Nicola Lauré al-Samarai / Fouad Asfour / Judith Reker / Rangoato Hlasane / Malose Malahlela

Creating Spaces. Non-Formal Art/s
Education and Vocational Training for
Artists in Africa between Cultural Policies
and Cultural Funding

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Bibliographic information published by the German National Library:

The German National Library lists this publication in the National Bibliography; detailed bibliographic data are available on the Internet at http://dnb.dnb.de .

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Imprint:

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NICOLA LAURE AL-SAMARAI CREATING SPACES NON-FORMAL ART/S EDUCATION AND VOCATIONAL TRAINING FOR ARTISTS IN AFRICA BETWEEN CUL-TURAL POLICIES AND CULTURAL **FUNDING**

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CREATING SPACES
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ART/S EDUCATION
AND VOCATIONAL
TRAINING FOR
ARTISTS IN AFRICA
BETWEEN CULTURAL POLICIES
AND CULTURAL
FUNDING

Table of Contents

006 Preface

012

Acknowledgments

016

Authors' Note

020

Introduction

028

Chapter 1

Discursive Locating
Framing the Field of Art/s
Education and Vocational
Artistic Training and
Professionalization

088

Chapter 2
Prior to Entry
A Critical Attunement

to Field Research

118

Chapter 3

Fragmentary Depictions
Shaping the Field of
Non-Formal Artistic
Education/Training and
Professionalization

206

Chapter 4

Formative Effects

Non-Formal Vocational Artistic Training and

Professionalization within the Context of Western

Cultural Funding

228

Chapter 5

Bigger than the Tick Box
Defining Interdisciplinary
Art/s Education to
Funders in South Africa
by Rangoato Hlasane
and Malose Malahlela
Keleketla! Library

266

Chapter 6

The Challenges
of Interstitiality
Reconsidering Cultural
and Funding Policies for

Cultural Field

the Non-Formal Artistic/

288

Bibliography

300

Contact Zones Nairobi

302

Imprint

We need institutions whose primary function is to create spaces for the development of capabilities; capabilities in the sense of people's ability to rely on their own strength and their own resources, intellectual as well as—if possible—financial.

Achille Mbembe¹

Preface

There are so many questions: What kinds of non-formal art/s education programs are on offer in Africa? What exactly is the specific focus of this study, and why is its examination of such great importance to the Goethe-Institut's work in Africa? Or is this publication just another example of a study created in a "Western" academic analytic workshop whose readership comprises lecturers and students in the field of anthropology and African studies, perhaps even Western European educational theorists? While this may indeed be true, the study is also—indeed primarily—rooted in the need to develop a systematic approach towards determining creative and artistic processes on the African continent and defining existing local structures to support and encourage them.

This interest was motivated above all by the active commitment of a number of centers and initiatives involved in the contemporary arts—particularly by their approaches to cultural education and vocational training. At the same time, however, we sought to develop a critical examination of our own position as an internationally active funding institution operating within a cultural landscape that is dependent on, or at least influenced by, Western support in many of the countries at issue.

With education forming a key focus for the Goethe-Institut, in addition to organizing further training for teachers of German as a foreign language, the Institut is becoming increasingly active in art/s education. The Goethe-Instituts in Africa have been committed to this issue ever since the Aktion Afrika campaign initiated by the then German foreign minister Frank-Walter Steinmeier in 2008 made it possible for us to enter into structural, large-scale, and sustainable projects—some of them at an intercontinental level—in conjunction with local partners, with the aim of strengthening the cultural sector. Actors in Africa and Europe, according to a first hypothesis, could join forces to learn a great deal about art/s education. A second hypothesis posited that in many African countries, innovative forms of art/s education actually tend to be located in the non-formal sector, for

a third of the population on the African continent have no access to schooling, much less university education.

The Goethe-Institut has sought groundbreaking approaches situated beyond established Western educational structures, following the twin aims of reflecting upon its own educational work and creating a whole new basis for this work in terms of local contexts. It has endeavored, therefore, to come up with new ideas and techniques that could allow specific projects to be implemented in conjunction with local partners. In order to determine the Institut's current positioning it was crucial to first commission a study that would examine the existing "non-formal" structures in vocational artistic training, offer a critical analysis of any opportunities for taking action, and highlight potential for innovation.

Our actions in this respect, however, are not solely motivated by pure altruism. The concept was devised with the clear aim of participating in future developments, and in light of the ever-faster pace of globalization, forming a part of whatever trends are also—indeed, even particularly—relevant for Germany, Europe, or the rest of the so-called Western world.

This study was not intended to be a "classical" mapping of non-formal vocational training structures in art/s education in Africa, something that would in any case not be possible. Instead, by being based on specific representative case studies, it is intended to tackle the not-so-simple task of setting out the interests, visions, and approaches found within the contexts in which local actors operate. And it is here that the Western-dominated funding landscape plays a significant role, for, in attempting to achieve its own developmental policy goals, it has exerted considerable influence on various art scenes with its often one-sided focus on the economic aspects of creative industries and applied arts.

The case studies from four different countries presented in this work are typical of the sheer variety of innovative strategies for implementing artistic processes and education/ training. Equally, they show us what is—and what would be—required in order to establish sustainable cooperative programs between Western institutions and local partners. A further key goal of the study was to make existing local knowledge both visible and available—not merely within the framework of international cooperation, but for the formal sector in particular—by cooperating with art academies and, if appropriate, by reforming curricula through the introduction of new formats and methods.

This study was never intended as an all-embracing examination of the above areas. It does, however, shed light on the important field of non-formal art/s education while providing an examination of the concepts that would enable the stabilization and expansion of this sector—in Africa and beyond. The 2012 conference "Condition Report: Symposium on Building Art Institutions in Africa," held at Raw Material Company in Dakar and sponsored among others by the Goethe-Institut, analyzed the current state of centers for the visual arts in Africa, and the resulting publication provides an excellent complement to this study.2 We hope that translating these two works into English and French will enable them to reach their target audiences on the African continent and at the same time encourage "Western" funding organizations and partners to critically examine—or allow for the critical examination of—their funding criteria.

This study is just one component of the Goethe-Institut's focus on culture and development, specifically examining the non-formal sector of art/s education in the sub-Saharan African region. It forms the basis of what we hope will prove to be productive and concerted collaboration with our partners in various countries, and it will undoubtedly lead to fresh and innovative methods and practices that will in turn generate new theories.

It is our great fortune that the Institute for Art Education at the Zurich University of the Arts under the direction of Carmen Mörsch pursues similar research interests. Consequently, the results of this study will be integrated into the international research project "Another Roadmap for Arts Education and Arts Education Histories Workshop," which is undertaking a critical examination of UNESCO's guidelines on art/s education. We would therefore like to take this opportunity to thank members of the project team who were commissioned by the Goethe-Institut South Africa to produce the study, first and foremost the author Nicola Lauré al-Samarai, in cooperation with Fouad Asfour, Judith Reker, and the guest authors Rangoato Hlasane and Malose Malahlela.

Special thanks also goes to all of those individuals and organizations who allowed the research team to investigate their structures, methods, and visions, particularly the staff at Studios Kabako (Kisangani, DR Congo), Netsa Art Village (Addis Ababa, Ethiopia), École des Sables (Toubab Dialaw, Senegal), Market Photo Workshop (Johannesburg, South Africa), and Keleketla! Library (Johannesburg, South Africa).

Dr. Katharina von Ruckteschell-Katte and Henrike Grohs

<u>Acknowledgments</u>

The present study is the result of a research process spanning approximately two years. It owes its existence to the generous support of numerous individuals, organizations, and institutions.

We owe the greatest debt of gratitude to the organizations that allowed us to observe their everyday activities during our fieldwork and who generously gave their time for conversations and interviews. Without their cooperation, their expert knowledge, and, of course, their organizational efforts, this project could not have been realized.

Market Photo Workshop (Johannesburg, South Africa)

Special thanks to John Fleet-wood, Theresa Collins, Bandile Gumbi, Jacklynne Hobbs, Tebogo Kekana, Claire Rousell, Molemo Moiloa, and Thenjiwe Nkosi, as well as to all the participants of the Advanced Course 2011–12.

École des Sables (Toubab Dialaw, Senegal)

Special thanks to Germaine
Acogny, Helmut Vogt, Patrick
Acogny, Karine Milhorat, Didier
Delgado, Ndaye Seck, Virginie
Sagna, Adama Ndiaye; to Nita
Liem and Bart Deuss of Don't
Hit Mama; to Melissa Flerangile
and Archie Burnett (visiting
artists); to the Ensemble
Jant-Bi; and to all the partici-

pants of the *War and Peace* audition workshop.

Studios Kabako (Kisangani, DR Congo)

Special thanks to Faustin
Linyekula, Virginie Dupray, Jean
Louis Mwandika, Eddy Mbalanga Ebuda, Papy Ebotani, and
Axel Ali Amboko; to Boyzie
Cekwana (visiting artist); and
to all the participants of the
Regional Workshop.

Netsa Art Village (Addis Ababa, Ethiopia)

Special thanks to Mihret Kebede, Henok Getachew, Solomon Tsegaye, Leikun Nahusenay, Mulugeta Kassa, Tamrat Gezaheghe, Helen Zeru, Daniel Alemayehu, and Tesfahun Kibru.

Much credit is due to Rangoato Hlasane and Malose Malahlela of Keleketla! Library (Johannesburg, South Africa) for their willingness to participate in this study as guest authors, for the open, productive exchange of ideas, and for the inspiring nature of the joint work process.

For their support during the preliminary work that was conducted between August 2011 and February 2012, we would like to extend thanks to Konjit Seyoum of Abro Ethiopia (Ethiopia), Igo Lassana Diarra of Balanise (Mali), Malcolm Christian of the Caversham Centre (South Africa), Princesse

Acknowledgments

Marilyn Douala Bell of Doual'art (Cameroon), Hilda Twongyeirwe of Femrite (Uganda), Gaston Kabore of Imagine (Burkina Faso), Zenzele Chulu of Insaka Workshop (Zambia), Carole Karemera of Ishyo Arts Center (Rwanda), Danda Jarolimek of Kuona Trust (Kenya), Claire Rousell of Market Photo Workshop (South Africa), Henok Getachew of Netsa Art Village (Ethiopia), Odile Tevie of Nubuke Foundation (Ghana), Krishna Luchoomun of pARTage (Mauritius), Patrick Mudekereza of Picha ASBL (DR Congo), Virginie Dupray of Studios Kabako (DR Congo), Reginald Bakwena of Thapong Visual Arts Centre (Botswana), and Kate Tarratt Cross of Thupelo Workshops (South Africa).

For sending information and providing contacts, we are grateful to the Goethe-Instituts in South Africa, Ethiopia, Senegal, and Angola, as well as to the Goethe-Zentrum in Madagascar, especially Katharina von Ruckteschell-Katte and Henrike Grohs, Folco Naether and Tenagne Tadesse, Uwe Rieken, Christiane Schulte, and Eckehart Olszowski.

Recognition is also due to Khalid Abdullahi, Berhanu Ashagrie, Ntone Edjabe, Jack Gouveia, Khwezi Gule, Bandile Gumbi, Xolelwa Kashe-Katiya, Michel Noureddine Kassa, Donald Kuira Maingi, Senam Okudzeto, and Lye M. Yoka for giving support and advice and for sharing their expertise.

The Goethe-Institut Johannesburg, which commissioned and funded the present study, thoroughly deserves our thanks for its trust and cooperation. We are particularly obliged to Katharina von Ruckteschell-Katte and Henrike Grohs, who made themselves available as interview partners and shared their experiences and thoughts.

Finally, we thank the Institute for Art Education at Zurich University of the Arts, which offered us the best possible support for realizing the study in the form of their internal and external colleagues Anne Gruber, Miriam Landkammer, Nora Landkammer, Magdalena Roß, and Sascha Willenbacher. Our special thanks go to Carmen Mörsch, whose farsighted critiques were invaluable throughout the entire duration of this research project.

Authors' Note

In the process of researching and writing up this study, the team has made a number of terminological decisions that apply specifically within the context of these investigations.

To reflect on the experimental and ambiguous element of interstitiality within non-formal contexts, we will allow it to remain visible by means of multilingual. variable usage and by the orthography chosen for certain terms. For example, the term "art education" is commonly used for the training of artists, while "arts education" refers more specifically to the formal and non-formal general cultural education of children and adults. Because of the complex overlap between the different fields of work in the contexts we studied, it would seem appropriate to combine these terms by writing "art/s education" throughout the study. To allow the intertwined simultaneity of "art/s education" and the training of artists—where both teachers and students are artists—to remain discernible, we have adopted "art/ists' education" as our chosen spelling. By analogy, we speak of "art/s education and training," which aims to show that, while the training activities of the surveyed organizations cannot be separated from art/s

education, there are still some

specific differences between the

two. It follows that unambiguously written terms such as "vocational artistic training" refer to specific aspects of the overall process.

Another terminology decision made for this study is to avoid the regional designation "sub-Saharan Africa." Although this term tends to be used with a superficially geographical connotation, it most frequently serves as a synonym for "Black Africa" and therefore triggers a chain of associations that, while less evident linguistically, is nevertheless comparably colonial in character. Like other compound terms such as "White Africa" or "Afrique-Occidentale," it signifies the linguistic expression of an arbitrary division of the continent undertaken in the

of European colonial expansion. "Sub-Saharan Africa" constructs a region whose historical and present-day cultural and social plurality is not expressed in the terminology and is thus obliterated. For this reason, we will either use the term "African contexts" or explicitly name the countries to which we refer.

Additionally, we will acknowledge the enduring presence of colonialism by means of a contrapuntal spelling of the term "post-/colonial" using a slash and hyphen in order to stress nonlinear, intersecting tempo-

ralities. In this way we hope to disrupt a purely chronological dimension of meaning that conceives colonial conditions as "completed" and, instead, highlight a dynamic processual constellation that is characterized by an engagement with

historical entanglements and the simultaneity of colonial dominance and its multipresent structural consequences and realities. As the same applies in comparable ways for the South African context, we will use an equiva-

Introduction

In the first half of 2011, the Institute for Art Education (IAE) at Zurich University of the Arts was approached by the Goethe-Institut South Africa with a commission for a large research project on non-formal vocational artistic training and professionalization in African contexts. The study aimed to provide a detailed overview of non-certified artist training facilities that would serve as a basis for developing funding recommendations.

This commission was of special interest to the IAE. Having previously cooperated with Goethe-Instituts in Latin America, it wished to compare and contrast this experience with joint projects conducted in a different geopolitical context. General questions raised by the management of the Goethe-Institut South Africa during initial talks corresponded with issues that had repeatedly come up for discussion at the IAE during international collaborative ventures: namely, what exactly it means in practice when a Western academic research institution operates on the basis of equality and the redistribution of symbolic and economic capital within historically determined power relationships in post-/colonial contexts. Here, too, funding and research institutions appeared to be grappling with similar contradictions that needed to be put to productive use rather than being ignored. The IAE's existing expertise in combining research into art mediation with post-/colonial theory—acquired in prior projects and publications mainly on the subject of art mediation within the context of the migration society—was another aspect in favor of this collaborative venture, as well as the ability firstly to perform context-specific analyses at the interface between art and education by using differentiated and well-founded criteria, and secondly to evaluate art mediation as an autonomous cultural practice.



The first step of the project took the form of a preliminary study. Conducted between August 2011 and February 2012, it served as an outline to provide orientation, frameworks, and an agenda of main points that would enable the development of a coherent research design, while also pre-

senting a well-founded selection of actors operating in the field of non-formal artistic training. From the earliest, tentative stages of our conceptual, thematic, and practical engagement with the "field," we were embarking on an extraordinarily complex and dynamic interstitial space with barely definable parameters. A research project about nonformal artistic training and professionalization cannot avoid dealing with the diffuse interfaces between art/culture/ education, and it is thus inevitably forced to grapple with the conflicting priorities of social, cultural, and educational policymaking. This is particularly true of post-/colonial contexts, where these conflicting priorities are dominated to a significant extent by economic and development policy issues and entrenched in globalized North-South constellations. As a result, they must be studied from the perspective of hierarchical dependencies that determine a crucial structural component. Localizing and delineating an interstitial field among these structural conditions therefore presented a challenge for our research at both the theoretical and the practical level.

Firstly, we had to think about approaches and leading questions that would allow "non-formality" and "artistic education/training" to be appropriately embedded. Since the multiplicity of interdependent external and internal factors precludes any isolated examination of local, regional, and transcontinental developments in the fields of art, culture, and education, framings and points of entry should ensure beneficial selective insights into their specific interactions and the concomitant field-defining effects. Differentiated theoretical approaches and discussions in African contexts served as important epistemological points of departure here, opening up a field of thought that not only offered critical examinations of universalizing concepts of "art," "culture," and "education" but also provided historical contexts for specific cultural/artistic concepts and practices, as well as important analyses of representational, cultural, and educational policies. Within a hierarchical, globalized discourse gap, these approaches and discussions are usually so marginalized that they are barely—if at all—perceived as

intellectual criticism in the West and are frequently conducted within the African continent. The deliberate engagement with and the equal epistemological inclusion of diverse related approaches, perceptions, and viewpoints into processes of knowledge production thus represent an indispensable prerequisite to accessing the issue.

Secondly, it was necessary to reflect on the practical research aspect. In order to compile the present study, we—as a Western research team with a commission from a European institution of cultural funding and exchange—had to think about what it means to be "on the spot" in various African countries. Even though access routes may be temporally and spatially restricted, they do exert a lasting formative influence—for example, in terms of our choice of actors, our selection of key subjects, our direct interactions with interviewees, and, of course, our write-up of what is generally referred to as "the findings of the study." This dominant and, within a Western research context, "classical" mono-directional impetus is aggravated considerably if, as in our preliminary work, local experts are not actively involved in the process of concept and content formulation or in the research itself, since their exclusion hampers or renders impossible any chance of creating participatory spaces of knowledge and discussion.



The numerous ambivalences with which we were confronted during the preliminary work proved to be "constructively limiting" contradictions; constructive, because they sharpened our eye for power relations and constellations, structural influences, and the strategic interests of different actors on different levels; yet limiting, because the density, the wealth of interrelationships, and the multifaceted dynamics and cultural practices in the field of non-formal art/s education/training in African contexts resist the (always reductionist) imposition of "creating order." Thus the following attempts to "locate interstitiality" are in no way intended to fix the dynamic field of non-formal art/s education/training within a specific referential framework. Rather, in view of

the severely marginalized status of this field in African and other contexts, we intend to study several unevenly correlating frames of reference and put them into relation in such a way that the "locations" and especially the "dis-locations" of the field within a complex array of structures can be identified and examined. In our view, this is a crucial prerequisite for the development of forward-looking funding criteria in the region.

The following localizations should be read as a provisional and necessarily incomplete result of a mapping, as an open and augmentable cartography. The first chapter will begin with a "discursive locating" of the field. Given its lack of discursive encoding, this attempt is not limited to the field of non-formal art/ists' education/training but also deals with the frameworks of the larger field of art/s education. Three delimiters or "waymarkers" have been set in order to exam-ine where and how such a field can be localized in African contexts, which and whose concepts, guidelines, and terminologies underpin it, and which discussions are explicable and which are not. By studying national and supranational discourses as reflected in policy papers, official communiqués, and similar documents, and by analyzing discourses from the print media (using representative examples of press reports) along with the approaches taken by academics and researchers, it is possible to identify an initial situation that, on the one hand, is marked by grave discursive disparities and, on the other, features highly divergent argumentation objectives and levels of knowledge, resulting in concrete and far-reaching real-world effects. Things "known" and, more importantly, not known about art/s education in general and non-formal art/ists' education/training in particular (including who knows it on what level) exert a considerable influence on and prove decisive for asking which knowledge is exchanged and negotiated within the context of cultural, educational, and funding policies. This, in turn, has marked consequences in real-life practice, i.e., in the specific working conditions and options open to cultural actors in the field.

