibited annually on World AIDS Day (December 1) and remains a poignant memorial and symbol around the world. This annual event inspired the model adopted by Paper Prayers (see http://AIDSquilt.org).

37. Rhoad 2006.

38. South African resistance art, or protest art, spans the period of the liberation struggle from the 1960s to the 1990s and refers to works by artists resisting the repressive Apartheid government.

39. For some works whose authors address the issue of arts and AIDS in South Africa, see Allara and Martin 2003; Schmahmann 2007; Arnold and Schmahmann 2005.

40. See, e.g., http://www.avert.org/hiv-AIDS-south-africa.htm

41. Avert—the HIV and AIDS Information and Resources website—documents 316,559 HIV- and AIDS-related deaths in South Africa in 1997 and 607,184 in 2006. Increasing mortality rates were recorded in young adults, and almost one in three women between the ages of 25 and 29 and one-quarter of men between the ages of 30 and 34 were living with HIV. These statistics reflect the period of Thabo Mbeki's AIDS policies (1999–2008) that did not support access to antiretroviral treatments.

42. DACST separated into two distinct ministries in 2001: the Department of Science and Technology (DST) and the Department of Arts and Culture (DAC). Steven Sack instigated this project in his capacity as curator at JAG and then was appointed as a director in the DACST in 1998.

43. See the APS website (http://www.artistproofstudio.co.za/ikageng).

44. Lorde 1984: 38.

45. Four of the original five groups that were set up (in Winterveld, Tandanani, Bosele, and Kopenang) were involved in their subsequent establishment as Phumani Paper groups, and some were still functional 15 years after their establishment. This is discussed in chapter 3.

46. During the apartheid era, many victims of forced removals were dumped in Winterveld. Poverty remains an ongoing problem in this area, where initiating development projects has been complex. There is no history of cooperative working and no cohesion in the community, as people are from a variety of ethnic origins. The Sisters of Mercy set up an Adult Education Center in the late 1980s. The former Technikon Witwatersrand initiated an outreach project with

the Sisters of Mercy in 1996, through an existing contact, Sister Sheila Flynn, who was a fourth-year fine arts student at the time. Teacher training and art and craft workshops for adult learners were initiated. A grant was then awarded from Metropolitan Life to set up a papermaking project to create income opportunities for 15 women in the center. Paper Prayers used the opportunity to work with the Mapula embroidery group, based in the same region, to participate in the Paper Prayers campaign.

47. Carol Hofmeyr was the coordinator of the Paper Prayers campaign in 1998–99; see the Keiskamma Trust website (http://www.keiskamma.org).

48. Ikageng is an outreach project of APS. Visit http://www.artistproofstudio.co.za/ikageng for more information.

49. This is a common practice of migrant workers from the villages in South Africa that results from past apartheid policies.

50. Interview with an anonymous stakeholder, 2008. This stakeholder is one of the art teachers who participated in a Paper Prayers workshop. All stakeholder questionnaires are filed in the Cultural Action for Change section, Kim Berman personal archive housed in in the Visual Art Department at UJ.

51. The Siyazama Project, "striving to make a positive difference," is a collaborative intervention using communication and design education to transfer HIV and AIDS awareness to rural women through workshops (see http://www.siyazamaproject.dut.ac.za).

52. See the Art for Humanities website (http://www.afh.org.za/) and the description of the Break the Silence project at http://www.afh.org.za/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=108&Itemid=69

53. Ström 2005: 2.

54. See https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pubmed/10894677

55. Van der Vliet 2004: 61.

56. Cameron, an internationally respected human rights lawyer and judge who was actively involved in AIDS policy issues in the 1990s, was diagnosed as HIV positive in 1986. It took him almost 12 years to publicly disclose his status. His courageous account of the agony of living in silence and shame provides a cautionary note to those who glibly claim that it is the responsibility of everyone to test for HIV and disclose their status.

57. Cameron 2005: 215.

58. Ström 2005.

59. Van der Vliet 2004: 68.

60. Senzo Shabangu, third-year APS intern, interview by Shannin Antonopoulo in 2008. Stakeholder interviews are filed in the Reclaiming Lives section, Kim Berman personal archive housed in in the Visual Art Department at UJ.