This is illustrated in the chapter "Fragmentary Depictions" by the expertise and experiences of the organizations we surveyed: Market Photo Workshop (South Africa; photography), École des Sables (Senegal; dance), Studios Kabako (DR Congo; dance, performing arts), and Netsa Art Village (Ethiopia; visual arts). Here, too, three waymarkers were defined: "Funding and Financing," "Self-Positionings," and "Teaching and Learning." The purpose of these is to illuminate the interrelationships between structural conditions that, albeit applying to different countries and artistic genres, are determined by similar instabilities and imponderables, and between the respective cultural practices that, in each organization, go far beyond non-formal artists' training activities and continually—in some cases, for many years—link these activities with cultural education, artistic practice, and civic involvement. As will be shown, non-formal art/s education/ training in the context of the organizations we surveyed takes the form of both complex and specific interstitial mediation models. Although these models are based on the principles of inclusivity and participation, communality, accountability, and commitment, and always aim (with respect to their addressees) to counteract structural constraints by creating training opportunities, acquiring funding for vocationally oriented artistic education in particular—i.e., for teaching/training—is proving to be remarkably difficult.

This finding is significant, for cultural actors in most African countries face a situation whereby government support is the exception to the rule and the funding landscape is dominated by Western institutions. In the following chapter, therefore, we will focus firstly on the "formative effects" of Western funding policies that are currently more or less financially "skirting around" the field of non-formal art/s education/training. Secondly, yet related to the previous point, we will use the specific funding needs of the organizations mentioned above as examples in order to elaborate on the concrete conceptual and practical issues that West-

ern funding institutions should tackle and come to terms with if they are interested in providing appropriate support for the interstitial long-term process of "non-formal artistic training."

As the chapter "Bigger than the Tick Box" by guest authors Rangoato Hlasane and Malose Malahlela shows, the fundamental problems thus identified are limited neither to the field of non-formal artistic training nor to Western funding institutions. Keleketla! Library, founded by the two authors, is an independent, interdisciplinary long-term project—and simultaneously a library and a media arts project—based in the Drill Hall, a historical building complex with an eventful history in the Johannesburg inner-city district of Joubert Park. The project was founded in 2008 to create ways of using art and media strategies as alternative education models and mediation tools in the field of non-formal art/s education and to initiate and provide platforms for joint experimental multimedia projects in the field of artistic work. In the space of only a few years, the organization has succeeded in establishing long-term links between the non-formal and formal education sectors. It pursues an inclusive, intergenerational approach, integrates so-called "disadvantaged" communities, provides opportunities for artists to turn professional, and aims to constructively incorporate issues that are considered culturally relevant by official (governmental) institutions, such as the inclusion of cultural heritage. Nevertheless, the organization has difficulty acquiring funding for its interdisciplinary work—partly because this work cannot be "categorized" in a manner conducive to funding applications. At the same time, the authors' experiences and reflections clearly reveal that public and private sponsors in South Africa ascribe very little significance (in terms of culture, education, and funding/sponsorship policies) either to the non-formal sector of art/s education or to cultural project formats and practices that represent a pronounced interstitial and process-oriented thrust.

The interaction between Western and national public-private cultural and funding policies continues to contribute towards the formation of structural conditions that make it very difficult for African actors in the field of non-formal artistic education/training and non-formal art/s education to meet the demands and objectives of their work. The final part of this study discusses the challenges faced by Western funding institutions when, like the Goethe-Institut, they are explicitly pursuing the goal of developing specific frameworks for supporting cultural actors and fostering civic involvement. If these frameworks in the field of non-formal artistic education/training and art/s education are to be sustainable in the long term and bear fruit for all participants, it is necessary to collaborate with the actors in thinking about ways of "opening up" and extensively expanding concepts and contents. In this way, the current segregation of art, education, and training in funding policies can be productively overcome and the "challenge of interstitiality" can be faced.

Chapter 1 Discursive Locating Framing the Field of Art/s Education and Vocational Artistic Training and Professionalization

<u>Preliminary Remarks</u> Waymarkers and Orientation Points

Anyone entering the words "art/s education" into a standard Internet search engine will obtain results ranging from the obligatory Wikipedia article and diverse websites associated with networks and projects to extensively themed dossiers, professional academic publications, and interdisciplinary degree programs in Great Britain, North America, and Australia. Similar results are achieved in German-speaking countries when the respective German search terms are submitted. Despite the field's somewhat marginal position, its differentiation, manifold discussions, and, last but not least, the existence of critical counter-discourses all help to illustrate its acknowledged significance in Western societies.¹

Were we to compare these random results—bearing in mind that their "random" nature might indicate they are actually symptomatic—with those results referring to the African continent, we would notice the following:

- An overweighting of communiqué and survey literature
- A deficiency of accessible literature discussing specific contemporary contexts and concepts
- A deficiency of accessible literature discussing specific historical contexts and concepts
- A deficiency of accessible literature that comparatively examines and systematizes historical and contemporary concepts in a local, translocal, and/or transcontinental fashion
- A deficiency of accessible literature that comparatively examines and systematizes the cultural, social, and economic aspects of non-formality
- A deficiency of accessible literature that addresses non-formal opportunities for the professionalization of artists

"Diagnosing" this deficiency by no means indicates an absence of practices, theories, and methodologies of art/s education in general and the non-formal education/training and professionalization of artists in particular; neither does

it show that no efforts have been made to systemize or amend the research requirements. On the contrary, the field's lack of inscription signifies an initial situation characterized by considerable discursive disparities. It also raises a number of fundamental questions: Where and how can the field of art/s education in African contexts be localized at all? What are the underlying general conditions? Which external and internal factors lend it structure? With which and whose concepts, guidelines, and terminologies is it navigated? Which discussions can be traced and which cannot?

Even the conceptual pairing of "art/s" and "education" (see Authors' Note, p. 16) indicates that the field represents a complex interstice, overlapping and interacting with other fields. In terms of the history of ideas, key concepts such as "education," "art," and "culture"—to name just three obvious relational aspects—have never offered any definitional, clearcut, or even fixed explanatory models. Rather they refer to a set of constantly shifting conditions that are historically and currently highly contested, and within which the field of art/s education is situated. Given the distinct manner in which African and other post-/colonial societies of the Global South are confronted by the economic, political, and cultural effects of globalized power imbalances, a locating of this nature must consider many different aspects.

In light of the initial situation, it seems appropriate that we first approach the field of non-formal art/s education by means of critical discursive analysis. Here we have applied Foucault's definition of the term "discourse," which refers to enunciative fields that must be read both as dependent upon and embedded within the context of existing power structures.² Even though this study cannot claim to represent a complete analysis, the examination of various discursive enunciative fields does allow us to identify obvious tendencies. These shed light on how promoting particular concepts, ideas, and perspectives influences, determines, and normalizes social frameworks of perception and ways of speaking, or how certain knowledge in a society is applied, evaluated, categorized, and assigned. Most importantly, however, they

mark the multilayered realities that arise from this process³ in which divergent visibilities, strategic interests, as well as substantial debates and disputes among various actors are expressed. These tendencies serve as "waymarkers" that, on the one hand, allow us to determine some of the relationships necessary for further examinations and, on the other, enable us to uncover the equally relevant discursive gaps. This should help us to identify reputed or real absences, highlight their implications, and consider areas of research and knowledge in which the multiplicity of theoretical and epistemological contexts as well as experiences and perspectives can be adequately represented.

Waymarker 1: Communiqué and Survey Literature

The communiqué and survey literature mentioned in this study refers to an extensive and varied corpus of African positionings that includes official—mainly in the sense of state or supranational—policy papers, cultural policy draft programs, speeches, position papers, and reports. Oftentimes supported by statistics or other empirical investigations, this text corpus is primarily aimed at an institutional audience of officials and functionaries. It reports on the current situation at the national, regional, and continental levels and, building upon these, formulates desirable goals and strategic solutions for the ideal future situation. Due to its descriptive character, this corpus will here be treated as primary literature. With its declarations, political objectives, and recommendations for action that are geared towards institutional and procedural structure formation, it does, however, play a key role in creating a general framework for the field. One reason for its pervasiveness, particularly in relation to other available literature on the topic, is the fact that for over a decade now, most efforts to establish a defined field of action for art/s education in African contexts have been traced back to international guidelines.4

Such universally conceived guidelines are intended to help determine how a whole range of problem areas should be organized on a global basis. Ideally, this assumes not only comparable conceptual, empirical, and normative points of

entry, but also similar initial conditions concerning the state itself, the material situation, and civil society. However, this parity simply does not exist within what is termed the "world community." In African contexts, for instance, those UNESCO⁵ statements, action plans, recommendations, and resolutions particularly relevant to the field of art/s education are discussed in terms of a hierarchically arranged field of economic cooperation known as "development cooperation." The often re-active tendencies found in the communiqué and survey literature must therefore be viewed as discursive manifestations of globalized real-world power relations whose economic and global political "gravitational center"6—including the capacity to define and interpret lies outside the African continent. Below we shall examine in greater detail the effects of these dominant frameworks of reference at various levels in the field of art/s education.

Art/s Education within the Context of General Education

Important parameters and international orientation points for determining the field of art/s education are provided by the UNESCO world conferences held in Lisbon⁷ in 2006 and Seoul⁸ in 2010. They constitute the preliminary results of a process initiated and dominated by Western states whose history stretches back to the 1940s. Of particular relevance to this study is the resolution adopted by the 1999 UNESCO General Conference to discuss "arts education" at international preparatory meetings with the aim of implementing the findings at the first World Conference. Attendees in Lisbon presented the Road Map for Arts Education document, which defined cultural education as a human right that should "enable individuals to follow their own cultural interests, develop artistic and aesthetic perception as well as judgment, and participate in cultural life."10 However, the motivation behind these guidelines primarily sought to present arguments in order to locate "arts education" within the framework of regular schooling and to stress the necessity of introducing it to school curricula.¹¹ Furthermore, there is a clear focus in the document on "the fields of the western art forms of theatre, music, dance and the visual arts."12 Representatives from non-Western countries objected to this restrictive emphasis and demanded the inclusion of other areas of arts education that in the Western world would fall under the category of "handicraft techniques," as well as greater consideration of non-formal contexts.¹³

The conference in Seoul addressed three further topics: evaluating both the progress made and the first reports concerning the implementation of the Road Map's recommendations; reinforcing the sociocultural dimension of art/s education; and creating and expanding the volume of scholarly research. Western assessments of the conference claimed a "change in direction"; the fact that the countries of the Global North had in the meantime agreed to a wider approach to the subject meant that:

the struggle between different approaches to arts education did not have to take place again in Seoul and participants [. . .] could concentrate this time on joining forces for better ideas in advocacy for arts education at local, regional, national and international levels.¹⁴

The extent to which this assessment applies, if at all, is more than questionable. Indeed, the "struggle," which is only mentioned in passing and then, tellingly, explained no further, refers to a process with considerable potential for conflict in terms of concepts and terminologies. For example, it is impossible to simply assume a similar or even identical meaning of art/s education in different cultural contexts. Likewise, it cannot be presumed that those involved in processes of art/s education are operating within comparable structures. 15 Furthermore, there is notable usage of a core terminology that is completely detached from critical and, in particular, non-Western post-/colonial discourses; although supposedly "universal" within the UNESCO context, deploying such concepts actually merely reproduces Eurocentric framing. Finally, it should be pointed out that not only the academic studies referred to in this context were inadequately researched.¹⁶ The "case studies" alluded to in UNESCO conferences are also largely unknown in the regions where they were carried out and are not informed by critical cultural theory approaches.¹⁷

Despite these complex problems, which can only be touched upon here, UNESCO world conferences have produced guidelines relating to concepts, content, and time schedules that constitute an important framework of reference within the communiqué and survey literature. In African contexts, this framework exerts considerable "pressure to perform" and for the most part makes it impossible to conduct the necessary critical examinations and discursive processes.¹⁸ An example of how these difficulties are manifested can be seen in the Regional Conference on Arts Education organized by UNESCO in conjunction with the South African government. Held in Port Elizabeth, South Africa, in 2001,19 it still sought to produce a basic appraisal by incorporating disparate areas of expertise. In light of the extremely unfavorable initial conditions, an action plan was drafted over the course of this conference on how to integrate art/s education into the formal education sector and improve support in the nonformal sector.²⁰ These discussions have lost little in terms of their topicality, which is reflected in, for instance, a whole series of international measures; developed by diverging spheres of competence, they are virtually irreconcilable at a conceptual level and overlap in terms of their chronologies.

First of all, the implementation strategies planned for the First Decade of Education for Africa (1997–2006, initiated by UNESCO) and the Second Decade of Education for Africa (2006–2015, instituted by the African Union or AU) were primarily directed at the level of national education programs. Despite the proclaimed "linkage between education and culture" mentioned in the AU's *Plan of Action*, the term "arts education" does not appear once in the document. The complete disregard of this area as a conceptual condition of possibility—even in its deliberations regarding formal education—illustrates the existence of a discursive blank spot that suggests various other sets of problems:

The challenges of the First Decade were that the Plan of Action was only adopted two years after the launch of the decade. [Moreover], there was a lack of ownership by African stakeholders, and there was insufficient publicity to promote it across the continent. Another major challenge was very little support from major international agencies and other development partners. Africa-specific programmes during the period displayed no evidence for linkages with the First Decade of Education in Africa, these were instead developed independently, and at a national level.²²

Secondly, at a number of interlinking levels the forced conceptual separation of education and art complicates or hinders targeted financial support:

[. . .] most funding organizations that support the arts, do not make provision for support for arts education. Likewise, those who support education do not support arts education. Arts education falls between two funding stools. This tendency to exclude arts education from funding is reflected as well in national culture funds and arts councils, which do not include arts education as a category because the focus has been on marketing mind-diverting entertainment [. . .].²³

Thirdly, severe inadequacies characterize education generally and formal art/s education specifically: material resources are virtually absent; authoritarian educational systems often bear the hallmarks of colonialism; teaching staff are poorly trained; there are insufficient teaching materials; the state is disinterested; and, in the non-formal sphere, there is hardly any support for ways of exchanging experiences, alternative practices and pedagogies, or supraregional, intra-African cooperative strategies.²⁴

Against this backdrop, African positionings in the communiqué and survey literature illustrate efforts to open up spaces for contextually specific discussions. This is underscored—in connection with criticism of the *Road Map*—by demands for increased integration of the non-formal sphere or the specif-

ic consideration of indigenous forms of knowledge and local languages, the involvement of traditional artists, and the rehabilitation of cultural heritage.²⁵ These stipulations, however, also indicate the presence of contested approaches that—given the absence of critical debate on fundamental principles regarding the origin, reference framework, and meaning of terminologies and concepts—tend to adopt heteronomous definitions, emphases, and orientations. The widely undefined and simplified use of "big" concepts that have long been the subject of controversial discussion—such as "education," "culture," "art," "creativity," "cultural heritage," "globalization," "sustainability," "cultural identity," or "diversity"—not only appears to characterize the entire debate via buzzwords²⁶ but also leads to a situation in which the need for systematic and, most importantly, critically informed framings is largely ignored.²⁷

As a result, the field of art/s education—analog to international normative templates—is linked to other sociopolitically relevant areas such as education, art, culture, or to themes such as cultural identity and diversity. However, the specific characteristics and forms that these links take (or their practical embodiment via actors working in the field) are generally disregarded. Corresponding evaluations hardly specify or contextualize existing conditions, much less interpret them as constructive points of departure, but instead tend to focus on shortcomings and deficits. Furthermore, it is not only in African contexts that the already marginalized discourse concerning the area of art/s education—likewise analog to Western, but not necessarily up-to-date, discursive tendencies—overlaps with arguments primarily directed at creative industries.²⁸ This shift is of importance, for it significantly influences other discussions and, if it does focus at all on artistic education/training, tends to view it solely from a limited economics-related perspective.

Art/s Education within the Context of Creative Industries

Creative industries are now assigned an omnipresent status in the communiqué and survey literature, a fact that is clearly indicated both in documented national and in supraregional intra-African debates. First and foremost, these debates present their arguments at the macrostructural level and bind the issue of cultural funding by state or private domestic and foreign institutions to the utilization and marketability of art and culture. Although other aspects are discussed for example, the "development and enhancement of cultural heritage,"29 the "preservation of cultural identity and diversity," and the "promotion of regional intercultural exchanges"30—they are often combined with economic emphases and at any rate represent problematic concepts in and of themselves. There is cross-national agreement that the culture sector has become the most dynamic sector of the economy and thus must be utilized in order to create jobs, generate new markets, optimize value chains, and multiply gross domestic products. However, it is claimed, all this requires a comprehensive vocational education for cultural actors, whose current lack of professionalization is paraded as a major reason for the sector's weaknesses in terms of output and competitiveness.31 On the one hand, this education has to take into account the needs of the market, for the goal is to offer both teachers and students new career opportunities,32 while on the other hand it has to promote the necessary creative potential to enable actors to survive within a knowledge-based, globalized world.

Within the framework of artistic education/training and professionalization, the focus on the "utilization" of creativity is based on internationally normative yet at the same time ambivalent definitions. Thus the emphasis placed on the indisputable importance of creativity in developing individual capabilities is influenced by arguments that, above all, proclaim its "advantages" within the context of globalized social and economic challenges: it facilitates individuals in adapting to new conditions of capitalist production, enables the flexibilization of work, and offers an important means of increasing economic activity.³³ Whatever "profes-

sionalization of the sector" or "enhancement of artistic and cultural means of expression" might imply for artists in concrete terms or how a framework should be created by means of a "participatory approach" that will "guarantee the exploitation of the culture's economic potential" remains unanswered.

What is striking about these intra-African arguments, yet what remains largely unquestioned, is how two Western discourses are amalgamated: first, the hegemonic neoliberal discourse on globalization that construes the intensifying of global relationships of exchange as an economic win-win situation,³⁵ and second, the hegemonic neoliberal discourse on creative industries that defines the economization of artistic production and creative (immaterial) work as the primary market and value-added resource.³⁶ These focuses promote a far-reaching logic of cultural-political valorization as reflected, for example, in the efforts of the South African minister of culture Paul Mashatile "to collectively place the cultural and creative industries at the forefront of our national priorities,"37 or in the statements issued by the West African Economic and Monetary Union (UEMOA) that employ the telling French term gisement (meaning "deposits") when describing the creation of jobs in creative industries and proclaim immaterial goods to be the "new raw materials." 38

The repeated use of vaguely defined, Eurocentric buzzwords and concepts in the communiqué and survey literature reinforces the similarly vaguely defined and questionable overriding notion of a supposedly "common ground." In this manner a framework of understanding is created wherein the concept of "creative industries" appears as a promising and forward-looking cultural/economic program while actually functioning instead as *political discourse*. This discourse aims at transforming the field of social production in order to create a market that favors and reinforces cultural actors with managerial competences over artists who see their practice as an exploration and perhaps even as a critical intervention and disruption of just such market practices.³⁹

Creative industries discourse largely suits this context inasmuch as it calls for the state to implement certain policies for structuring and sustaining a field of social production as a "market." It performatively describes the agents of cultural production as "businesses," and it sets up rules and goals for competition that are formulated according to the slogans "export capacity" and "corporate growth."⁴⁰

The enormous potency of this discourse simultaneously obscures and elucidates the fact that, in African contexts, such a transformation does not occur of its own accord but is instead the result of an external force that demands the effectiveness of state institutions while at the same time undermining them. As a consequence, in North–South constellations one cannot assume that creative industries will automatically have the potential to be promising, profitable, and—in the best-case scenario—internationally highly regarded. Rather, as the following excursuses may illustrate, these industries must be contextualized within a set of conditions governed by significant financial dependencies.

Excursus 1: Nollywood

Nigeria's video film production industry—"Nollywood"41—has been an object of widespread interest at the very latest since the UNESCO Institute for Statistics in Canada presented a survey examining the state of the worldwide film industry in 2007.⁴² As their statistical overview showed, Nigeria had outstripped the United States and took second place behind India in terms of the number of feature films produced, but even in the mid-1990s there were reports of a boom in video productions. In the meantime, a broad spectrum of discussions has arisen around this topic, encompassing cultural-historical questions about the origins of video production, its connections to traditional West African forms of theater, its multilingual nature, its relationship to colonial film production, and even economic aspects of the industry pertaining to piracy and copyright law.⁴³ The rapid spread of illegal copies represents an unplanned, non-structured, yet extremely effective form of marketing for the Nigerian video industry and illustrates its global dimensions.

Nollywood's cultural autonomy and cross-border potential is generally received positively, and video production—regardless of its ambivalent appearance as a creative industry—has been proclaimed as an exemplary "third way" for national film industries.⁴⁴ If, however, we take into account the social and political histories that gave rise to the industry—that is to say, if we are to embed Nollywood in a post-/colonial and in a neocolonial contextual setting influenced by both global and local economic interrelationships and processes—then the closure of Nigeria's state-subsidized film industry in the late 1970s represents a possible explanation, and certainly one that is worthy of further investigation, for the rapid growth of informal video production.⁴⁵

Accordingly, the immense success of Nollywood video films can be read as a direct result of the Structural Adjustment Programs (SAP), which were introduced by the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank in the 1980s as a condition for loans and debt cancelation in the countries of the Global South, bringing with them severe consequences in the form of drastic cuts to culture and education. The programs' economic provisions have since been the subject of massive criticism, and the relationships between the liberalization of global trade, the outsourcing of jobs to "low-wage countries," and forced cuts in expenditures for education. health, and culture in the countries of the Global South have been closely examined.⁴⁶ However, this context is generally absent from the communiqué and survey literature, which instead focuses solely on the positive aspects of an (informal) culture industry while ignoring its globalized economic structural conditions.

Excursus 2: The Commercialization of Cultural Heritage

The successor economic program to the structural adjustment programs of the IMF and World Bank, the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) set up by the African Union in 2001, promised "a new framework of interaction with the world" in reference to the concept of African Renaissance. From the very beginning, this new "framework of interaction" appeared rather problematic, as

evidenced by the numerous meetings held with G8 representatives before the introduction of NEPAD and by the fact that the program was shown to Western lenders before being presented in Africa. Not without reason, the program was perceived as a "processional plea for developmental assistance" ⁴⁹ and moreover was "usually interpreted as an attempt to get the transnational corporations based in the North to enter into a 'Marshall Plan'-type partnership with the business firms and governments of Africa for its economic development." ⁵⁰ The accompanying intensification of globalized dynamics in a number of areas led to an accentuation of the effects of neocolonial economic policies. ⁵¹

The question of "culture as a bargaining chip" is of fundamental importance in this context, for "culture in the narrower sense of creative, artistic and intellectual endeavour hardly features in the NEPAD analysis." The term appears in only two of the paper's several hundred paragraphs and is apparently only viewed as an "add-on element" to be negotiated first and foremost by politicians, business professionals, and economists.⁵² As a result, regional (art) industries as well as the creation and maintenance of local art production facilities might find themselves at a disadvantage in terms of funding if they cannot prove to be marketable. At the same time, the considerable disregard of the subject leads to the creation of ambivalent "freed spaces." As the South African Minister of Arts and Culture Paul Mashatile's statement at the beginning of the Mzansi's Golden Economy policy document perfectly illustrates, these freed spaces are marked by shifted positionings:

The new vision of arts and culture goes beyond social cohesion and nourishing the soul of the nation. We believe that arts, culture and heritage play a pivotal role in the economic empowerment and skills development of a people.⁵³

In this context, the tourism sector is viewed as a potential option for marketing art, culture, and cultural heritage—and one that is highly profitable. The promotion of "heritage and

cultural tourism" in the countries of the Global South is further advocated by international organizations such as UNESCO or the World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) as an effective means of protecting historical cultural heritage in "host countries" while at the same time providing the economic preconditions for social developmental processes.⁵⁴ In African contexts, this allows for a parallel "double strategy" of argumentation, whereby the concepts of international provisos, complete with their terminologies and ethical impetus, are marshaled into service in order to discuss marketing what is extensively defined in UNESCO documents as "cultural heritage" and "cultural property." Apart from the debatable premises underlying these definitions⁵⁵ and the astonishing neglect of economic and structural conditions, a further fundamental problem can be identified. The tourist flow generally moves in only one direction—from the Global North to the Global South—and produces economically, socially, and culturally disparate consumerist settings between (mainly) Western tourists and local communities.⁵⁶ Although this issue is not directly addressed, both the NEPAD position paper and the African Action Plan (2010–2015) put forth by the AU and NEPAD demonstrate that it is clearly reflected in the promotional strategy of "specialised consumer-targeted marketing campaigns."57 The commercialization of what the tourism industry declares to be "cultural heritage"—set against the backdrop of the questionable slogan "Bringing the World to Africa"58—thus has a representational complement of what can best be sold to "relevant" (i.e., Western) consumers: an imaginary "Africa." The staging of this "Africa" draws not only on extensive reservoirs of colonial imageries and re/constructs imperial geographies, but it also re/establishes the accompanying scopic regimes.⁵⁹

Art/s Education within the Context of

"Culture and Development" as an Evolving Field of Action

In light of the global (and globalized) "neo-liberal drive to further marketize and privatize all forms of art and life" and of the fact that "culture is more and more understood as 'heritage,' 'custom,' [and] 'the ancestral," ⁶⁰ it is necessary to undertake a critical reflection of economic structural condi-

tions by focusing art/s education within the context of "culture and development" as an evolving field of action. In most African countries the interstitial situatedness of art/s education at the frequently diffuse interface of art/culture/education is marked by tensions between social, cultural, and educational policies; these are caused by conflicting entanglements with developmental policies and result in (funding) competition.

Two aspects of this dynamically intertwined constellation, consisting of international (primarily Western) actors, diverging interests, and opportunities for action are of special interest. Firstly, it is noticeable that the structural adjustment programs run by the IMF and World Bank during the 1980s overlap in time with a discourse on international cultural policies, particularly propagated by UNESCO, which draws upon an expanded concept of "development," emphasizes the relationships between culture work and developmental processes, and aims to achieve "a development policy that leans towards cultural policy in this respect."61 At any rate, a developmental model reliant on technical and material factors was challenged and there was recognition that "in the long term, developmental processes do not come from outside, but can only arise within a society."62 In reality, however—as highlighted both by the focus of current international development policies and the "foreign-policy concepts of so-called donor nations and, to a much greater extent, their own budgetary concerns" 63—it is nothing more than an ambitious claim.

Secondly, the structural adjustment programs carried out in African countries led to a significant "shift in the field." Within the context of radical international free-market economic policies, the harsh consequences of the drastic cuts in education and culture may well have played an insignificant role; moreover, they allow for quite different readings, as illustrated here by the example of Senegal. Ndiouga Benga, a historian at the Université Cheikh Anta Diop in Dakar, points out how the financial weakening of the state was accompanied by a loss of its exclusive cultural-political

authority. As a result, artists took advantage of this greater autonomy; they were able to operate outside officially controlled spaces and redefined the relationship between art, the state, and the public.⁶⁴ Nevertheless, such developments should not distract from the fact that these externally imposed cutbacks to state structures in African countries opened up new opportunities first and foremost for Western actors, enabling them to reposition themselves and define new spheres of action.

Since 2001, when UNESCO issued the Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity, "culture" has become a central focus of development policy strategies, and "culture and development" as an evolving field of action has marked the interface between international cultural and development policy. Characterized by a pronounced (although ambiguous) link between the cultural sphere and other "developmental" matters such as education, the environment, or the struggle against poverty, the objective of culture and development is to increase the integration of processes and actors from civil society. This may include the support of non-governmental organizations, informal networks, and artistic activities, the backing of less visible perspectives and themes, and the effort to strengthen the role of artists and cultural mediators, who are recognized as important cultural-political actors.65 For African cultural workers and organizations whose activities often take place in many spheres simultaneously, this approach can work to some extent to their advantage; it is cross-sectoral in terms of content and ensures a certain degree of financial stability in terms of funding periods. Yet despite these undoubtedly positive aspects, in light of the globalized framework conditions an inevitable ambivalence remains, for Western spheres of influence—which can be specified not only in the past and present, but also in view of their related areas of influence and cultural practices—tend to become more "concentrated," thus generating new, equally concentrated dependencies.

A real-world example of this phenomenon in practice is provided by Amadou Chab Touré, professor at the Institut National des Arts in Bamako, with regard to Mali, where the shifts in development cooperation have diverted cultural funding away from the state and into the hands of international institutions. Only a few years ago, the European Union contributed as much as 80 percent to the Malian culture ministry's budget in the form of programs to support artistic and cultural initiatives as well as a strategic framework program aimed at combating poverty. One further dubious example, according to the author, is given by the actions of the Centre Culturel Français, the leading institution of cultural cooperation between France and Mali that subsidizes the African Photography Biennial in Bamako. The biennial's artistic director is appointed in Paris, and it is there that the themes and photographs are also selected. Contracts with exhibiting photographers are signed by the French partner institute, and after the show in Bamako the works are stored in the French capital, which is also where subsequent touring exhibitions are organized and managed. According to Touré, the activities of Western actors are the source of a number of tensions, all of which revolve around these countries' "cultural money" (l'argent de la culture).66

Even if Mali might represent a particularly glaring case, African positionings in the communiqué and survey literature indicate that "[d]espite the evident lack of clarity of the terms being used, 'culture and development talk' has seized the attention of policy makers," has now "colonized the normative field," ⁶⁷ and has made its way into the formulations of national and supranational cultural policies. Culture is thereby understood as a patchwork of different practices to promote social cohesion, help form identity, contribute to maintaining local forms of knowledge and art, and encourage intercultural exchange. At the same time, however, it is also defined as an "industry" capable of bringing in Western money by means of cultural tourism or the export of artistic products, for example. ⁶⁸ This corresponds to the basic con-

cept of the "dual nature" of cultural goods and cultural services within culture and development discourse as

on the one hand, goods with a high sociopolitical value that are vulnerable to competition with other commercial goods, and, on the other hand, goods whose potential in global trading is greatly underestimated.⁶⁹

The overriding linking of cultural policy with economic policy leads to a situation in which—with regard to the communiqué and survey literature—specific relationships between culture/education/vocational training/professionalization cannot yet be ascertained. A similar degree of ambivalence is found when one tries to localize the role of artists and cultural mediators. Whereas they are assigned "moralistic" expectations within the cultural-political context and, as overtly creative individuals, are indirectly expected to take on social responsibilities, development policy strategies are targeted at their role as "cultural entrepreneurs." The concept of cultural entrepreneurship itself or its potential inherent contradictions are seldom discussed, however.

The example of a theatermaker in Burkina Faso presents a rudimentary illustration of potential ambiguities. As a "cultural entrepreneur," he can position himself as the protector of an endangered Burkinabé cultural heritage; he can function as a cultural mediator doing social work by using traditional dance and theater as an educational vehicle in order to communicate social values and norms to young people who have dropped out of school; and he can play the role of an individual employer who provides work to a number of artists, which in this particular case entails an unregulated, asymmetrical relationship of patronage manifested in discrepancies between wages paid to musicians and dancers as well as in a devaluation of their specific knowledge gained from practice, experience, and vocational training.⁷⁰

Given that most of the relevant Western actors are now operating in the Western-generated field of action known as "culture and development," a number of further important questions need to be raised: Despite the ambivalences described above, to what extent, if at all, has the anticipated strengthening of the forces of civil society or the democratization of cultural life been translated into social realities in African contexts? Is it then possible to debate or criticize official cultural-political positionings in public discourses? Do contradictions or conflicts arise that are rarely or never discussed in "official" circles? What space is occupied by art/s education and artistic education/training?

Waymarker 2: The Press

In order to address these questions, the following will examine a representative selection of press materials from francophone Africa.⁷¹ This review—focusing in particular on media in Senegal and the Democratic Republic of the Congo—is based on approximately sixty published articles from daily and weekly newspapers that were searched online by entering keywords such as politique culturelle, formation artistique, education artistique, artiste, etc., for the time period 2011–12.72 As the results indicate, issues regarding art, culture, education, artistic education/training, and professionalization are rarely discussed. A majority of the articles merely regurgitate press releases or report on events, yet at the same time indirectly point to the problematic working conditions of journalists in most African countries with respect to logistics, technology, and income. Editors in DR Congo, for example, by no means have unlimited access to the Internet, which considerably complicates basic research, additional fact-checking, and background reading. Furthermore, event organizers often provide transport for journalists or even pay a small per diem rate to ensure their presence, which does much to limit critical questions or commentary.

With regard to the thematic cluster of "cultural policy," three discursive and—in terms of their arguments—interrelated layers can be identified in the press. In order to present a clearer picture, these are listed and described separately:

- Cultural policy is mostly discussed within the context of supranational policy papers, seminars, or conferences, but its content is rarely examined further
- Cultural policy, as well as the educational, vocational, and working conditions of artists, is discussed within the context of the creative industries, whereby the emphasis is laid on economic growth
- Cultural policy with reference to art/s education, opportunities for education and professionalization, as well as working conditions for artists is discussed in relation to lack of funds and insufficient infrastructure

<u>Cultural Policies within the Context of Supranational</u> **Activities**

When based on communiqué and survey literature, the media's treatment of themes relating to cultural policy hardly offers any critical positionings. Being more closely oriented towards what is taking place on the ground, however, it facilitates an understanding of current developments as can be exemplified by an article appearing in the Senegalese daily Le Soleil on June 26, 2012. It concerned a meeting in Niamey that was attended by experts from fifteen states in western Africa who advised on the implementation of the NEPAD action plan for the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) in the area of cultural policy, as well as reviewing initial outcomes and progress. In addition to reporting on the establishment of a West African cultural institute, the organization of the Ecofest festival, and the promotion of creative industries, the article made reference to "cultural education" in announcing new measures to promote cultural integration in schools (l'intégration culturelle en milieu scolaire).73 The news agency press release, however, offered no further background information on the main document of reference, namely, the AU/NEPAD's African Action Plan (2010-15), which makes it very difficult for readers to discuss the plan's priority programs in education or even its aim of integrating "culture into education systems as a means of promoting and reinforcing African culture identities and values and preserving African heritage."74

Cultural Policies within the Context of Creative Industries

The relationship between cultural policy and creative industries not only figures as prominently in the press as it does in the communiqué and survey literature, but it is also similarly deproblematized in both. Still, there are two remarkable aspects with regard to the diverse economic considerations dominating the discourse: for one, their sometimes quite drastic line of attack, which Achille Mbembe describes as the "collision of culture, market, and identity;" 75 for another, their being borne by cultural actors (acteurs culturels), a term that refers mainly to state (cultural) functionaries. This can be seen in a meeting of the Senegalese network of cultural entrepreneurs (Réseau des entrepreneurs culturels du Sénégal), for example, which took place in Dakar in June 2012. At this event a former official from the Ministry of Culture—one of only two public servants in total who were officially quoted as attendees—proclaimed that a cultural venture functions like any other business. It has to earn money by producing commodities and offering services, and it differs solely from other products in being associated with "our" identity. Not only did the speaker emphasize this overt correlation between cultural identity/cultural heritage and "product-based thinking" with obsolete definitions of culture, he also reinforced it with a rather interesting piece of advice: the listeners should choose the path of industrialization. After all, as he claimed, there is a difference between supply and demand, and the world is dominated by industrial culture.⁷⁶

The "relentless pressure from African governments to consider art and culture as a kind of 'social service' whose function is to cure the ailments of poverty and underdevelopment" is also apparent in the announcement of the first Salon des industries culturelles held in Brazzaville in August 2012. At a conceptual level, the statement evidently referred to a study by the International Organisation of la Francophonie entitled *Profil culturel national de la République du Congo* and was aimed at awakening interest in the informal sector and its contribution to the gross domestic product. But here, too, the role of the actual participants remains

unclear. The only quote came from a member of the organizing committee in his capacity as director of cultural industries and affairs, who summed up the direction of the event as follows: "The goal is to create a fund that can be used to support these industries. A preliminary study must first be conducted [...] so that culture is finally regarded as a beneficial sector rather than entertainment."