61. Sasol was the company that was awarding one of the biggest art prizes in South Africa at the time.

62. Reclaiming Lives manifested in a portfolio of 100 etchings by 97 artists in two editions. Printed by Molefe Thwala, Legohlonolo Mashaba, and Motsamai Thabane, the interviews and photographs of the artists were compiled and transcribed, respectively, by UJ students Johannes Nyokong and Kgomotso Maloka. The

binding, design, and layout were by Bronwyn Marshall. The portfolio was printed in 2006 at Artist Proof Studio, on handmade sisal and cotton paper from the Phumani Paper Archive Mill, University of Johannesburg.

63. This popular practice of creating a drumming circle for team building is adapted from a West African tradition, in which players of talking drums sent messages by drumming the recipient's name followed by the sender's name and the message.

64. The statistics have changed from 10 percent in 2006 to 80 percent in 2013, since the global response and political commitment to HIV testing and treatment from the government and UNAIDS.

65. Interview of an anonymous artist by Nchabaleng 2006.

66. Nchabaleng 2006.

67. The texts from the artists' handmade book are also filed in the Reclaiming Lives section, Kim Berman personal archive housed in in the Visual Art Department at UJ.

68. Sidibé 2015.

69. For Mark Heywood's full address, see http://podcasts.ox.ac.uk/hiv-and-aids-special-lecture-oxford-aids-research-day-2012. See also Heywood quoted in Cullinan 2013 (http://www.health-e.org.za/2013/12/10/far-end-aids).

70. Another area of danger that Heywood highlights is a violation of human rights in KwaZulu-Natal, where traditional leaders are conducting the campaign for medical male circumcision because it has been sanctioned and ordered by the community's king, yet there is no notion of proper consent. There are reports that young men and boys are being herded into circumcision camps and that individuals are not given a choice regarding this. He also warns us about dangerous regression in AIDS activism as donors are turning their backs on HIV and funding of activist organizations, "thereby strangling the civil society response." He calls for citizen mobilization: "If expanded access to ARVs is not accompanied by an improved quality of care, ultimately the object of access, life and dignity, will be defeated" (ibid.).

71. Ellison 2008 (cited from 2002 unpublished version).

Chapter 3

1. The MAPPP-SETA final draft document *The Arts and Culture Sub-sector Skills Update (2005/2006)* provides an overview of the arts and culture sector, and describes it as having "chronic skills shortages" and "low annual turnover" and as characterized by "a growth trap and struggle for survival" (2005: 6, 7), and reports on the scarce skills in the industry. See also Gerard Hagg's 2004 research report. In a paper entitled "Ends of the Rainbow," David Bunn (2008: 7) describes the "sorry state of funding affairs."

2. Sen 1999b: 203–4.

3. Complexity concepts that are used throughout the book include nonlinearity, emergence, dynamic systems, adaption, uncertainty, and coevolutionary processes (see Patton 2011: 7).

4. The unemployment rate in South Africa has been estimated as 36 to 42 percent since the year 2000, using the broad definition of some global poverty research (http://www.gprg.org/themes/t2-inc-ineq-poor/unem/unem-pov.htm). However, according to the narrow definition of Statistics South Africa, which applies a job-search test, approximately 22–25 percent of adults in 2014 who wanted work and actively looked for it were unemployed, and the expanded rate is 35 percent and up to 40 percent among black South Africans (http://www.statssa.gov.za/presentation/Stats%20SA%20presentation%20on%20skills%20and%20unemployment_16%20September.pdf).

5. A "shoot to kill" injunction was issued by Deputy Security Minister Susan Shabangu in 2008 in response to police crime statistics of more than 20,000 people who are murdered each year. The term *shoot to kill* has been used to refer to the brutal police massacre, against regulations, of 34 striking Lonmin mine workers at Marikana in 2012.

6. Habib 2013: 109.

7. The Technikon Witwatersrand merged with the former conservative Rand Afrikaans University in 2005, as part of the Mbeki government's transformation efforts to establish broader-based comprehensive and accessible universities.