A Congolese news agency report concerning the African Creative Economy Conference—organized by Arterial Network and held in Dakar in November 2012-provides one of the few examples of how the term "cultural actors" can indeed also actually be used to refer to artists. DR Congo was represented at the event by the organization BD Kin Label, an association of comic-strip artists that seeks to introduce a new dynamic to the Congolese comic sector by promoting a variety of publications, exhibitions, colloquiums, and capacity building measures. In doing so, its representatives explained, the group hoped to achieve one of the UN's Millennium Development Goals: the reduction of poverty. Whether (and if so, how) this local initiative can be harmonized with other, rather abstract-sounding transregional challenges formulated at the conference—such as evaluating the creative sector's impact, quantifying cultural products, including cultural economies in the list of global indicators. and advocating for cultural agents and officials—was not discussed in the article.⁷⁹

<u>Cultural Policies within the Context of Art/s Education and Vocational artistic training</u>

By contrast, the statements regarding options for vocational training and professionalization as well as artists' working conditions are more differentiated. Although articles from various countries often focus on formal higher education, the urgent need—and repeated international appeals—for professionalization in the art and culture sectors is an indication of regionally specific cultural-political contexts. As was argued, for example, in the case of Burkina Faso, the precarious situation already faced by artists is exacerbated by a lack of vocational training and opportunities as well as

by difficulties arising from being left to their own devices during on-the-job training. Recognizing that formal vocational training is indispensible for those seeking professionalization, the degree course Artistic and Cultural Vocational Training at the Institut National de Formation Artistique et Culturelle in Ouagadougou should be commended, it was claimed, for offering both daytime and evening courses in order to help meet the needs of working artists.80 In spring 2011, Dakar's École des Arts reorganized its degree courses and redesigned its teaching materials in reaction to the need for "satisfying the public and private sectors by bringing qualified personnel with solid vocational training onto the market."81 At the Institut National des Arts (INA) in Kinshasa, during the traditional reception for new students in November 2011, concrete suggestions were provided for meeting the challenges posed by professionalization in the culture sector; these included creating an artists' network, establishing an exchange program between INA alumni, setting up a website to link artists, as well as demanding subsidies from state bodies—something that would promote the freedom of artistic expression, even if hardly any financial resources are available for such support.82

Although press articles about the non-formal sector of vocational artistic training and professionalization primarily focus on dance, they also permit us to draw conclusions regarding other, more fundamental cultural-political objectives. In Senegal, for example, this is reflected in the activities of the Kaay Fecc association, which cultivates a substantial media presence. In addition to La Battle National Danse Hip Hop in Kaolack, the association also organized a contemporary dance workshop in Guédiawaye and is interested in the decentralization—a more apt term might be "de-Dakarization"—of cultural activities. Accordingly, the initiative sees itself as a "platform for [artistic] expression and for educational and training programs" that has already provided help to thousands of young people. As the majority of young dancers are self-taught and have little recourse to further vocational training or organized performances, the association has adopted the task of "developing the competencies of young Senegalese, strengthening their skills, and helping them to professionalize and shape their own identities by providing artistic and administrative support." The goal of the workshop in Guédiawaye is not only to bring dance education to the suburbs and other regions of the country, but also to introduce a new dynamic to dance that would presage openness and innovation. "People have to see that things are changing and moving around us," says Kaay Fecc's director Gacirah Diagne. Moreover, even if a great willingness to show and value cultural heritage already exists, then it is important to work on constructing this kind of heritage for future generations.⁸⁴

How cultural policy ventures are negotiated in terms of both national and "ethnic" identities while simultaneously exposing the fragility of a post-/colonial present can be seen in an article on dance that focused on a workshop concluding the Oral Culture Protection and Appreciation Week in DR Congo. The initiative organized by Jean Paul Abaya—a Congolese dancer and choreographer based in Switzerland—is aimed at "combating the scourge that threatens to drive Congolese artists over the brink." This "scourge" signifies a split in the cultural exchange with foreign partners, which has led to a lack of funds for supporting Congolese ethnic values through the medium of contemporary dance. The performance of dances from different segments of the population during the closing event helped reinforce "cultural mixing" (métissage culturel) and the "exchange of cultural traditions." A project manager explained that the event was important for the participants, who included "young newcomers to art and INA students," for it allowed them to "supplement their own intellectual and professional potential with empirical knowledge that—thanks to the feeling of well-being fostered by dance—allows them to minimize mediocrity and ignorance."85

Distortions, Presences, Absences

Even though discourses on cultural policy in the press and in the communiqué and survey literature often overlap in terms of their argumentation, and although the press frequently seems to function as a state or supranational "amplifier," there remains an important difference: the visible, concrete presence of artists working in the field. Reports on their activities, albeit implicit and merely rudimentary, hint at social spaces of action and negotiation in which, along-side specific positionings, aspects of an appreciation of cultural work and social interaction are detectable. This interdisrupts the otherwise idiosyncratic notion of "emptiness" arising from omissions in the field of "culture" with real-world references, experiences, and intentions. The press, however, does not seem to be a medium capable of addressing further questions or employing counter-discursive practices to encourage public debate.⁸⁶

The many opportunities for discussion that are lost as a consequence is illustrated in a rare editorial article by Macaire Dagri from Ivory Coast, which we came across in the course of our research. The August 2012 article was not published to coincide with a particular event and, in terms of its argumentation, is by no means unproblematic. It does, however, reflect a critical individual position whose key question can already be deduced from the headline: "What good can culture be in a poor country ruined by ten years of sociopolitical crisis?" Dagri's appraisal of the current state of art and culture in Ivory Coast's urban space is unmistakable. In his opinion, not a single museum exists that is worthy of the name, the libraries are so poorly stocked that one is afraid to enter for fear of becoming depressed, and the cultural centers are old and neglected. Not all forms of art are appreciated to the same extent. Dance and music are valued above all, although individuals set their own arbitrary standards and definitions according to their personal tastes and level of education. The virtual dearth of theater and cinema is easy to verify, according to Dagri; if you were to inquire about these upon arriving in Abidjan, people would look at you as if you were insane. After ten years of crisis it is virtually impossible to focus on cultural activities, for the nation's residents are wasting away in every respect. It is no wonder that cinemas have been converted into houses of worship, offering hope of a better tomorrow. In light of this state of affairs, Dagri maintains, the new government is faced with enormous challenges. Nevertheless there are a number of reasons why it should make culture one of its primary focuses: access to culture and a knowledge of regional and other artistic treasures could lead to openness and acceptance in the perception of ethnic and religious differences. This would be beneficial in combating indoctrination by the evangelistic churches, institutions that know how to exploit desperation for their own ends. The real challenge for today's cultural actors, the author insists, is transforming artistic activities into a comprehensive cultural and creative industry, but this would require state support in providing funding and creating the right conditions.⁸⁷

Even if the author's suggestions regarding cultural policies persist as abstract buzzwords informed by terminologies and codes of the communiqué and survey literature, they are subject to a change of perspective. They assume a lively inhabited space characterized by particular circumstances, and in which real people with diverse attitudes, priorities, and strategies interact with one another. This specified space, with its equally specific histories, sociocultural dimensions, and realities of life is actually intended to represent a fundamental chronotopic reference, which would permit both an analysis of cultural-political issues within a setting of specific current events and a questioning of sociopolitical perceptions. In the context of the more "official" enunciative fields, however, this space is comprehensively "de-named." We must therefore determine if there are other discourses that can offer alternatives in this regard, then establish which emphases they place, which referential frameworks they draw upon, and if they might also open up other spaces for discussion. To this end, in the following we will undertake an in-depth examination of theory and research in this field.

Waymarker 3: Theory and Research

Contrary to the enunciative fields considered above, which are characterized by descriptions, an absence of theory, and a relatively blunt re/production of dominant contexts of meaning, academic discourses providing a critique of power are indeed scattered, yet offer widely differentiated, interdiscursive positionings that prove vital for the contextual framing of art/s education. These include:

- Examinations of both Western and African approaches, discussing questions of cultural hegemony and cultural globalization
- Historical contextualizations that deal with specific developments, concepts, and perspectives in art/s education, education, and art
- Conceptual examinations of both Western and African definitions of "education," "knowledge," "art," and "culture"
- Examinations of the tension between normative Western and African representational politics as well as that of inclusion and exclusion

Explanatory models, terminologies, and research premises of post-/colonial theory frequently provide the basis for these particular kinds of examinations and contextualizations.88 Their diverse subject areas are connected by a political perspective that significantly informs and interrelates discourse fields, namely, the central positioning of colonialism as a starting point for further analysis. This positioning is indispensable for discussing the aforementioned matters in African contexts since colonial discourses, practices, and institutions have not only left behind a worldwide and interdependent system of exploitation and repression89 but intimately interweave the imposition of Eurocentric knowledge and truth regimes with the Western idea of superiority, thus re/creating a colonial and post-/colonial "order of things."90 The extent to which this order continues to exert its power to define is manifested twofold: on the one hand, any speech about African contexts and any speech from African contexts is confronted with myriad pre/texts, thereby constituting a hegemonic matrix within which African epistemologies, knowledge formations, and cultural productions appear as distorted figurations requiring comprehensive undigging.⁹¹ On the other hand, and related to this, the intellectual critiques and theoretical discussions of African artists and scholars within a hierarchical, globalized discourse gap are frequently so marginalized that they are hardly perceived at all in Western contexts and are generally conducted solely within the African continent.

Such a setting necessarily entails discursive discrepancies. For example, when examining the significant dynamic interface of education/art/culture in the field of art/s education, it is difficult to determine potential corresponding linkages. In reality, the search for theoretical and practice-based points of entry has offered up such uneven results that we now must speak of several, partially parallel avenues of research. Furthermore, there are major regional differences in terms of how much research work exists. In order to locate this field it is important that we first explore various discursive reference points, highlight their disparities, and undertake to identify interdisciplinary relations that could be significant in formulating further research objectives.

Multiple Scatterings: The State of Current Research

As far as art/s education is concerned, we are able to reference a merely fragmentary state of research which actually illustrates a discursive disposition of the field that is best described as peripheral, perhaps even marginalized. Even though this state of affairs is by no means limited to African contexts,⁹² we may more conclusively state that both art/s education itself and its related areas play virtually no role in current research studies. This is particularly true of francophone countries. Research with a regional focus examining 1,500 titles on the Database of African Theses and Dissertations (DATAD, launched by the Association of African Universities in 2003)⁹³ came up with the following results:

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Search Term	Number of Research Studies
formation artistique	0 hits
artistique	0 hits
beaux, beaux-arts	0 hits
subvention culturelle, promotion de la culture	0 hits
artiste	1 hit
	(dissertation in English
	focusing on poetry)

Furthermore, an examination of academic literature indicates a considerably fractured field that could be summarized in a simplified and graduated form as follows:

- A principal research focus on art/s education within the context of formal education, particularly in schools
- A subordinate research focus examining non-formal art/s education with a particular emphasis on the social aspects of working with children and adolescents outside school or (especially in the case of South Africa) context-specific research into community arts projects (CAP).
- A subordinate research focus examining opportunities for formal vocational artistic training and professionalization
- A subordinate research focus examining opportunities for non-formal vocational artistic training and professionalization

Even if this study can only provide a few reference points for "theory and research"—particularly in light of the abundantly diverse subject matter and absence of links between them—repeated calls from the various disciplines do make one thing clear: there is an urgent need for systematizing basic research. These aspects are closely related to one another. Both the extremely patchy and fragmentary scope of the topics addressed and the scant degree of systematization have contributed to an overall impression of the field by producing significant divergences in terms of the quality of research approaches and topics as well as that of appropriate framings and definitions. On the other hand, this initial situation also has a thoroughly *constructive* effect, mainly

because the emerging discursive field of "art/s education" in African contexts offers various conditions of possibility for developing autonomous epistemologies.

Fragmentary Approaches in Formal Art/ists' Education

Research into musical arts education gives an example of "embracing the field" that is as far-reaching as it is mindful, 94 notable not least for its new conceptual notions, experimental theoretical work, and paradigmatic methodological considerations. Furthermore, the cognizant amalgamation of diverse local points of reference, practices, and experiences serves as a basis for delineating key perspectives concerning research ethics and practices that can also provide inspiration for discussing issues in other areas. Researchers are not merely obliged to be "accountable to African communities in terms of their locus operandi";95 they are also required to respect the "context-content relationship" within African frames of reference⁹⁶ in addition to reflecting critically upon the principles of indigenous knowledge formations when developing school curricula. 97 In terms of their elaboratedness and critical premises there are comparable discussions on formal dance education with particular regard to South Africa.⁹⁸ Not only are these analyses of the specific contexts of dance and education linked to historical and political issues surrounding polyculturalism and cultural legacies; they also establish connections to urban musical and youth cultures.

In the formal visual arts education sector, problems relating to locations, concepts, and the contents of learning/teaching have been highlighted in only a few isolated cases, such as a rather descriptive ethnological study on contemporary artists in Mali, Burkina Faso, and Senegal⁹⁹—taking as an example the Malian Institut National des Arts de Bamako (INA)—that sheds light on the insufficient mediation of contemporary art concepts. This state of affairs, the study claims, is the result not only of religious restrictions, but also the comparatively narrow vocational career focus of the lecturers. As interviews with students showed, a large proportion of the training program is taught by former INA

graduates, many of whom seek professorships without first working as independent artists. Consequently, they neither reflect on their own artistic experience, nor, as they have generally never left Mali, do they explore other art forms practiced both within and beyond Africa. As Frank Ugiomoh has illustrated with respect to the Nigerian context, the excessive value placed on technical and practical aspects while studying or training leads to insufficient relationships determined by means of discourse and indicates an asymmetrical relationship between cultural production and the growth of knowledge. The fact that the axiological dimension of art, as a value-creating social practice, is subject to a number of distortions hinders its inherent ability to positively transform and thus affects the production and mediation of this knowledge:

The fragments of knowledge that currently constitute the training of artists in Nigeria are hopelessly inadequate. Training, especially in Nigeria, over-emphasises the practical necessities of the studio. The critical and meta-critical dimensions of art, as pedagogical focus, remain neglected. 102

A research paper by Dina Zoe Belluigi, based on an examination of discourses on "creativity" and "critical thinking," expands and enlarges upon this theme by focusing particularly on the relationships between teacher-assessors and artist-students within the context of a South African creative arts curriculum. Her case study exposes a complex tension between subliminally prevalent modernist discourses, existing teaching practices, and the experiences of students, revealing how the unquestioned foundational myths and structures of a particular discipline can affect communication, criticism, and artistic development. The need for an informed social and cultural critical approach when designing curricula as well as the establishment of a continuous self-/reflexive praxis for lecturers and students thus represent interdependent layers that, in Belluigi's opinion, would counter the reproduction of discursive and interpersonal hierarchical relationships.¹⁰³

Fragmentary Approaches in Non-Formal Art/ists' Education Research into non-formal art/ists' education in African contexts with a particular focus on the visual arts has revealed a similarly divergent initial situation.¹⁰⁴ In reference to the obtainable academic literature on concrete non-formal opportunities, three aspects are of particular note:

- Very few works focus on the periods during and after colonization¹⁰⁵
- There is a significant geographical imbalance weighted primarily towards developments in South Africa¹⁰⁶
- Published research focusing on francophone countries is particularly rare¹⁰⁷

Nevertheless, the various and diverse pieces of research provide several important reference points for further discussion and determining discursive relations.

Reference Point: History

Investigations that have taken up specific historical reevaluations and contextualizations primarily focus on the colonial enforcement of Western concepts of education and culture. In Morocco, for example, this phenomenon was followed by a hierarchical separation into "fine arts" and "crafts." Local artists—assigned and confined to the latter were de facto artistically downgraded, and their opportunities for work and artistic development were severely curtailed. 108 A similar situation existed in many other African contexts. Given this background, the establishment of nonformal artistic centers—such as the artists' colony Núcleo de Arte da Colónia de Mocambique founded in 1936, the Atelier d'Art le Hangar in Élisabethville (Lubumbashi) in the former Belgian Congo dating from the 1940s, and the Salisbury Workshop and the Tengenenge Art Community founded in the late 1950s and 1966 respectively in the former colony of Rhodesia—must be viewed critically, for they were generally the brainchild of white men who, moreover, were usually European. 109 While these centers did offer African artists a space for further vocational education and creative exchange, create significant local/translocal networks, and help inspire discrete genres, their unequal set of structural conditions upon which they were based as well as the racist and paternalistic relationships established by the white "workshop patrons-cum brokers," who very literally perceived themselves as "founding fathers," remain most problematic.

Relegating local artists to non- or informality must thus be understood as a colonial practice, as Phibion Kangai and Joseph George Mopundi have argued. Preceded by the forced restructuring of existing African artistic contexts and fostered by a modernistic/primitivistic/Rousseauian conglomerate of discourses, this practice, resulting in a shared mind-set regarding artistic education/training of African artists, was transferred into the various colonized locales:¹¹¹

All of these founders of modernist art schools in Africa believed that technical advice, if given at all, should aim to elucidate the "innate" cultural memory of modern African artists and not to "contaminate" them through too much exposure to "European" ideas about art.¹¹²

A similar structural impetus can be identified in South Africa, but set against the backdrop of apartheid the research focus generates more obviously politicized links to the education sector. As a result of the 1953 Bantu Education Act, which largely excluded the country's black majority from formal education, 113 a number of individual initiatives founded by whites adopted various strategies in offering alternative points of entry to artistic education/training. For example, during the 1950s the cultural leisure center Polly Street became an important space for non-formal artistic education/training and professionalization, producing a number of notable artists.¹¹⁴ The Rorke's Drift Arts and Craft Centre, founded by the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Natal in 1962, offered a three-year course of study that matched the quality of university programs for white students 115 and played a significant role in promoting female artists. 116 In historical analyses, both of these organizations are regarded

as important yet—due to their conceptual orientations and staff constellations—controversial predecessors for later non-formal art/ists' education initiatives in South Africa.¹¹⁷

Hence, community art centers that were founded nationwide from the early 1970s onward—for example, the Johannesburg Art Foundation (1972), the Kathelong Art Centre in Gauteng (1977),¹¹⁸ the Community Arts Project in Cape Town (1977), the Fuba Academy in Johannesburg (1978), the African Institute of Art (AIA)/Funda Centre in Soweto (1983), the Community Arts Workshop in Durban (1983), and the Alexandra Arts Centre in Alexandra (1986)—represent a significant new force "in the field of black art education" in the context of resistance to apartheid and the struggles for decolonization, both within and outside Africa, as well as in the context of black self-determination.

[These] centres democratised art by allowing equality in access to the means of cultural production and distribution. As such they facilitated communication between artists causing a cross-fertilization of ideas and shared experience, thus acting as an empowering force and producing a locally relevant aesthetic which did not necessarily conform to the mainstream.¹²⁰

With the advent of the concepts and practices of liberation pedagogy, education in particular was more comprehensively problematized and discussed, as exemplified by the program of the MEDU Art Ensemble, which operated in Botswana from 1978 to 1985. It was founded with the goals of providing non-formal vocational artistic training in a number of disciplines, creating an environment for cultural work, improving the relationship between cultural workers and their social contexts, as well as supporting collaborative ventures and relationships in southern Africa. To this end, five different teaching institutions were established in the areas of publishing and research, theater (including music and dance), graphic arts, photography, and film. These operated independently but were linked by the interdisciplinary *MEDU Newsletter*. In contrast to South Africa, Botswana offered

"greater freedom to admit to working towards social change." One of MEDU's greatest accomplishments was organizing the "Culture and Resistance" symposium in 1982, which worked to "boost the relations between artists and organisations within South Africa, tightening the cultural boycott and facilitating dialogue between overseas and home activists and artists at a personal level" and to "make cultural workers aware of their significant role in the struggle." This interpretation of art, vocational artistic training, and artistic/cultural education as social practice was grounded in pedagogical references and strategies that, in Paulo Freire's words, were aimed at "conscientization" and reflected art's integratedness in society:

[A]rt must teach people, in the most vivid and imaginative ways possible, how to take control over their own experience and observations, how to link these with the struggle for liberation and a just society free of race, class, and exploitation.¹²⁴

Similar historical analyses of non-formal opportunities for artists' vocational training and professionalization or the embedding of art/s education in processes of community building have yet to be determined for other African contexts. References to the Oshogbo Workshop, which was a key factor in establishing a post-/colonial Nigerian art scene in the 1960s and 1970s, do highlight interesting aspects of regionalizing artistic activities. Building upon the principle of collective collaboration and amalgamating various art forms, the workshop inspired significant networks such as the Mbari Artist and Writer's Club (1961, Nigeria), Laboratoire Agit-Art (1970, Senegal), and the Harmattan Workshop (1998, Nigeria). However, an informed reworking of their effective histories requires a more thorough examination and problematization of art-historical research in African countries.

Reference Point: Post-/Colonial Ambivalences and Representational Politics in International Discourses on Arts and Art/ists' Education

Yet this reworking turns out to be rather complicated. Since the mid-1990s, for example, publications such as Glendora: African Quarterly on the Arts¹²⁵ have provided a forum for discussions on art discourse in Nigeria and other African countries, although these have mainly gone unnoticed at an international level; at the same time, in recent years the subject has triggered a number of scholarly publications and research papers. It is, however, imperative to scrutinize thoroughly the discursive foundations and framings, particularly those based on Western research propositions. Although publications accessible in this field are primarily the work of researchers in the diaspora, the epistemological value of these contributions must be critically evaluated, for they are seldom part of a practicing discourse, being limited instead to knowledge production within Western parameters. At the same time, archival projects such as Okwui Enwezor's 2002 exhibition The Short Century: Independence and Liberation Movements in Africa, 1945-1994 serve as decisive starting points for research and provide an important source of inspiration and information for practicing artists, as does the publication Thami Mnyele + MEDU Art Ensemble Retrospective.

It is only very recently that contemporary practices and discourse production have appeared outside academic (or other formal) institutions with projects such as the *documenta 12 magazines*, ¹²⁶ for example. Here too, however, it is important to distinguish between at least two discrepant lines of argumentation: on the one hand there are decolonizing approaches to examining art history, local forms of knowledge production and discourses of artistic practice; while on the other there are perspectives that affirm the established art-historical canon by, for instance, remaining bound to the rhetoric of a "development" of art discourse in "Africa." An example of this is provided by the Nigerian artist, art historian, and art critic Azeez Ademola, who in one of his articles recognizes the existence of a "gap between modern art prac-

tices and critical art writing" while emphasizing that "the studio artist in Africa [sic] still requires a writer or critic to document or write the review of his works especially before, during and after the artist's exhibition." He ends with some recommendations aimed at encouraging cultural workers, art historians, and art critics to work together and "to agree to common programmes and projects that can elevate the status of Africa culturally." ¹²⁷

Critical works by theorists such as Olu Oguibe¹²⁸ illustrate, in contrast, how the international art-historical discourse on "Africa" is based upon a number of presuppositions whose colonial provenance can hardly be ignored. Combined with discussions on a decolonization of art, the considerations of the Kenyan author Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o thus provide an important point of reference. His leading thought, originally formulated with regard to the literary context, is that in order "to constitute a decolonized African aesthetics, one must first make a complete inventory of what needs to be decolonized." This conveys a fundamentally interdisciplinary approach that could and can be applied productively for other artistic spheres/reference points:

Within the visual arts, a similar debate was developing among artists in groups such as the Zaria Art Society, who were labeled "Zaria Rebels" for questioning the formalist European curriculum of art education in Nigeria. There was also the multiracial Amadlozi group in South Africa, who sought inspiration in African forms, themes, and

history rather than looking toward Europe; and similarly in Senegal the École de Dakar adapted Senghorian Negritude as a source of inspiration. [. . .] Looking back today at the period between 1945 and 1965, it is clear that there was already in formation an emergent category of discourse that would furnish us with the tools with which to analyze African modernity. ¹³⁰

It appears that previous and current analyses drawing upon critical post-/colonial perspectives in situ offer a foundation for innovative discursive framings, and not only in the field of art history. In contrast to most research papers written

from a Western perspective, these differentiate between cultural movements and artistic practices and, as they are informed by local discourses, are embedded in the relevant sociocultural contexts.¹³¹ Moreover, they allow for discussions about the influence of European artists on local art production and on vocational artistic training and collaboration under complex conditions. Chika Okeke-Agulu illustrates this with great clarity in his paper on the origin and history of the Oshogbo Workshop in Nigeria. Unlike the usual reductionist criticisms claiming that works produced by African artists in these workshops are the result of romantic colonial notions and can largely be traced back to the influence of the white founder—in this case the German Ulli Beier—the author adopts an entirely new perspective. Not only does he expose such interpretations, which are based on the presupposition of the "semi-educated African artist" as a racist and exoticizing stereotype, but he is also able to highlight the associated inadequate interpretative scenario:

Often [the artists'] work has been treated as direct products of the colonial or romantic imaginations of European teachers. However, critics have questioned the cultural authenticity of such work—produced, as it was, under the influence of primitivist European teachers. These positions presuppose the gullibility, even naïveté, of the workshop-trained artists; the cunning, imperialist ideas of their European teachers; and a skewed, unequal power relationship between the semiliterate African student and the European teacher.¹³²

For any further discussions it remains absolutely imperative that discourses concerning "art" and "artistic education/ training" as well as their representations in international art discourses be placed in perspective by means of critical decolonizing research. This would provide an important starting point for developing new methodologies, for appropriately exploring the practices of vocational artistic training in non-Western contexts, and for perceiving *agency* as a multidimensional relational context.

Reference Point: Discursive Marginalization of Education and Teaching/Training

In light of the need for critical framings and the associated complex issues and questions, it has to be pointed out that education, teaching/training, and professionalization at a practical level within the discursive context of non-formal art/ists' education is for the most part ignored. Although artists appear as both students and teachers in this setting, very little information exists concerning either actual learning experiences in conjunction with education/training and professional practice or teaching experiences in conjunction with artistic instruction and cultural mediation. It is therefore difficult to make any assertions about developing specific forms of mediation and evolving diverse teaching and learning cultures or investigating methodical approaches and pedagogical points of entry. The extensive discursive de-naming of educational aspects is not merely a result of the paucity of case studies dealing with the internal workings of non-formal organizations. It rather reveals a tendency to favor other emphases at the expense of examining and contextualizing teaching and communication practices, interpersonal dynamics, and educational processes, thereby indicating that practical educational work within the context of artistic creation and production—particularly in the visual arts—seems to be regarded as a fairly "unglamorous task."133

Even though a few scattered problematizations of this issue suggest the area of "teaching" to be of fundamental significance, actual observations remain superficial. Statements by artists talking in detail about their teaching activities, much less relating them to particular pedagogical concepts, are rarely to be found. This is even true of the exceptionally multivoiced—in terms of both its concept and contents—case study of the Kathelong Art Centre in Gauteng, which discusses the history of its formation over the course of a decade while addressing diverse contextual determinations, and Rhoda Elgar's unpublished dissertation on Thupelo Workshop in Cape Town, which critically examines the

contradictory tension between desired goals and specific forms of interaction in the artistic workshop processes by embedding it in social policies.¹³⁵ In her study, Elgar shows how dominant educational fundamentals, teaching practices, and principles of mediation within post-/colonial and post/-apartheid contexts unavoidably lead to a series of ambivalences and consequently require repeated revision. Discussing concepts relevant to non-formal art/ists' education such as "creativity," "community," and "selfhood" in parallel to psychosocial intervention approaches, she links the partial depoliticizing of the foundations of liberation pedagogy to the continuation of white supremacy.¹³⁶ Her work prompts a whole wave of additional key questions, yet any attempt to answer them is hampered by a very basic obstacle: the lack of accessible source material.

Bearing this situation in mind, it is implicitly evident that we can deploy what Frank Ugiomoh identifies as a pressing need within the artistic sphere for clearly articulating an artist's role, and applying this to processes of teaching and mediating. In both cases we can state that in order to open up dimensions of knowledge and insight that have a retroactive effect on one's own work while at the same time serving as a basis for further critical and meta-critical evaluations. 137 it is necessary "to talk," for the "work of art as experience [or alternatively, teaching as experience] remains dumb if not spoken about. Knowledge empowers." ¹³⁸ In both cases, the above statement is pertinent for a growth in knowledge and insight that can spring from unquestionably problematic sources. In both cases, establishing a process-oriented discussion forum—as tried out in Africa Studio: Journal for Creative Practice, edited by Ugiomoh—that offers artists a space for reflection would present an interesting option for making visible and debating the diverse spaces of experience and practices. Here, too, in both cases a general demand could be formulated for "teaching systems in Africa generated from within the continent"139 that should serve as the basic epistemological starting point.

Determining Discursive Relationships

Within the current discursive state of research approaches we can tentatively identify four main problem areas that are of relevance to both intra- and interdisciplinary questions:

Firstly, it is striking that even within the dispersed field of art/ists' education we find hardly any interdisciplinary considerations, which is illustrated by the fact that music, dance, and the visual arts are generally treated separately. In light of the rich variety of themes and the inevitably diverging points of entry that accompany them, specialized research with reference to individual disciplines is of course justified for practical reasons. However, two questions remain: are there any fundamental theoretical aspects regarding epistemological, philosophical, and practical scientific premises that play a significant role in all areas of artistic education/training, and how can these be unearthed and interlinked to facilitate comparative studies? Furthermore, one must ask whether this discursive "division" into individual research areas does indeed correlate to the practical realities of the "field," or if it could also be read as a "prescription" modeled on Western realms of research. This raises the issue of the potential implications for African contexts and, consequently, of adequate approaches for dealing with them.

Secondly, during the research undertaken for this study, it was virtually impossible to source tangible relationships to other disciplines—such as education, pedagogy, or educational science—which prompts the question of whether and to what extent the theme of art/ists' education appears in these disciplines. It would certainly be a worthwhile goal for further research to search specifically for such conceptual, textual, and practical "connective approaches."

Thirdly, it is important to underline that, with only few exceptions, research into art/ists' education is remarkably "gender free," making it difficult to comprehend the diverging initial conditions and specific experiential spaces of fe/male and/or queer artists, as well as the corresponding

historical implications. In post-/colonial contexts, however, social positionings must always be analyzed in close relation to the effects of an imposed dualistic heteronormative Western gender paradigm. On the one hand, this paradigm went hand-in-hand with a Euro-patriarchal reordering of private and public spheres and has produced a lasting impact on all areas of social life. On the other hand, it is accompanied by a number of representational distortions that feminist/queer African researchers have long been debating critically, yet their arguments have thus far fallen on stony ground.¹⁴⁰

Fourthly, it is evident that the term "non-formality" must be more precisely defined, particularly with respect to its context, for "non-certified," "outside the formal education sector," or "outside the established sphere of art" present determining parameters that are simply far too vague. Bearing in mind the diversity of local and regional sets of conditions and their respective histories on the African continent, not only can "non-formality" take on a number of meanings, but it can also be attributed with variable connotations. Here it is important to ask whether such notions already exist in other fields of discourse and can equally be applied to art/ists' education, or if it would be worthwhile to devise autonomous dynamic definitions of the term that are grounded in the sheer diversity of the field and would do justice to its unevenness and complex form.

Concluding Remarks

The discursive locating of art/s education in general and of non-formal artists' education, teaching/training, and professionalization in particular results in a situational evaluation of the field of enquiry that is underscored by a number of complex problems. The discourses we have examined point to a serious marginalization of the subject that takes on many forms and can be traced back to a number of causes. This marginalization does, however, display several crucial interrelated common features:

- The topic is barely integrated into other relevant discussions on education, culture, and art
- There is an extensive absence of basic depictions of the field
- There is an extensive de-naming of aspects of education and teaching/training in the interstitial context of art and education
- There is an extensive neglect of individual and collective knowledges and experiences in the context of the interstitial space between art/s education and artists' education

In the official (state or supranational) context of communiqué and survey literature, this initial situation must first and foremost be understood as a legible expression of strategic configurations of interests. Against a backdrop of economic dependencies, these configurations display a correspondingly intense focus on economic policy, which produces diverse discursive tensions and triggers a series of negative practical consequences. If subjunctively formulated target quotas and rhetorical statements regarding future intentions are to be retained as a modus operandi, then a democratic or democratizing form of both formal and nonformal art/ists' education, alongside publicly negotiated concrete and contextual needs assessments, would have to precede similarly concrete and contextual definitions and systemizations of the field. This would require African actors at the local level to invest in comprehensive cost-, time-, and staff-intensive basic research; it would have to grant African actors at the global level the opportunity to participate equally—in terms of time, space, and argumentation—in determining international requirements; and it would, in turn, mean paying attention mainly to hitherto officially neglected local and regional African artists and art mediators and adopting their multifaceted theoretical, practical, and methodical approaches as a starting point for formulating ways of dealing with cultural and educational policies.

Such a multiply participatory method would meaningfully counteract the universalizing foundations, framings, and references of globally binding regulations, as well as the

associated questionable implementation measures that are detached from local and regional realities. In African contexts, however, it seems that the opposite is more likely to be true. In addition to the "haphazard nature of policy implementation" and a "lack of both time and resources that restricts [a practitioner's] ability to respond in practice," this is also embodied by the problematic attitude of governments to be "more accountable to [...] donors than to [...] citizens."141 The postulations and contents identified in the communiqué and survey literature, their primarily market-oriented focus, but most of all the extensive de-thematizing of colonial and post-/colonial sets of conditions are not only to be read as discursive analogies of global power relationships. They correlate with a further profound and fundamental impetus, namely, the conspicuous disinterest of the state in involving actors from civil society in societal discussions of economic, cultural, and educational policies.¹⁴² The "emptiness" of discursive space that can be identified in the communiqué and survey literature, and also to some extent in the press, manifests as an absence both of real-world relationships, experiences, and references and of topics relevant to theory and practice. This emptiness is not only evidence of the extensive "exclusion of the public"; it is also the consequence.

This has a number of effects on those areas of scholarship and research that are financed or supported in African contexts by state and international institutions. Given the multiply "directed" interests of developmental policy, the realms of education, art, and culture are already of subordinate priority. The field of art/ists' education, however, is particularly affected by these disparities: on the one hand, it represents a "marginal note" that is difficult to grasp discursively at this point in the field of enquiry; on the other hand, due to its interstitial situatedness it requires an intrinsically elaborate interdisciplinary approach which, in light of apparently more lucrative or requisite options, seems to lie outside the scope of a scholarly context. The marginalization of the research field and its insufficient funding thus must be considered a substantial cause for the discursive scatterings, fragmentary

states of research, and lack of intra- and interdisciplinary-determined relations.

To a certain extent this seems—in the context of art and education—to offer an explanation for the notable discursive de-naming of the education/training aspect. Vocational Artistic training (as an element of educational work) focuses on learning and teaching processes that can demonstrate no immediate output because they are directed instead towards the medium and the long term. Not only do these processes require self-/reflexive methods and practices to be developed and tested, but they are bound to the aspect of inter/ personal "shortcomings" or "imperfections" as far as both learning and teaching are concerned. Even in the artistic sphere, educational, vocational, or mediation work as such seldom seems to be associated with "creativity." The fact that "output" is explicitly or implicitly linked with immediacy, along the lines of "meaningfully marketable" (in the discursive context of the communiqué and survey literature) or "meaningfully discussable" (in the discursive context of theory and research), might be one of the reasons for this de-naming.

Despite this initial situation, the approaches developed within the discursive context of art/ists' education point to groundbreaking opportunities that could, for example, illuminate the polymorphic relationship between sociopolitical developments and a commitment to civil society. As we have seen, the subsection of this chapter entitled "Reference Point: History" indicates the existence of a distinct history of non-formal education comprising numerous individual strands. An appropriate historical reworking would allow us to contextualize specific kinds of activist potential, learning and teaching practices, as well as experiential and knowledge spaces and to analyze them against the backdrop of colonial and post-/colonial structural conditions. This would form a crucial prerequisite to creating informed relations with current discussions and contexts of understanding and could prove important to research topics that seek to examine the relationship between formal and non-formal

education/training sectors. In view of the (continued) lack of transformation of the field of art/s education, this question is of particular importance in cases in which historically disadvantaged population groups were denied equal access. Furthermore, an epistemological mode of this kind could help to identify and spatiotemporally locate non-hegemonic approaches and practices, which would make it possible to describe non-formal education and non-formal art/s education as contested and dynamic cultural territories.

However, the use of the words "would" and "could" indicates that such work still needs to be undertaken. Given the current discursive constitution of the field of art/s education, it is at most possible to draw necessarily limited conclusions from only a few local/regional contexts and existing historical and contemporary conditions. The same is true of the associated contexts of experience, knowledge, and practice. The fact that the area of investigation encompasses nearly fifty countries and a much larger number of local and regional contexts offers a dramatic illustration of the multiple gaps and the extraordinary extent of inaccessible individual and collective knowledges. The powerful "discursive momentum of de-naming" should therefore be answered by means of critical field research whose first task must be to develop an epistemological and praxis-oriented awareness of the problem. The next two chapters will seek to take a few steps in this direction.

1 This is evidenced by the growing number of online and print manuals in German-speaking countries alone, such as the online publication edited by the Institute for Art Education, Zeit für Vermittlung (Zurich, 2013), http://www.kultur-vermittlung.ch/zeit-fu er-vermittlung/ (accessed September 15, 2013) or the dossier compiled by the Federal Agency for Civic Education titled Kulturelle Bildung (Berlin, 2012), http://www.bpb.de/gesellschaft/kultur/kulturelle-bildung/ (accessed September 15, 2013); see also Hildegard Bockhors et al., eds., Handbuch Kulturelle Bildung (Munich, 2012).

Bockhors et al., eds., Handbuch Kulturelle Bildung (Munich, 2012).

2 See Michel Foucault, Die Ordnung des Diskurses (Frankfurt am Main, 1991) and "The Order of Discourse," in Untying the Text: A Post-Structuralist Reader, ed. Robert Young (Boston et al., 1981), pp. 48–78.

3 These realities are a result of discursive procedures that give rise to an exclusive structural system by means of debarment, control, and limitation. With its open and discrete demarcations, this system has a significant influence on who is allowed to speak and how, whose/which knowledge is considered relevant, and within which specific rulership contexts a referential power is recognized. See Foucault, "The Order of Discourse."

4 See UNESCO, Cultural Heritage,

Creativity and Education for All in
Africa: For Education in the Arts and
Creativity in Primary and Secondary
Schools. Document based on the
conclusions of the Regional Conference
on Arts Education, Port Elizabeth, South
Africa, 24–30 June 2001. Conference
documents are available at http://
www.unesco.org/new/en/culture/
themes/creativity/arts-education/
about/activities/regional-conference-afri

ca-phase-1/ (accessed January 30, 2013). The follow-up conferences "Approaches to Arts Education in Southern Africa" and "Finding Feet" were held respectively in Harare, Zimbabwe in 2002 and in Windhoek, Namibia in 2003.

5 In addition to the Road Map for Arts Education (2006, see note 7) these include, for example, the Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions (2005), the First Decade of Education for Africa (1997-2006), the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (1990), or the recommendations of the World Congress on the Implementation of the Recommendation Concerning the Status of the Artist (1997). Regarding contents and conceptual links, see Daniel Gad, "'Kultur und Entwicklung': Kulturpolitisches Handeln in der Entwicklungspolitik: Entwicklungszusammenarbeit als Interventionsfeld von Kulturpolitik," January 2010, http://www.bkj.de/ fileadmin/user_upload/documents/ weitere_themen/kultur_und_entwick lung_gad_2011_01.pdf (accessed October 13, 2012). 6 See Dieter Senghaas, Weltordnung in einer zerklüfteten Welt (Berlin, 2012), on the concept of a "gravitational center" in the world of the OECD. 7 UNESCO, Road Map for Arts Education, adopted by the World Conference on Arts Education: "Building Creative Capacities for the 21st Century" held in Lisbon, March 6-9, 2006. All conference documents are available at http://portal.unesco.org/culture/en/ ev.php-URL_ID=30335&URL_D0=D0_ TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html (accessed January 30, 2013). 8 UNESCO, 2nd World Conference on Arts Education: "Arts for Society, Education for Creativity" held in Seoul, May 25-28, 2010. All conference documents are available at http:// www.unesco.org/new/en/culture/ themes/creativity/arts-education/ world-confe rences/2010-seoul (accessed January 20, 2013).

9 Issues of artistic and cultural education were already addressed at the first two UNESCO world conferences in 1946 and 1947. One year later a group of experts was assembled and a conference entitled "The Visual Arts in General Education" was held in Great Britain in July 1951. While the idea of an international organization focusing on education and art had already been discussed at an international congress in 1900 and the International Federation for the Teaching of Drawing and of the Arts Applied to Industry was consequently founded in 1904, the first real international organization was set up in 1954 with the International Society for Education in Art. See John Steers, "InSEA: A Brief History and a Vision of its Future Role," Journal of Art & Design Education 20, no. 2 (2001), pp. 215-29, here pp. 216-19. 10 Autorengruppe Bildungsberichterstattung, ed., 4. Bildungsbericht Deutschland (Bielefeld, 2012), p. 157. 11 Important background information on these deliberations is provided every three years by the OECD evaluation of the basic educational achievements of fifteen-year-olds in school, also known as the PISA study (Programme for International Student Assessment). 12 Rolf Witte, "The 2nd UNESCO World Conference on Arts Education: A shift from arts education to arts and cultural education?" http://www.cultureactio neurope.org/lang-en/component/ content/article/41-general/601-ashift-from-arts-education-to-artsand-cultural-education (accessed February 1, 2013). 13 See Max Fuchs, "Der UNESCO-Leitfaden zur kulturellen Bildung: Annäherungen und Überlegungen," in Kulturelle Bildung für alle: Von Lissabon 2006 nach Seoul 2010, ed. Deutsche UNESCO Kommission/Dieter Offenhäußer (Bonn, 2008), pp. 10-13.