8. Deery and Takahashi 1999: 21.

9. Perolda and Omar 1997: 88.

10. In August 2002, DACST split into two separate ministries, the Department of Science and Technology (DST, under which Phumani Paper was situated) and the Department of Arts and Culture (DAC).

11. Before allocating funds for a large national program, the government required a "pilot project" to demonstrate the viability of poverty alleviation through papermaking.

12. This number was reduced to 15 producer units by January 2008, due to the closure of 5 groups between 2005 and 2009.

13. The findings were reported at a two-day conference held at UJ. Subsequently, the Ford Foundation funded a two-year grant for a targeted intervention for HIV/AIDS support and product development from 2006 to 2008. A further extensive impact assessment was completed in May 2008, for the AIDS Action program funded by the Ford Foundation. This multiyear PAR program (Cultural Action for Change) is discussed in detail in chapter 5.

14. MAPPP-SETA (the Media Advertising Print and Paper Sectorial Education and Training Authority) administered and accredited the arts and culture learnerships. It was split in 2011, and the arts and crafts subsector was moved to the Culture, Sports, Tourism, and Hospitality Sector Education and Training Authority (CsthSETA).

15. The NQF is the South African National Qualification Framework. NQF2 is equivalent to the 10th-grade level and could be offered to members without matriculation, while NQF4 designates further education and training equivalent to a trade certificate at the 12th-grade level.

16. Berman and Marshall 2008.

17. The arts minister at the time, Pallo Jordan, announced in his budget speech

for 2006–7, on 2 June 2006, "Millions of rands are to be allocated for job creation in arts and culture sectors such as visual arts (R4-million) [and] crafts (R10-million). However, a total of R9-million will be invested in creating jobs in archival papermaking" (van Bosch 2006: 2).

18. Berman et al. 2012.

19. Flower Valley Trust set up a papermaking project on an indigenous flower farm in 2001. Working for Water had an invasive vegetation clearing program and contracted Phumani Paper to assist the group in making paper from the invasive Port Jackson willow plant.

20. The group's numbers dropped to nine members in 2006.

21. The Siyazama papermaking project in Khayelitsha comprised eight disabled members who received a monthly government grant and was therefore more sustainable.

22. Appadurai 2004: 82.

23. Pieterse 2004: 342–43.

24. Helmore and Singh 2001: 89.

25. Helmore and Singh 2001: 71.

26. Habib and Maharaj 2008: 38.

27. Seleoane 2008: 154.

28. Department of Arts, Culture, Science, and Technology 1996: 2.

29. Sen 1999a.

30. Managed by Nkosinathi Ndladla and Dumisani Dlamini, the mill produces specialist archival production papers for printmaking and offers unique collaboration opportunities to artists in paper-based artworks.

31. The African Renaissance project, established by former president Thabo Mbeki, formed a partnership with the South African National Archives to train Malians in the painstaking art of restoring old manuscripts, with the vision that South African archival paper could be used. When Zuma took office, the project was dumped.

32. Marshall 2003.

33. DAC website: http://www.dac.gov.za/speeches/minister/Speech2June06.htm

34. A number of officials were suspended when some 25 million rand went missing from the coffers of the DAC during the following year.

35. The new DAC Investing in Culture and Heritage Division had a mandate to promote heritage preservation and conservation projects, and archival papermaking was a good fit.

36. Marshall and Berman 2008: 7.

37. The DAC stated on its website, "The projects will be located in all nine provinces with an even geographical spread across the municipal districts in each province" (http://www.dac.gov.za/projects/investing_culture.htm).

38. Linds 2006: 119.

39. Capra 1996: 27.

40. Capra 1996: 47.

41. Hammond 1996–98. The concept of appreciative inquiry was developed by

David Cooperrider and Suresh Srivastva in the 1980s. The approach is based on the premises that "organizations change in the direction in which they inquire" and that inquiry "enhances a system's capacity for collaboration and change" (http://www.new-paradigm.co.uk/Appreciative.htm).

42. Taylor 2003: 24.

43. Frank Barrett (2000: 228–44) presents improvisational jazz as a concrete example of a self-organizing process.

44. Quoted in du Toit 2007.

45. The series of interviews exploring aspects of resilience and leadership among the women of Phumani Paper groups was conducted as a joint project of the University of Michigan and the University of Johannesburg in July 2008. It has since been developed into a book, *Women on Purpose: The Resilience and Creativity of the Founding Women of Phumani Paper* (Berman et al. 2012).

46. The documentary film *A Ripple in the Water: Healing through Art* (2007), directed by Eileen Foti and Patty Piroh and narrated by Charlene Hunter Gault, was dedicated to the Amogalang group because of the inspiration its members had on the US film crew (see http://www.rippleinthewater.com/about/index.html).

47. The grant was awarded by Eileen Foti, the director of the documentary film *A Ripple in the Water*.

48. Berman et al. 2012: 113.

49. Twenty-six of the founding women of Phumani Paper share their stories of determination and resilience in *Women on Purpose*.

50. Jacobeth Lepedi, interview by Jane Hassinger, in Berman et al. 2012: 66–67.

51. LeBaron and Cohen 2013.

52. Pieterse 2004: 348.

53. Kaplan 2000: 33.

54. Roselina Molefe, interview by Jane Hassinger, translation by S. Maphangwa, July 2008.

55. Interviews with Grace Sicwebo and the author, April 2006, and *Women on Purpose* interview with Jane Hassinger and Shonisani Maphangwa, July 2008.

Chapter 4

1. Harry Boyte talks about civic agency, which adds a collective dimension that is linked to the well-being of a place and the civic life of a community. According to Boyte, civic agency efforts develop pedagogies and practices that are about empowerment of young people as an end in itself (Boyte 2013: 4–8).

2. South Africa's Centre for Higher Education Transformation revealed in a 2009 publication that 2.7 million local young people aged 18 to 24 were not in employment, education, or training in 2007. By 2011, this figure had grown to 3.2 million (about 40 percent of the cohort), more than three times the number of young people in South African public and private universities (about 950,000 students). The numbers of unemployed youth not in education or training continue to grow, and there is nothing available to address the present problem, according to John Butler Adams (http://dx.doi.org/10.1590/sajs.2013/a0021).

3. At the time of this chapter's writing, the battles with students in some universities threatened to close down the completion of the academic program for 2016.

4. Imagining America (IA) is a presidents' consortium of 70 colleges and universities, based at the University of Michigan. Its mission is to strengthen the public role and democratic purposes of the humanities, arts, and design. IA supports publicly engaged academic and creative work in the cultural disciplines. It works to advance the structural changes in higher education that such work requires. IA's major task is to constitute public scholarship as an important and legitimate enterprise.

5. Boyte coordinated a coalition of several hundred colleges and universities, called the American Commonwealth Partnership, with the aim of strengthening higher education as a public good.

6. Visiting papermaking collaborators over the period of approximately 18 years included Robbin Silverberg (Dobbin Mill), Eileen Foti, Gail Deery, Anne McKeown (Rutgers University), Susan Gosin (Dieu Donné), and Michelle Samour (Boston School of the Museum of Fine Arts).

7. The self-taught engineer and designer was Antonio Moreno. The patent was registered and awarded.

8. Durant Sihlali died in 2006, and the UJ Papermaking Research and Development Unit purchased his papermaking equipment to prevent it from being sold for scrap metal.

9. The intended proposal for 10,000 dolls was not realized because of unrealistic time frames and an excessively rainy season that slowed the drying time.

10. The case study of David Tshabalala is written up in K. Berman 2008.

11. This case study is written up in Berman and Allen 2012.

12. The Mutale municipality, in the Vhembe district of Limpopo Province, has a total population of about 100,000 people and comprises 13 wards. HaMakuya is a small area in the Mutale municipality, comprising less than 6,000 people. See http://www.mutale.gov.za

13. The trust was originally established in 2007, with the support of Dr. David Bunn (former head of Wits School for the Arts) and Dr. Lara Allen, as a research facility for Wits University, through a grant from the National Lottery Distribution Fund.

14. In their article "Democratic Renovations and Affective Political Imaginaries," Rike Sitas and Edgar Pieterse offer additional examples of how affective practices and processes in public space create platforms for "democratic enrolment" (Sitas and Pieterse 2013: 331).