- 14 Witte, "The 2nd UNESCO World Conference on Arts Education."
- 15 For example, the implied equation of artists with teachers in schools within a framework of "creative partnerships" is exceptionally problematic. This not only implicitly assumes that artists themselves are more or less effectively qualified teachers, but also implies that they are "better" teachers and that the educational processes rooted in the school system are "generally" misdirected or are "generally" in need of fundamental reform and revision. 16 For example, Anne Bamford, The Wow Factor: Global Research Compendium on the Impact of the Arts in Education (Münster, 2006). It is enlightening that the list of countries not responding to the questionnaire is identical to the list of countries that are critical of Western educational concepts.
- 17 An additional problem inherent to these case studies in non-Western contexts is that they fail to question the Eurocentric background of the internationally prevalent model of artistic education. At the same time, they focus on "indigenous" art forms without taking into account market dynamics, migrational movements of terminologies, and forms of artistic education that took place as part of the process of (de)colonization. Furthermore, a critical examination of such processes often collides with an interest in cultivating cultural tourism supported by Western purchasing power.

- 18 Here it is important to note that the theme of "art/s education" in countries such as Brazil, Columbia, and South Korea is experiencing something of a boom that is comparatively independent of Europe or the West. This raises the question of the extent to which historical and, therefore, post-/colonial conditionalities determine discursive and practical activities in various ways in different parts of the world.
- 19 See note 4.
- **20** See the conference documents *Background Information* and *Action Plan*.
- 21 See African Union, ed., *Plan of Action for the Second Decade of Education for Africa (2006–2015)* (Addis Ababa, no date), http://www.unesco.org/new/fileadmin/MULTIMEDIA/FIELD/Dakar/pdf/AU%20SECOND%20DECADE%20ON%20EDUCTAION%202006-2015.pdf (accessed January 12, 2013), p. 5.
- 22 "Arts Education Practices & Policies: An African research and policyformulation project: Initial Findings," internal research paper compiled by Xolelwa Kashe-Katiya (Cape Town, 2012), pp. 3–4.
- 23 Robert McLaren and Stephen Chifyunise, "Research capacities in arts education and their practical applications in the southern African sub-region," discussion paper for the 2nd World Conference on Arts Education, 2010, p. 8, http://www.unesco. org/culture/en/artseducation/pdf/ writtencontribution307robertmclaren fullpaper.pdf (accessed November 15, 2012). A large part of the same text can be found in an internal (uncredited, undated, and unpublished) NEPAD report prepared about education and training. See 2nd World Conference on Arts Education.
- 24 Ibid., pp. 7–8 and 13, for example. This initial position is also confirmed by research conducted by the research project "Education Practices & Policies." See "Initial Findings," p. 3.

25 See McLaren and Chifunyise, pp. 7–8 (incorporated into the NEPAD report). Here it would be important to note that taking a "mobilizing traditions" approach can identify links to a quite problematic discourse of developmental policy that seeks to couple ideas on conflict resolution in African contexts with a return to traditional values.

For a historical analysis of this line of reasoning (which is described as "cultural recourse"), see Marc Poncelet, Une utopie post-tiersmondiste: La dimension culturelle du développement (Paris, 1994).

26 For an example of this, see the glossary appearing in Arterial Network, ed., Adapting the Wheel: Cultural Policies for Africa (Cape Town, 2011), pp. 7–11, in which a number of the terms used appear.

27 A rare example of a critically framed comparative analysis is provided by Herbert Mbukeni Mnguni with his historical examination of education both as a social institution and an ideological process in various African countries. See Herbert Mbukeni Mnguni, Education as a Social Institution and Ideological Process: From the Négritude Education in Senegal to Bantu Education in South Africa (Münster and New York, 1998). 28 As this relates to the African continent, see African Union, ed., Symposium of the Policies, Strategies and Experiences in the Financing of Culture in Africa (Ivory Coast, 2000), http://ocpa.irmo.hr/resources/docs/ Abidjan_Final_Report-en.pdf (accessed October 16, 2012); African Union, ed., Harmonization and Coordination of Cultural Policies, Programmes and Activities: Plan of Action on the Cultural and Creative Industries in Africa (Nairobi, 2008), http://www.arterialnet work.org/research/nairobi-plan-of-ac tion-on-cultural-and-creative-indust ries-in-africa (accessed October 16, 2013). See also the publications of Arterial Network: Research into the Impact of the Arts & Creative Industries on Africa's Economy (Johannesburg,

2009); Contemporary Arts and Culture

Discourse: African Perspectives (Cape Town, 2010), which includes individual articles on creative industries by the Arterial Network, Mulenga Kapwepwe, and Avril Joffe; and Adapting the Wheel: Cultural Policies for Africa (Cape Town, 2011), specifically Chapter 8 on creative industries. Significantly, outside of "donor countries," art/s education is increasingly discussed within the context of creative industries and other parameterizations of the UNESCO Road Map, while within the donor countries themselves the same provisions have already been dismantled. See http://www.guardian. co.uk/education/2012/nov/02/artsleaders-concerns-ebacc-schools and http://www.guardian.co.uk/news/ datablog/2011/mar/30/arts-councilcuts-list-funding (both accessed April 13, 2013). These two press articles are not listed separately in the bibliography.

29 For example, see Blaise Compaoré, "Programme quinquennal 2010–2015," http://presidence.bf/voiesesperance. php?sid=32 (accessed March 1, 2014).
30 For example, see UEMOA, Étude d'élaboration d'une politique commune de développement culturel (Ouagadougou, 2011), http://www.arterialnetwork.org/uploads/2012/06/UEMOA_Politique_culturelle_Rapport_provisoire_(1)-1 pdf (accessed Nevember 15)

tique_culturelle_Rapport_provisoire_ (1)-1.pdf (accessed November 15, 2012).

31 For example, see UEMOA, Étude, or, for the South-African context, Mzansi's Golden Economy: Contributions of the Arts, Culture and Heritage Sector to the New Growth Path (no place, 2011), http://www.info.gov.za/view/Down loadFileAction?id=146493 (accessed November 15, 2012).

32 Remi Coulibaly, "Enseignement artistique: Les Clés de L'Adéquation Formation/Marché" (September 19, 2011), http://www.fratmat.info/accueil/culture/11093-enseignementartis

tique-les-cles-de-ladequation-forma tion-marche.html (accessed December 7, 2012).

33 See Road Map for Arts Education, pp. 4–5 and 74, as well as UEMOA, Étude, p. 26, Arterial Network, Adapting the Wheel, p. 62, and Avril Joffe and Monica Newton, The Creative Industries in South Africa: Sector Studies Research Project, Commissioned by the Department of Labour (no place, 2007), http://www.labour.gov.za/DOL/downloads/documents/research-documents/Creative%20Industries_DoL_Report.pdf (accessed February 12, 2013), pp. 4–5 and 74.

34 See the uncredited draft for a national program of cultural development in Senegal, which was initiated in 2004 under the direction of the then minister of culture in cooperation with university presidents, cultural officials, and external advisors, but has yet to come into effect; Formulation du Programme National de Développement Culturel (PNDC) (Dakar, 2004), http://www.pndc.sn/rapport_introductif_pndc.php (accessed February 13, 2013).

35 Senghaas, *Weltordnung*, p. 17 and 20.

36 Aras Ozgun, "Creative Industries: Neo-Liberalism as Mass Deception," in *Culture and Contestation in the New Century*, ed. Marc Léger (Bristol and Chicago, 2011), pp. 106–23, here p. 107.

37 Paul Mashatile, address at the National Consultative Summit on the Cultural and Creative Industry (April 14, 2011), http://www.dac.gov.za/speeches/minister/2011/14-04-2011. html (accessed September 20, 2012).
38 UEMOA, Étude, p. 62.

39 Ozgun, "Creative Industries," p. 116.

On European countries see for example Hito Steyerl, "Aesthetics of Resistance? Artistic Research as Discipline and Conflict" (2010), http://eipcp.net/trans versal/0311/steyerl/en (accessed June 11, 2013).

40 lbid., p. 119.

41 Good general overviews, key discussions and references, as well as critical reflections on this subject can be found in Saul Mahir and Ralph Austen, eds., Viewing African Cinema in the Twenty-First Century: Art Films and the Nollywood Video Revolution (Athens and Ohio, 2010), which also includes articles on East African video productions; Jonathan Haynes, "Political Critique in Nigerian Video Films," African Affairs 105, no. 421 (2006), pp. 511-33; Jonathan Haynes, "A Literature Review: Nigerian and Ghanaian Videos," Journal of African Studies 22, no. 1 (2010), pp. 105-20 (overview of discussions and references). See also Akin Adosekan, "Anticipating Nollywood: Lagos circa 1996," Social Dynam-

ics 37, no. 1 (2011), pp. 96-110. 42 See the UNESCO Institute for Statistics, "Information Sheet No. 1: Analysis of the UIS International Survey on Feature Film Statistics," current version 2009, http://www.uis.unesco. org/FactSheets/Documents/ Infosheet_No1_cinema_EN.pdf (accessed January 16, 2013). 43 See Abiodun Olayiwola, "Nollywood at the Borders of History: Yoruba Travelling Theatre and Video Film Development in Nigeria," Journal of Pan African Studies 4, no. 5 (2011), pp. 183-95, on the relationship to West African forms of theater; Emmanuel Adedayo Adedun, "The Sociolinguistics of a Nollywood Movie," Journal of Global Analysis 1, no. 2 (2010), pp. 113-38, on multilingualism; Moradewun A. Adejunmobi, "Nigerian Video Film As Minor Transnational Practice," Postcolonial Text 3, no. 2 (2007), http://postcolonial.

org/index.php/pct/article/view/548/ 405 (accessed November 5, 2012), as well as Ikechukwu Obiaya, "A Break with the Past: The Nigerian Video-film Industry in the Context of Colonial Filmmaking," Film History: An International Journal 23, no. 2 (2011), pp. 129-46, on the relationship to colonial film production; Brian Larkin, "Degraded Images, Distorted Sounds: Nigerian Video and the Infrastructure of Piracy," Public Culture 16, no. 2 (2004), pp. 289-314 and Achal Prabhala "Nollywood: How it Works— A Conversation with Charles Igwe," in Access to Knowledge in the Age of Intellectual Property, ed. Gaëlle Krikorian and Amy Kapczynski (New York, 2010), pp. 595-603, concerning questions of economics and copyright law. 44 See Odia Ofeimun, "In Defence of the Films We Have Made," West Africa Review 5 (2004), http://www.africa knowledgeproject.org/index.php/war/ article/view/307 (accessed December 14, 2013) and Ramon Lobato, "Creative Industries and Informal Economies: Lessons from Nollywood," International Journal of Cultural Studies 13, no. 4 (2010), pp. 337-54. 45 Adesokan, "Anticipating Nollywood," 46 See Michel Chossudovsky, The Globalization of Poverty and the New

- p. 63.
- World Order (Quebec, 2003), with suggestions for further reading. 47 NEPAD position paper, The New Partnership for Africa's Development (Abuja, 2001), p. 10.
- 48 The concept of an "African Renaissance" was coined in the 1940s by the Senegalese historian, cultural anthropologist, physicist, philosopher, and politician Cheik Anta Diop and seized upon again in 1998 by the former South African president Thabo Mbeki in order to place it at the core of a post-/apartheid intellectual agenda. See Cheikh Anta Diop, Towards the African Renaissance: Essays in Culture and Development, 1946 – 1960 (London, 1996) and Malegapuru William Makgoba, ed., African Renaissance: The New Struggle (Sandton and Cape Town, 1999).

49 See Tobias Orischnig, The New Partnership for Africa's Development und Regionale Öffentliche Güter (Innsbruck, 2004), p. 42, http://www.ifir.at/pdf/arbeiten/Diplomarbeit_Orisch

nig.pdf (accessed October 22, 2012). 50 Neville Alexander, "New Meanings of Panafricanism in the Era of Globalisation," paper for the Fourth Annual Frantz Fanon Distinguished Lecture, held at DePaul University, Chicago, October 8, 2003, http://ccs.ukzn.ac.za/files/Panafri1.pdf (accessed October 10, 2013), p. 13. A German version exists entitled "Globalisierung und die ungleiche Verteilung von Ressourcen am Beispiel Afrikas," paper for the 3rd Open IPPNW Congress for a Culture of Peace (Berlin, 2008), http://www.kultur-

des-friedens.de/commonFiles/pdfs/ Verein/KDF/Alexander_bearbeitet.pdf (accessed November 15, 2012), p. 7. 51 See Patrick Bond, Fanon's Warning: New Partnership for Africa's Development (Trenton, NJ, 2005); Alexander, "New Meanings of Panafricanism," and Dani W. Nabudere, "NEPAD: Historical Background and its Prospects," paper prepared for presentation at the African Forum for Envisioning Africa, Nairobi, April 2002, a7lashare.com/attach/48e12 e742f.pdf (accessed January 10, 2013).

52 Neville Alexander, "Culture and development: a view from Africa in 2011," http://www.eunic-online.eu/sites/eunic-online.eu/files/cluster_docs/Neville+Alexander+paper+-+Culture+and+Developmen+Africa+2011. pdf (accessed December 18, 2012), p. 2.

53 Mzansi's Golden Economy, p. 2.
54 For a detailed examination, see Tim Winter, Post-Conflict Heritage, Postcolonial Tourism (New York, 2007).
55 For a detailed examination, see Frank-André Weigelt, Cultural Property und Cultural Heritage: Eine vergleichend ethnologische Analyse internationaler UNESCO-Konzeptionen (Saarbrücken, 2008).

56 Winter, *Post-Conflict Heritage*, p. 2. **57** NEPAD position paper, p. 46 (emphasis added).

58 AU/NEPAD, Review of the AU/NEPAD African Action Plan: Strategic Overview and Revised Plan, 2010–2015 (2009), http://www.nepad.org/system/files/AAP%20Rev%20-%20Final%20Report. pdf (accessed September 17, 2013), p. 65.

59 The extent of these developments is described by Aderemi Raji-Oyelade: "[. . .] Culture is practically safari, is flea-market sales, is airport dance troupe; thinned and ossified, Culture is raffia palm, naked women dancing, initiation rites, infibulations; reductively, Culture is only the exotic artifact of the voyeur." Raji-Oyelade quoted in Alexander, "Culture and development," p. 3. Although it was not possible to review the original text from which this quote is taken, the reference is as follows: Aderemi Raji-Oyelade, "NEPAD's Dream of Africa: Writing in the Gap, or Questing the Forgotten Component," in Multiculturalism in the Age of the Mosaic: Essays in Honor of Rudolph G. Wilson, ed. Michael Oladejo Afolayan (New York, 2002), pp. 21-27. 60 Achille Mbembe, "Arts, Markets and Development in Our Times," http:// www.goethe.de/ges/prj/ken/pup/ en9369734.htm (accessed September 17, 2013).

61 Gad, "Kultur und Entwicklung," p. 3.

62 Ibid., p. 5.

63 Ibid., p. 6 (emphasis added).

64 See Ndiouga Benga, "Mise en scène de la culture et espace public au Sénégal," *Afrique et Développement* 35, no. 4 (2010), pp. 237–60.

65 Gad, "Kultur und Entwicklung," p. 18.

66 See Amadou Chab Touré, "L'argent de la culture au Mali," *Africultures* 69 (2007), pp. 209–13.

67 Mbembe, "Arts, Markets and Development in Our Times."

68 For example, see UEMOA, Étude; the uncredited Formulation, and also Sarah Andrieu, "Le métier d'entrepreneur culturel au Burkina Faso: Itinéraire et conditions de réussite d'un professionnel du spectacle vivant,"

Bulletin de l'APAD 29-30 (2010), pp. 55-69.

69 Gad, "Kultur und Entwicklung," p. 16 (word order changed by the author).
70 See Andrieu, "Le métier," in which these aspects are described in greater detail.

71 This press review represents only examples as francophone, anglophone, and lusophone African contexts, demonstrating specific historical and cultural attributes that cannot be readily transferred from one context to another. A comprehensive examination would require more in-depth examination of the press and comparative analysis in order to, on the one hand, determine supraregional cultural and political trends, and, on the other, to locate the particularities based in individual regions.

72 Senegalese and Congolese daily newspapers with an Internet presence generally only post material dating back to 2011 online, and therefore the articles examined here date from 2011–12. The articles from Burkina Faso form an exception; the original articles are available as Word files and are also listed separately in the bibliography.

73 APANews, "La CEDEAO évalue à Niamey sa politique culturelle en phase avec le NEPAD," in *Le Soleil*, Senegal (June 27, 2012), http://www.lesoleil.sn/index.php?option=com_content& view=article&id=17262:la-cedeao-evalue-a-niamey-sa-politique-cultu relle-en-phase-avec-le-nepad&catid=157:culture&Itemid=109 (accessed November 15, 2012).

74 AU/NEPAD, *Review*, p. 19.
75 Mbembe, "Arts, Markets and Development in Our Times."
76 Awa Gueye, "Rencontre des acteurs culturels: Le Recs en classe pour l'émergence de l'Entrepreneuriat culturel," in *Le Quotidien*, Senegal (June 30, 2012), http://www.lequotidien.sn/index.php/culture/item/12043-rencon tre-des-acteurs-culturels--le-recs-enclasse-pour-l'émergence-de-l'entrepre neuriat-culturel (accessed October 14, 2012).

77 Mbembe, "Arts, Markets and Development in Our Times."

78 Bienvenu Ipan, "Du 2 au 4 août 2012 à Brazzaville: La République du Congo accueille le premier Salon des industries culturelles," in *Le Potentiel*, DR Congo (July 30, 2012), http://www.lepotentielonline.com/culture/220-du-2-au-4-aout-2012-a-brazzavil le-la-republique-du-congo-accueil le-le-premier-salon-des-indust ries-culturelles (accessed October 14, 2012).

79 BIM, "Sénégal: la RDC à la conférence sur l'économie créative en Afrique," in *Le Potentiel*, DR Congo (November 21, 2012), http://www.lepotentielonline.com/culture/3279-senegal-la-rdc-a-la-conference-sur-l-economie-creative-en-afrique (accessed December 10, 2012).

80 Privat Ouedraogo, "Formation artistique et culturelle: Une filière à

artistique et culturelle: Une filière à soutenir," in *Le Faso*, Burkina Faso (May 28, 2005), http://www.lefaso.net/spip.php?article7502 (accessed November 15, 2012).

81 Uncredited, "Ecole des arts: La réorganisation des filières et la

La réorganisation des filières et la réadaptation des contenus sont à l'étude," in Le Soleil, Senegal (April 13, 2011), http://www.lesoleil.sn/index.php?option=com_content&view=ar ticle&id=3379:ecole-des-arts--la-reor ganisation-des-filieres-et-la-readapta tion-des-contenus-sont-a-letude&ca tid=61:literrature&Itemid=109 (accessed November 16, 2012). Significantly, the details of the new program are not described in the article.

82 Uncredited, "ESUR: traditionelle cérémonie de réception des nouveaux à l'INA," in *Le Potentiel/Radiookapi.net*, DR Congo (November 3, 2012), http://www.lepotentielonline.com/culture/2669-esur-traditionnelle-ceremo nie-de-reception-des-nouveaux-a-lina (accessed November 12, 2012).