15. About 7 or 8 out of 10 fourth-year students chose the elective community field trip to HaMakuya over the four years of the program, while other students chose an art industry elective, such as gallery administration.

Chapter 5

1. Tomaselli 2015: 62.

2. Lederach 2005.

3. Patton 2011: 5.
4. Patton 2011: 2–5.
5. Patton 2011: 8.
6. Nyden 2014: 109.
7. Patton 2011: 254.
8. Appadurai 2004: 60–62.
9. References to statistics can be found on the websites of the AIDS Law Project (http://www.aidslawproject.org) and the Treatment Action Campaign (http://www.tac.org.za). These statistics have been significantly reduced since 2011, when a subsequent minister of health, Aaron Motsoaledi, facilitated wide access to testing and antiretroviral treatment in South Africa.
10. Gould 2007: 5.
11. Appadurai 2004: 361.
12. Sen 1999a.
13. Cilliers 1998: 32.
14. Schnetz 2004: 232. More specific texts linking the value of art therapy to social change include Hayley Berman's 2012 PhD thesis from the University of West England.
15. Schnetz 2004: 233.
16. Stakeholder interview, 2007. Available in Kim Berman personal archive in the Visual Art Department, UJ.
17. The scholars participating were Prof. Julie Ellison, director of Imagining America, who inspired me with her writings on public scholarship and community engagement; Dr. Mark Creekmore, a social scientist and social worker, who contributed his expertise in assessing the impact of community development programs; Dr. Jane Hassinger (University of Michigan), a clinical psychologist and feminist scholar; and Prof. Pamela Allara, my PhD co-advisor from Brandeis University.
18. More detailed information on the arts-based interventions can be found in Berman et al. 2012: 40–60.
19. Brinton Lykes conducted a PhotoVoice project with Mayan women in Guatemala in 1992 and first presented it at a South African conference on healing and the creative arts at Museum Africa in 2000. She spoke of the women's use of PhotoVoice to bear witness to atrocities and violent repression experienced during Guatemala's 36-year war. See K. Berman 2004.
20. Sen 1999a: 288.
21. Sen 1999a: 336.
22. Kgomotso Oodira, October 2007, in Berman et al. 2012: 51, 55.
23. See also Mitchell et al.'s *Putting People into the Picture* (2007).
24. Wang and Burris 1997.
25. Wang 1999.
26. R. Hlasane 2010. Hlasane is currently a lecturer in arts education at Wits School for the Arts and is making an important contribution to the current debate of African youth culture through his activism and writing. See R. Hlasane 2013 and http://www.hsf.org.za/resource-centre/focus/focus-68/ . . . %20Hlasane.pdf/
27. Visual artists and cultural activists Stephen Hobbs and Marcus Neustetter,

from the Trinity Session (see http://www.onair.co.za/), influenced this visual approach through their innovative applications and workshops for the trainers.

28. Rosario Jackson 2002: 4.

29. Du Toit 2007: 7.

30. Interview by research assistant, 2006, available in Kim Berman personal archive in the Visual Art Department, UJ.

31. The team consisted of an HIV trainer, two students from the University of Michigan, one UJ student, two artist facilitators from Artist Proof Studio, an academic from Brandeis University, the intervention coordinator, and a Phumani Paper manager.

32. Dr. Mark Creekmore, a visiting researcher from the University of Michigan, analyzed the themes using a coding tool and compiled a report that is available in Kim Berman personal archive housed in the Visual Art Department at UJ.

33. Du Toit 2007.

34. Berman et al. 2012: 89.

35. Berman et al. 2012: 89.

36. See Berman et al. 2012: 85.

37. Matshidiso Sepagela, interview in Berman et al. 2012: 83.

38. Bart Cox, the HIV trainer, left training materials on-site at the request of the group (Kim Berman personal archives, Visual Art Department, UJ).

39. Kutloano members quoted in du Toit 2007.

40. Kutloano members, interview by the author, translated by Rangoato Hlasane, April 2007.

41. Marcus Neustetter, a South African artist from the Trinity Session, uses mapping as part of his interactive visual practice (see http://www.onair.co.za/). Neustetter was invited to train the intervention team on the practice of using mapping to organize groups and projects.