83 Mamadou Cissé, "Battle national danse Hip Hop à Kaolack: Dix régions représentées à la 6ème édition," in Le Soleil, Senegal (March 31, 2011), http://www.lesoleil.sn/index. php?option= com_content&view=article&id=3022: battle-national-danse-hip-hop-a-kao lack-dix-regions-representees-a-la-6eme-edition-&catid=45:music<e mid=109 (accessed October 10, 2012). 84 Abdou Diop, "Danse contemporaine: l'atelier de Guédiawaye veut redynamiser la pratique," in Le Soleil, Senegal (February 10, 2012), http:// www.lesoleil.sn/index. php?option=com_content& view=article&id=11803:dansecontemporaine-latelier-de-guedia waye-veut-redynamiser-la-pra tique-&catid=45:music&Itemid=109 (accessed October 18, 2012). 85 Laurette Kambamba, "Clôture de la semaine d'atelier artistique pour la prévention et la révalorisation de la culture orale," in L'Avenir, DR Congo (May 4, 2011), http://www.groupelave nir.cd/spip.php?article39888 (accessed October 14, 2012). 86 In light of the problematic content articulated not only in the communiqué and survey literature but also in the press, an examination of counterdiscursive spaces and counter-public spheres—particularly in the Internet — would represent an important avenue of further research. 87 Macaire Dagri, "A quoi peut bien

spheres—particularly in the Internet—would represent an important avenue of further research.

87 Macaire Dagri, "A quoi peut bien servir la culture dans un pays pauvre et ruiné par dix ans de crise sociopolitique?" in *Fraternité Matin*, Ivory Coast (August 12, 2012), http://www.fratmat.info/la-matinale/20121-macaire-dagri-a-quoi-peut-bien-servir-la-culture-dans-un-pays-pauvre-et-ruine-par-dix-ans-de-crise-sociopolitique-.html (accessed October 18, 2012).

88 Below are several anthologies providing a good overview of a discursive field that has become exceedingly broad: Bill Ashcroft et al., eds., The Postcolonial Studies Reader (London and New York, 1994) and Post-Colonial Studies: The Key Concepts (London and New York, 2000); Patrick Williams and Laura Chrisman, eds., Colonial Discourse and Post-Colonial Theory: A Reader (New York, 1994); Robert C. Young, Postcolonialism: A Historical Introduction (Oxford, 2001). For works in German, see Maria do Mar Castro Varela and Nikita Dhawan, Postkoloniale Theorie: Eine kritische Einführung (Bielefeld, 2005). Original works that have played a fundamental role in framing and forming the discourse include Frantz Fanon, Peau noire, masques blancs (Paris, 1965) and Le damnés de la terre (Paris, 1968); Edward Said, Orientalism (New York, 1978); Homi Bhabha, The Location of Culture (London and New York, 1994); Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, "Can the Subaltern Speak?" in Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture, ed. Cary Nelson and Lawrence Grossberg (London, 1988), pp. 28-37; Édouard Glissant, Le Discours Antillais (Paris, 1981); Paul Gilroy, The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness (Cambridge, MA, 1993); Valentin Y. Mudimbe, The Invention of Africa: Gnosis, Philosophy, and the Order of Knowledge (Bloomington, 1988); Patricia Hill Collins, Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment (London and New York, 1991). 89 Kien Nghi Ha, "Postkolonialismus/ Postkoloniale Kritik," in Wie Rassismus aus Wörtern spricht: (K)Erben des Kolonialismus im Wissensarchiv deutsche Sprache, ed. Susan Arndt and Nadja Ofuatey-Alazard (Münster, 2011), pp. 177-84, here p. 177. 90 lbid., p. 182.

91 Deconstructions of this matrix in terms of the history of ideas or epistemology have been undertaken by a number of African authors. Here are a few important original works: Chinua Achebe, An Image of Africa (London, 1975); Mudimbe, The Invention of Africa, and Achille Mbembe, On the Postcolony (Los Angeles and London, 2001). An excellent article providing an overview of the contextualization and problematization of the accompanying discussions is "Afrika" by Ingrid Jacobs and Anna Weicker, in Wie Rassismus aus Wörtern spricht, pp. 200-14. 92 As the editors of the current issue of the Harvard Educational Review state, this marginalization does indeed indicate a persistent international research trend: "In 1991 the Harvard Educational Review presented a two-part arts education symposium. [. . .] Twenty years after the Arts as Education symposium, we remain troubled that the topic of arts teaching and learning has continued to remain a stranger to the pages of our journal [...]. Given that our current educational landscape is so deeply fixated on standardized tests, measurable outcomes in rigid content areas, and increased 'achievement' at all costs, perhaps it makes sense that the arts—though fundamental to how we make meaning of ourselves, our environments, and our sociocultural interactions—are relegated to the margins of dominant discussions on education." Edward P. Clapp and Laura A. Edwards, eds., "Expanding Our Vision for the Arts in Education," editors' introduction to Harvard Educational Review, spring issue 2013, http://hepg. org/her/abstract/1216 (accessed June 12, 2013).

93 The DATAD database can be found at http://www.aau.org/data/qufind.php (accessed January 8, 2014). It must be noted that DATAD operates with an inadequate filtering function and is quite rudimentary in terms of the frame of investigation. For example, the Senegalese Université de Cheikh Anta Diop is the only francophone founding institution. Only recently has DATAD begun to list individual dissertations from the Université de Dakar and universities in Kinshasa, Ouagadougou, and Abidjan. Furthermore, access is difficult for all (African) scholars who are not associated with a university. Without a subscription, which costs 400 US dollars for non-African institutions and the vague sum of 0 to 250 US dollars for African institutions, the dates of publication cannot be inspected. This has a significant negative effect on fundamental and comparative evaluations, systematic research, and the recognition of the realm of "gray literature." 94 See Anri Herbst, ed., Emerging

Solutions for Musical Arts Education in Africa (Cape Town, 2005), http://www. oozebap.org/biblio/pdf/2011/ Emerging%20Solutions%20for%20 Musical%20Arts%20Education%20 in%20Africa.pdf (accessed September 18, 2013) for an essential guide to the subject with numerous further references. See also Minette Mans, ed., Centering on African Practice in Musical Arts Education (Cape Town, 2006) and Living in Worlds of Music: A View of Education and Values (London and New York, 2009); Mmbabi Katana, African Music for Schools (Kampala, 2002). 95 See Mogomme Masoga, "Establishing dialogue: thoughts on music education in Africa," in Herbst, Emerging Solutions, pp. 1-10, here p. 6. 96 Ibid.

97 Anri Herbst, "Musical arts education in Africa: a philosophical discourse," in Herbst, *Emerging Solutions*, pp. 11–23, here p. 23.

98 A historical overview of the context of dance and teaching that includes numerous references is provided by Sharon Friedman, "Navigating the byways of polyculturalism—whose dance are we teaching in South African schools?" Research in Dance Education 10, no. 2 (June 2009), pp. 131–44.

99 Marion Brousse, "A La Rencontre des Artistes Contemporains du Mali, du Burkina Faso et du Sénégal," diploma thesis (Université Paris–1 Panthéon-Sorbonne, 2002).

100 Ibid., p. 24.

101 Frank A. O. Ugiomoh, "The Crises of Modernity: Art and the Definition of Cultures in Africa," *Third Text* 3, no. 21 (2007), pp. 297–305, here p. 303. 102 lbid.

103 Dina Zoe Belluigi, "Exploring the discourses around 'creativity' and 'critical thinking' in a South African creative arts curriculum," *Studies in Higher Education* 34, no. 6 (2009), pp. 699–717.

104 It must be noted that this field has not been adequately researched in all of the world's regions. This is especially true when dealing with didactic/pedagogical processes in which artists exchange knowledge without structural/programmatic/textual frameworks.

105 See the following (arranged chronologically for clarity): Frank McEwen, The African Workshop School (Rhodesia, 1967) (although this work could not be examined, it should be considered a primary source); Toyin Oguntona, "The Oshogbo workshop: a case study of non-formal art education in Nigeria," dissertation on microfilm (University of Michigan, 1981); Phibion Kangai and Joseph George Mupondi, "Africa Digests the West: A Review of Modernism and the Influence of Patrons-Cum Brokers on the Style and Form of Southern Eastern and Central African Art," Academic Research International, Part-I: Social Sciences and Humanities 4, no. 1 (January 2013), pp. 193-200, http://www.savap.org.pk/ journals/ARInt./Vol.4(1)/2013(4.1-20). pdf (accessed February 20, 2013). 106 See the following (arranged chronologically for clarity): David Koloane, "The Polly Street Art Scene," in African Art in Southern Africa: From Tradition to Township, ed. Anitra Nettleton and David Hammond-Tocke (Johannesburg, 1989), pp. 211-29; Peter E. Franks and Allison C. Vink, Between Ideals and Reality: A Research Investigation on the Kathelong Art Centre (Pretoria, 1990); Elizabeth Rankin, "Mediated Memories: Arts Production at the !Xu and Khqe Cultural Project, Schmidsdrift," in Proceedings of the 13th Annual Conference of South African Association of Art Historians (Stellenbosch, 1991); Lize van Robb-

roeck, "Community Arts in South Africa: Ideology and Practice History of Art," MA thesis (University of Witwatersrand, 1992); Philippa Hobbs and Elizabeth Rankin, Printmaking in a Transforming South Africa (Cape Town and Johannesburg, 1997) and Rorke's Drift: Empowering Prints, Twenty Years of Printmaking in South Africa (Cape Town, 2003); Charles Clifford et al., eds., Lihlo la tsa setso: A Gauteng Directory of Arts Groups & Debates on Cultural Life (Johannesburg, 2000); Elza Miles, Polly Street: The Story of an Art Center (Johannesburg, 2004); Rhoda Elgar, "Creativity, Community and Selfhood: Psychosocial Intervention and Making Art in Cape Town," unpublished dissertation (University of London, 2005); Diana Wylie, Art + Revolution: The Life and Death of Thami Mnyele, South African Artist (Charlottesville, 2008); John Peffer, Art and the End of Apartheid (Minneapolis, 2009); Clive Kellner and Sergio Albio-Gonzaléz, eds., Thami Mnyele + Medu Art Ensemble Retrospective, exh. cat. (Johannesburg, 2010); Gerard Hagg, "The state and community arts centres in a society in transformation: The South African Case," International Journal of Cultural Studies 13, no. 2 (2010), pp. 163-84; Eben Lochner,

"The Democratisation of Art: CAP as an Alternative Art Space in South Africa," MA thesis (Rhodes University, 2011). 107 See the following (arranged chronologically for clarity): Hamid Irbouh, Art in the Service of Colonialism: French Art Education in Morocco. 1912-1956 (New York, 2005); Giulia Paoletti, "Cultural and Artistic Actors in Douala," in Douala in Translation: a view of the city and its creative transformative potentials, ed. Lucia Babina et al. (Rotterdam, 2007), pp. 243-47. Additional works on non-formal education and professionalization that could be sourced during the research process focus on the area of dance. See Altaïr Despres, "Des migrations exceptionnelles? Les 'voyages' des danseurs contemporains africains," in Genèses 1, no. 82 (2011), pp. 120-39 (with suggestions for further reading). Systems of reference regarding lusophone African contexts are not supported within the context of this study.

108 See Irbouh, Art in the Service of Colonialism.

109 See Kangai and Mupondi, "Africa Digests the West"; regarding the Mozambican context, see the somewhat descriptive article by Alda Costa, "Revisiting the years when Pancho Guedes lived in Mozambique: The arts and the artists" (September 2010), http://www.buala.org/en/ to-read/revisiting-the-years-whenpancho-guedes-lived-in-mozambiquethe-arts-and-the-artists#_ftn1 (accessed February 15, 2013). The white founders appearing in the same order as the organizations listed in the text are (with the exception of Núcleo de Arte in Mozambique, which had several Portuguese patrons whose names could not be identified with certainty): Pierre Romain-Desfossés (Belgium), Frank McEwan (Great Britain), and Tom Blomefield (South Africa).

available at this link.

110 Kangai and Mupondi, "Africa Digests the West," p. 193.

111 lbid.

112 Peffer, Art and the End of Apartheid, p. 26.

113 lbid., pp. 22-24.

114 To name a few: Sydney Kumalo, Ephraim Ngatane, Durant Sihlali, Louis Maghubela, and Julian Motau. See Koloane, "The Polly Street Art Scene." 115 See Peffer, Art and the End of Apartheid; Koloane, "The Polly Street Art Scene"; and Hobbs and Rankin, Printmaking and Rorke's Drift. 116 To name a few: Jenni Dlamini, Allina Ndebele, Dinah Molefe, and Elizabeth Mbatha. See Hobbs and Rankin, Printmaking and Rorke's Drift.

Scene." 118 For a detailed examination, see Franks and Vink, Between Ideals and Reality.

117 See Koloane, "The Polly Street Art

119 Steven Sack, "The New Generation," no date, http://www. sahistory.org.za/archive/newgeneration (accessed February 15, 2013).

120 Eben Lochner, "The Community Arts Project (CAP): The Role of the Arts in Building Community and Artistic Development," no date, http://www. asai.co.za/jdownloads/Peoples%20 Culture/Capepressclips/v__eben_ lochner_asj_publication_final.pdf (accessed September 18, 2013), with interviews and suggestions for further reading.

121 See Kellner and Albio-Gonzaléz, Medu Art Ensemble Retrospective, p. 77.

122 See Wylie, Art + Revolution, p. 123. 123 See Kellner and Albio-Gonzaléz, Medu Art Ensemble Retrospective, p. 83.

124 Dikobe Martins, "The Necessity of Art for National Liberation," for the Culture and Resistance Festival, 1982, www.sahistory.org.za/thamsanga-cul ture-weapon-struggle (accessed February 8, 2013).

125 See http://digital.lib.msu.edu/ projects/africanjournals/html/browse. cfm?colid=11 (accessed September 18, 2013); several of the issues are

Chapter 1 Discursive Locating

Chapter 2
Prior to Entry
A Critical Attunement
to Field Research

The Limitations of Research in Theory and Practice

Any attempt at investigating the conceptual and practical shaping of the field of non-formal artistic education/training and professionalization in African contexts or at offering fragmentary depictions of the same must inevitably remain limited. Even a very restricted approach does not allow researchers to do empirical or analytical justice to the multiplicity of regional and local relationships, or to their cultural diversity, their different historical backgrounds, and their present structural sets of conditions. Given the sociocultural preconditions, ideational stances, real spheres of activity, as well as places and practices of mediation and networking, it is equally difficult to meet the complex multifacetedness of the field. This situation is further complicated by non-formal organizations and initiatives that, although active within the sphere of artistic education/training and professionalization, operate outside the "visible" intra-African and international cultural networks.1 Thus the selection and research of only a few case studies in African contexts is presented as a fundamentally ambivalent undertaking currently permitting, at best, a descriptive approximation to the wide range of options for non-formality and for artistic education/training and professionalization.

But even these approximations contain certain restrictions. For one thing, the field under investigation is structured by numerous interdependent factors, both external and internal, that would therefore require an informed examination of current power relations and their historical formation, a task not even partially feasible within the limits of the present study. For another, this field is a constituent of various different social spaces that are characterized by an unequal distribution of economic, social, cultural, and symbolic capital. This gives rise to force fields within which various actors continually reposition themselves in different ways and according to different preconditions.² In the face of temporal and spatial complexities, such dynamics can be read merely as snapshots of specific places and moments. Thirdly, as a research team coming from Europe and

commissioned by a European institution of cultural exchange and promotion, we do not act as "observers" and certainly do not operate on an "abstract" level. Rather, we enter these local force fields and exercise a direct and indirect influence by our presence, by our interaction with interviewees, and by our specific interests. Within the context of hierarchically conditioned post-/colonial settings and relations, such an initial situation consequently confirms existing structural hegemonies that are reflected both in the globalized division of labor and in the production of theory and knowledge.3 This leads to a number of questions: Who is researching whom, and in what context? Who is talking/ writing about whom? Who has what access to the research findings? These questions point towards symptomatic yet unresolvable problems that must therefore be subjected to critical reflection.4

For example, the local actors presented in the next chapter were selected by means of a "vectored" research focus—both limiting and limited from the outset—that seeks to investigate non-certified educational/training options in the arts sector and employ the findings as a basis for formulating funding recommendations. As the field of nonformal artistic education/training and professionalization is structured by a number of very dissimilar parameters, it seemed logical to take into account not only the geographical bandwidth of the organizations, but also their markedly diverse dispositions with respect to artistic disciplines, reputations, conceptual impetus; the duration of their experience in the field and self-positionings; and funding strategies. These selection criteria may seem suitable for "determining" and "interrelating" the situatedness of different actors, but they also raise the question of whether local researchers would have chosen a comparable focus or whether they would have prioritized the discussion of other aspects.

Similar ambivalences are revealed by our chosen thematic posits. Their leaning towards what, in our opinion, are practice-relevant issues is rooted in a critical, powersensitive research approach and may contribute to developing a multiperspectival, many-layered representation, while also leading to some interesting insights. However, this precludes neither the hegemonic monologizing principle of Western theory and knowledge production nor its one-way sense of direction. Additionally, any research subjected to external instructions and conducted by external researchers is a temporally limited undertaking. As such, it inevitably incurs the danger of neglecting current developments and nuanced perspectives in local discourses and/or of failing to locate them appropriately and/or of tending to limit itself to the activities of one specific scene.⁵

It is therefore pertinent to ask which epistemological framings, thematic postulations, and interpretive results might have ensued from a participative research design that—as a joint venture with local actors—would have encompassed the entire research process, ranging from developing the scope of questions to gathering and analyzing the data. Furthermore, given the complex interplays of interests with regard to the present study, both divergent post-/colonial speaking positions and their uneven effects should be taken into consideration: Who is visible? How do interviewees interpret statements in the framework of the study? How does the funding frame of the research affect the course and content of the interviews? What funding consequences might the answers have? Questions such as these are indispensable for research and interaction processes in post-/colonial North-South constellations, which are always potentially fraught with the danger of re/inscribing rather than counteracting existing power relationships and representation policies and which thus issue the challenge interpreting (field) research as "work within contradictions."

Conceptual and Thematic Processes of Approximation

This study was preceded by exploratory preliminary research with two goals in mind: firstly, to identify and structure the field of investigation, and secondly, to enable a wellreasoned selection of organizations that provide non-formal

vocational artistic training. Twelve actors from ten countries were contacted and interviewed for this purpose. Their expertise provided a critical basis for obtaining more specific reference points about local prerequisites and structural conditions, but at the same time it illustrated the striking extent to which these factors differ from place to place. The respective working contexts of the organizations and their aims, approaches, and experiences proved to be equally divergent. The interview responses enabled us to compile thematically relevant information and to present it according to synoptically organized questions. However, the interim results failed to supply the "empirical orientation" we had hoped for. Instead, they highlighted the necessity for comprehensive documentation of local presences in the first place. These findings have been emphatically verified by the current state of research.8

Nevertheless, the thematic clustering did enable us to undertake an initial, tentative systematization of the field and revealed interesting "commonalities in difference." For example, despite the diversity of their respective artistic areas and of the education/training opportunities they offer, most of the interviewed organizations pursue an inclusive participatory approach.9 Additionally, a wide spectrum of strategies, media, and forms of communication, tailored to the specific needs and capabilities of the various local contexts, is being tested in order to introduce non-formal artistic education/training programs to various social spaces.¹⁰ The varying permanence and intensity of these activities is similarly attributable to a fundamental common factor, for almost all the organizations were (or are) dependent on external funding and, given their own limited resources, 11 are obliged to conform to a considerable extent to the changing stipulations of national and international funders.