42. The term *tshupatsela* (navigator), used by Mamoeti Mano in her description of the experience of mapping, was adopted by the research team for the subsequent visual mapping interventions.

43. Interview of Mano, April 2008. More information and examples of visual maps made by project members can be found in Berman et al. 2012: 56–59.

44. Berman et al. 2012.

45. Interviews were conducted by me, Hassinger, and her PhD student Leah James, from the University of Michigan. Portraits of the women were taken by New York–based photographer Debbie Rasiel, and the translation and transcription was done by my UJ research assistants Keboni Ramasimong and Shonisani Maphangwa. The interviews were transcribed and are housed in the Kim Berman personal archives in the Visual Art Department at UJ. They all have in common the women's belief in independence and the value and pride of work as an overriding reason for their resilience. Extracts are included in Berman et al. 2012.

46. Sen 1999b: 202.

47. While several male group members in some of the sites were also included in the training, women were numerically dominant.

48. Du Toit 2007.

49. Mitchell 2006: 240.

50. Extracts from narratives of 2007 participants. The narratives are filed in the Cultural Action for Change section of the Kim Berman personal archive housed in in the Visual Art Department at UJ.

51. Twanano workbook, 2006:8. Available in the Kim Berman personal archive housed in in the Visual Art Department at UJ.

52. These two groups (along with KZN Papermaking & Craft Packaging and Imboni Paper Craft) participated in the pilot phase of PhotoVoice, done before the baseline survey was conducted, which accounts for why they are the only two groups that had engaged with the subject of HIV/AIDS.

53. Stakeholder summary report in du Toit 2008a.

54. Thirty-four stakeholder interviews were conducted, and the texts of the interviews are included in the Kim Berman personal archives in the Visual Art Department at UJ. The summary recording extracts are cited in the midterm and final reports (du Toit 2007, 2008c) as follows: "student/graduate beneficiaries" are those stakeholders who benefited from the programs in terms of receiving employment or a chance to complete a qualification (17 interviews); "managers/coordinators" are those involved with the programs in a managerial capacity (8 interviews); "other institutions" include both partners who are from other organizations/institutions involved with implementation at the program level, such as Men as Partners and independent consultants (5 interviews), and partners involved at an academic level, via an academic institution (4 interviews).

55. Berman et al. 2012.

56. The 2007 paper was written by Helen Gould based on research prepared by Marsh and Judy El Bushra for the international research project HIV/AIDS: The Creative Challenge (http/ www.healthlink.org.uk).

57. Gould 2007: 2.

58. Gould and Marsh 2004; Gould 2007: 3.

59. Du Toit 2007: 5–6.

60. UCLA Center for Health Policy Research 2007. Asset mapping has become a popular strategy used in community-based research that consolidates this claim. On participatory community asset mapping, see http://www.abcdinstitute.org/docs/Diane%20Dorfman-Mapping-Community-Assets-WorkBook(1)-1.pdf and http://healthpolicy.ucla.edu/programs/health-data/trainings/Documents/tw_cba20.pdf

61. L. du Toit, e-mail interview with the author, 25 January 2008 (du Toit's emphasis).

62. Naude Malan's course outline for the development studies honors module Economic Participation and Democracy 2008-; later called Design for Development from 2010.

63. Zander 2000: 158.

64. Appadurai 2004: 62.

65. Appadurai 2004: 67.

Conclusion

1. Sitas and Pieterse 2013: 327.
2. American Psychological Association 2015.
3. Pieterse 2004: 351–52.
4. Pieterse 2004: 352.
5. Lederach 2005.
6. Pieterse 2004: 351–52.
7. Kentridge 2014: 73.
8. Appadurai 2008.
9. Kaplan 2000: 33.
10. Appadurai 2004: 84.
11. Ganz 2009.
12. Public Service Commission, October 2005.
13. Ramphele 2008: 296.
14. Ramphele 2008: 311.
15. Patton 2011.
16. Anneke and Swilling 2004:293.
17. Anneke and Swilling 2004: 302.

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Index

Note: Page numbers in italics indicate a reference to a table or figure.