Developing and implementing non-formal artistic education/ training programs therefore depends on diverse economic factors that are often difficult to predict. Cultural actors at a national level generally operate within a framework of con-

Chapter 2 Prior to Entry

tradictory economic and cultural-political interests. Although the ruling paradigm of these policies is admittedly geared towards the presumptive market potential of "art" and "culture," they only rarely entail the provision of state funding, particularly for the non-formal sector.¹² As a result, tional and cultural-political issues and concerns that are deemed urgent by local actors in local contexts are overlooked by officialdom, while common patterns of perception that attach little value to the importance of artistic creativity and vocational artistic training are socially reinforced. International funding, in contrast, is often oriented towards implementing programs devised in the respective donor countries,13 which can exert similar impact both in terms of the perception of local needs and agendas and in terms of funding effects. If organizations meet a portion of their funding requirements with in-house arts productions, 14 then they are confronted with additional influential factors when operating internationally. In any case, the interplay of these different aspects creates complex conflicting scenarios within which individuals and organizations must find ways to negotiate their educational and cultural-political intentions, practices, and visions.

Selecting the Organizations

Four organizations from four countries were selected for the present study. Three of them have many years of experience, while the fourth is currently establishing itself. Operating in the areas of photography, dance/performing arts, and visual arts, they differ significantly in terms of their structural preconditions and fields of activity and in their conceptual and practical working methods. To help evaluate the extrainstitutional spaces they have created, we identified the *most interesting practices* beforehand with respect to:

- Approaching education/training opportunities and artistic activities, and the interplay between them
- Interrelating vocational training, artistic activity, and civic involvement
- Establishing possible conditions for alternative

cultural-political practices

 Developing and evolving specific ethics and self-/ conceptions of artistic professionalism

We have chosen "most interesting practices" as a working concept in order to "make visible" and embed different practice-based relational settings developed by the actors. As these practices are context-bound, they neither serve as key examples or models, nor can they be easily transferred from one locality to another. By presenting them we do not aim to discuss possible "successes" or "innovations." Rather, they may help us to focus on specific work processes and comprehension whose development paths implementation can be fraught with contradictions, controversies, and even setbacks. Most interesting practices, therefore, should certainly be read as a counter-concept to good practice and best practice approaches. Geared towards providing solutions and optimizing efficiency, these approaches appear problematic for two main reasons: firstly because their claim to validity implies that preexisting practices are less effective or fruitful, and secondly because they are based on the generalizing assumption that a "generally accepted" view exists "amongst practitioners of what is a 'state of the art' approach." ¹⁵ Given the current state of research formal artistic education/training in African contexts and the resulting requirement to provide a point of entry to the knowledge and experience of actors practicing in the field in the first place, any approach that generates formulaic recommendations for implementation would be as unsuitable as it is counterproductive.

The Actors

Market Photo Workshop: Johannesburg, South Africa; photography. Founded in Johannesburg in 1989 by South African photographer David Goldblatt, the organization's goal was to provide training in photography for the racially d i s - criminated majority population. The curriculum includes a

Foundation Course teaching the basics of photography, an Intermediate Course that imparts more in-depth technical and visual knowledge, and one-year training courses focusing on professional practice and artistic and documentary photography. After successfully completing the Advanced Programme in Photography or the Photojournalism and Documentary Photography Programme, graduates can apply for various "mentorships" (in-house sponsorship schemes).

Over the course of the curriculum, students and graduates become involved in outreach projects, usually temporary workshops in which participants are introduced to photography as a self-determined opportunity in order to describe their own environment and foster a broader understanding of visual literacy.¹⁷

École des Sables: Toubab Dialaw, Senegal; dance. Founded in 1998 by dancer and choreographer Germaine Acogny and her husband Helmut Vogt, the organization offers professional training and further professionalization aimed primarily at African dancers. As an international center for traditional and contemporary African dance, following seven years of construction the school officially began to operate in Toubab Dialaw in 2004.

The organization holds workshops that are run by guest artists from Africa and abroad and that are tailored to the needs of different kinds of participants. Some of the workshops are designed as "follow-up" events. Training programs and continuing professionalization for dancers from the African continent cover different dance techniques and choreographic skills. Additionally, they offer opportunities for cooperation and exchange between African dancers and dance companies. Other temporary workshops are part of project-specific, often international collaborations. 18

Two dance companies are associated with École des Sables: Jant-Bi (founded in 1998 as a male dance ensemble) and Jant-Bi Jigeen (recently formed as a women's dance ensemble).

Studios Kabako: Kisangani, DR Congo; dance and performing arts. The organization was originally founded in Kinshasa in 2001 by dancer and choreographer Faustin Linyekula. Working in the Centre Culturel Français, he trained groups of four to five participants in contemporary dance. In 2006, he moved to his hometown of Kisangani, where Studios Kabako not only offers a center for training and professionalizing dancers and choreographers but also represents a local communication and participation space for producing music, hosting various collaborations with diverse artists, and presenting the results of these cooperative endeavors. The center's artistic productions include numerous works by Faustin Linyekula and those of associated artists. 19 The i a n Z tion's facilities are home to the only recording studio in eastern Congo.

Studios Kabako began offering part-time training for professionalizing fifteen young dancers in 2009. The training spans a number of years and is divided into intensive workshop units that take place several times a year and are facilitated also by guest artists from Africa and abroad. Individual dancers are sent to workshops and training residencies in Kinshasa and beyond the borders of the Congo in order to gain experience.

In 2007, Faustin Linyekula received the Principal Award of the Dutch funding institution Prince Claus Fund for his artistic and social commitment.²⁰

Netsa Art Village: Addis Ababa, Ethiopia; visual arts. The organization was founded in 2008 by students of the Alle School of Fine Arts and Design (associated with the University of Addis Ababa). Born out of a workshop hosted by arts activist and gallery owner Konjit Seyoum, it now pursues the goal of promoting contemporary art in Ethiopia and giving young artists a platform for discussion and exchange. The City of Addis Ababa approved the initiators' application to use part of a municipal park.

Netsa Art Village is an artists' collective that is run exclusively by artists. It is currently establishing itself and is in the process of finding its bearings in the sectors of art and art/s education. At present the organization aims to cooperate with the Triangle Artists' Workshop via international artists' residencies. Concerts, readings, panel discussions, and exhibitions are held to put artists in touch with the local communities. Outreach projects aim to get young people from socially disadvantaged communities involved in interdisciplinary projects.²¹

Temporary Points of Entry

The field research undertaken for the present study was carried out between April and August 2012. We were able to devote approximately two weeks to each organization—a short space of time in view of the need to gain an understanding of the general conditions, organizational working daily routines. interpersonal relationships, and communication dynamics. The preliminary results are therefore due not only to the generous willingness of our interview partners to grant these insights, but also to the advance planning and organizational efforts undertook and above their normal work in order to facilitate our visits. As researchers—both in two-person teams and individually we were briefed about and permitted to participate in everyday procedures. We were also able to audit workshops, classes, and other activities. Our presence as "observers" may, as a rule, have created something of an exceptional situation and may have possibly contributed to slight "atmospheric" changes at particular events.²²

Market Photo Workshop offered us the opportunity of spending several days auditing different courses in the Advanced Programme and interviewing the organization's managers and instructors. Talks with students took place informally and were not recorded.²³ The visits to École des Sables and Studios Kabako were timed to coincide with

workshops taking place. One of these was a six-week audition workshop for West African and Dutch hip-hop dancers conceived and implemented in cooperation with École des Sables by the Dutch dance theater organization Don't Hit Mama as part of its War and Peace project.²⁴ The other, a regional workshop also spanning several weeks, brought together dancers from different regions of DR Congo and the Republic of Congo for the first time and was run by Faustin Linyekula and South African choreographer Boyzie Cekwana. During these visits, we were able to speak to artistic and administrative directors, instructors, and students, and others involved in the organizations' daily activities. The visit to the Netsa Art Village artists' collective was coordinated in advance with its members' specific travel and working schedules, which allowed for meeting and interviewing most people involved in the project.

1 Within the scope of the present study, it was impossible to conduct a deliberate search for such organizations. However, a search of this kind would be indispensable for future research in order to highlight context-specific hierarchies within the field of non-formal artistic education/training and professionalization that, in turn, are closely linked to access or lack of access to funding and thus would open up a number of critical questions and issues.

2 On this see Pierre Bourdieu, Outline of a Theory of Practice (Cambridge, 1977) and Sociology in Question (London et al., 1993). See also Beate Krais and Gunter Gebauer, Habitus (Bielefeld, 2002).

3 This hegemonic division of labor is closely linked with the lingering effects of a crucial dimension of the colonialism by which it was brought forth: the "[...] gigantic project of the production, appropriation, and transmission as well as the radical destruction of knowledge that was linked to a process of appor-

tioning the world. [...] This apportioning of the world also includes the 'division of labor' between subject and object, between researchers and the subjects of their research, and ultimately also between instructors and the instructed [. . .]." See Therese Kaufmann, "Materiality of Knowledge," European Institute für Progressive Cultural Policies 2 (2012), http://eipcp. net/transversal/0112/kaufmann/en (accessed January 16, 2013). 4 On this see Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, A Critique of Postcolonial Reason: Toward a History of a Vanishing Present (Boston, 1999), pp. 5-6.

5 On the problem of involving both local cultural production and the art and culture discourse, see Mahmood Mamdani, "There Can Be No African Renaissance Without an African-Focused Intelligentsia," in African Renaissance, ed. Malegapuru William Makgoba, pp. 125-34 (for full reference, see Chapter 1, note 48). 6 The preliminary study was conducted from September 2011 to early February 2012. The surveyed organizations included: Balanise, Mali (literature, documentation, visual arts); Caversham Centre, South Africa (literature, visual arts); Doual'art, Cameroon (visual arts); Femrite, Uganda (literature); Imagine, Burkina Faso (film); Ishyo Arts Centre, Ruanda (interdisciplinary); Kuona Trust, Kenya (visual arts); Market Photo Workshop, South Africa (photography); Netsa Art Village (visual arts); Nubuke Foundation, Ghana (interdisciplinary); Studios Kabako, DR Congo (dance, performing arts); Thupelo Workshops, South Africa (visual arts, partly interdisciplinary). The expert interviews were structured in advance according to specific guidelines. On the methodology, see Alexander Bogner and Wolfgang Menz, "Das theoriegenerierende Experteninterview" in Das Experteninterview: Theorie, Methode, Anwendung, ed. Alexander Bogner and Wolfgang Menz (Wiesbaden, 2005), pp. 33-70.

7 The question categories developed in the preliminary study were:
"Approach of the educational program";
"Contexts and references"; "Curriculum"; "Learners and teachers";
"Educational opportunities and public relations work"; "Professionalization and the tertiary educational sector";
"Presence in public space"; and "Resources."

- 8 See Chapter 1, Waymarker 3: Theory and Research.
- 9 For example, the teaching program at Caversham Centre in KwaZulu-Natal focuses on the acquisition of (artistic/ creative) skills in printing technology and related areas, while part of the program is explicitly aimed at "Learning (education) through art." Similar observations hold true for Netsa Art Village in Addis Ababa, which focuses, on the one hand, on opening up extra-institutional spaces for professional artists to continue their training and interact with colleagues while, on the other hand, incorporating "non-artists" into its projects and creating alternative points of reference for practice and experience beyond the limits of stateregulated cultural policies.
- 10 For example, the Ishyo Arts Centre in Kigali initially ran a mobile library bus to facilitate access to a wide swathe of the population. At present it regularly provides space for interested people from different professional and social backgrounds to meet and discuss art and cultural issues. Balanise engages in project-based public relations activities in Bamako both in the media and by means of public announcements and outreach work. Similarly, Femrite offers regular short education-
- al events in Kampala, such as two-day reading tents for schools that also function as meeting points.

- 11 While all the art/s organizations except Netsa Art Village have permanent spaces, not all are equally able to use them. For instance, Kuona Trust in Nairobi and Thupelo Workshops in Cape Town can offer long-term or temporary studio and working space for artists, while Balanise, as an organization still establishing itself, is obliged to host educational events on the premises of its cooperative partners.
- 12 Most organizations surveyed for the preliminary study receive no government funding but cover their costs by means of funding programs from international foundations and also local and international sponsors. The same is true of independent art/s organizations. The problem of an absent state and the corresponding lack of public funding was one of the key themes at the symposium "Condition Report" that ran in Dakar from January 18–20, 2012.
- 13 Concerning the funding policies of Western institutions, Koyo Kouoh, curator and director of the Dakar-based arts center Raw Material Company, noted critically that the thrust of these programs did not amount to a true partnership (see the conference notes by Fouad Asfour, session 5: "What are we doing here? The objectives of foreign cultural representations"). See also Daniela Roth, "Condition Report" (Feb-

ruary 2012) at http://universes-in-universe.org/eng/nafas/articles/2012/condition_report (accessed December 28, 2012).

Chapter 2 Prior to Entry

- 14 Among the organizations surveyed for the preliminary study, this applies to the Nubuke Foundation in Accra, which finances itself through exhibitions, curatorships, and book publications, and to Studios Kabako in Kisangani, which generates a large proportion of its own funding through income from tours and artistic co-productions.
- 15 Tessa Brannan et al., "Assessing Best Practice as a Means of Innovation," *Local Government Studies* 34, no. 1 (2008), pp. 23–38, here p. 26.

 16 The course descriptions are at http://www.marketphotoworkshop.co. za/content/learn (accessed September 20, 2013).
- 17 The project descriptions are at http://www.marketphotoworkshop.co. za/projects (accessed September 20, 2013).
- 18 See http://www.jantbi.org/IMG/pdf/PRESENTATION_JANT_BI_En.pdf; the workshop descriptions appear on pp. 4–6 of the English and French versions of the profile (accessed September 20, 2013).
- 19 See the link "créations" at http://www.kabako.org (accessed September 20, 2013).
- 20 See http://www.princeclausfund. org/en/network/faustin.html (accessed September 20, 2013).
- 21 This includes a photographic project on the exploration of urban space organized by photographer Leikun Nahusenay.
- 22 As the results of our field research are not analyzed and discussed in a "classical" sociological sense, we confine ourselves to a brief mention of this influence here.

- 23 In order to conduct detailed interviews with students, more time would have been required to develop a relationship of trust outside the instructional setting.
- 24 Don't Hit Mama is an Amsterdambased dance theater organization founded in 2000 and run by dancer and theater producer Nita Liem and dramaturge Bart Deuss. Its productions take the form of collaborations with professional, semi-professional, and amateur dancers and are based on African—American dance and music. See http://donthitmama.nl/ and also http://warandpeaceandhiphop.tumblr.com/over (both websites online in Dutch only; accessed September 20, 2013).



Figure 1: Market Photo Workshop, Johannesburg, South Africa: Entrance to the school of photography in Newtown, Johannesburg.





Figure 2: Market Photo Workshop, Johannesburg, South Africa: Borders Masterclass with a focus on critical practice, 2010.



Figure 3: Market Photo Workshop, Johannesburg, South Africa: The Makweteng Project 'zine workshop on the topic self-publishing, run by visiting Trinidadian photographer Rodell Warner.





Figure 4: Market Photo Workshop, Johannesburg, South Africa: The *Tracing Territories* exhibition, 2011, showing the results of the Makweteng Heritage Project, which focused on the multiracial "native location" in Potchefstroom until the 1950s.



Figure 5: École des Sables, Toubab Dialaw, Senegal: Transmission training of the Acogny method for students from PARTS School, February 2013.





Figure 6: École des Sables, Toubab Dialaw, Senegal: Chrysalides Program for African dancers, July 2010.



Figure 7: École des Sables, Toubab Dialaw, Senegal: Professional training in traditional and contemporary dance led by Nora Chipaumire and Solo Badolo, August 2009.





Figure 8: École des Sables, Toubab Dialaw, Senegal: Professional training in traditional and contemporary dance led by Nora Chipaumire and Solo Badolo, August 2009.



Figure 9: Studios Kabako, Kisangani, DR Congo: Group work, directed by Papy Ebotani, at the Regional Workshop, July-August 2012.





Figure 10: Studios Kabako, Kisangani, DR Congo: Individual work, directed by Faustin Linyekula and Boyzie Cekwana, at the Regional Workshop, July-August 2012.



Figure 11: Studios Kabako, Kisangani, DR Congo: Informal meeting with Virginie Dupray and workshop participants at the Regional Workshop, July-August 2012.





Figure 12: Studios Kabako, Kisangani, DR Congo: Group work at the Regional Workshop, July-August 2012.



Figure 13: Netsa Art Village, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia: Dome and Gallery.



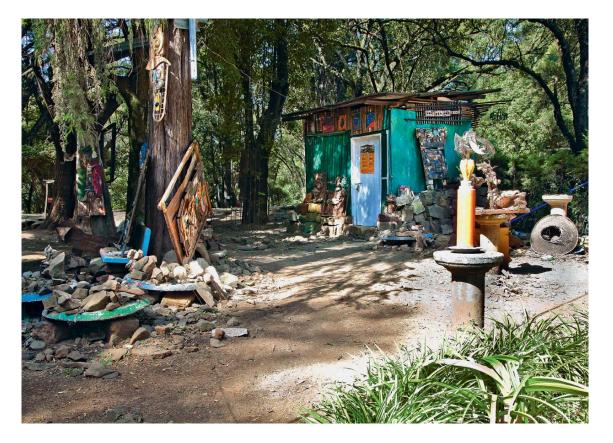


Figure 14: Netsa Art Village, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia: Office.



Figure 15: Netsa Art Village, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia: Store.





Figure 16: Netsa Art Village, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia: The Train by Tesfahun Kibru, Dome and Gallery.

Chapter 3

Fragmentary Depictions
Shaping the Field of
Non-Formal Artistic
Education/Training and
Professionalization

<u>Preliminary Remarks</u> Waymarkers and Orientation Points

To do justice both to the complex interactions "in the field" and the abundance of material, it would seem helpful in this chapter to once again work with waymarkers and orientation points in order to navigate our route analytically. The first step will therefore be to examine the financial and funding policy framework within which each organization operates. This is key to understanding how the organizations we surveyed are structurally constituted and situated, and it highlights specific problems surrounding funding in African contexts.

A second focus is on how the organizations position themselves in terms of cultural policies. On the one hand, selfpositionings provide clues concerning specific conceptual and substantive premises, reference systems, and reference communities; on the other hand, their mechanisms also influence issues of funding culture within national and international cultural policy frameworks. Since the relational settings between institutions granting funding and organizations applying for funding present themselves as inherently unequal and are marked by inevitably divergent positions and strategic interests, they induce quite ambivalent self-positionings held by funded organizations that are, however, significant in pinpointing the actual shaping of the field of non-formal vocational artistic training and profession-alization. Linking these self-positionings with the organizations' "everyday work" gives rise to dynamic fields of action wherein structural, interspatial, and interpersonal dimensions are closely entwined. Moreover, this allows for revealing practices and inside views that play a key role in understanding context-specific processes of knowledge production, mediation, and transfer.

In the non-formal domain, such processes often take place in social spaces and environments that are neither curricularly defined nor officially regulated. At times they even expressly position themselves outside any kind of generally accepted educational logic. Thus the focus can be directed to areas of

communication, mediation, and experience based on alternative perspectives, hence allowing non-formality to be more precisely defined.

Teaching and learning processes form a third key emphasis of the research, since these are what interconnect all the other aspects: they are grounded in day-to-day relationship work that is often quite intimate and experienced at different levels by teachers and students; they are underlaid by a series of specific quality criteria that provide information on requisite competencies and entry requirements for both groups; and they follow certain "rules of play" in their mission to train professional artists and/or prepare them for their respective fields of work.

The waymarkers presented and discussed in the following are based on individual statements and viewpoints collated from interviews, conversations, and transcripts. Although featured only as condensed extracts, they can be read as a temporary montage, attempting to bring together diverse positions into a process whose dynamics should remain visible.

Waymarker 1: Funding and Financing

In African contexts, organizations engaged in non-formal artistic education/training and professionalization receive little financial support from the state and have only a limited range of non-state funding options. Pre-existing difficulties in acquiring money are further aggravated by the marginalized and interstitial situatedness of the particular field, which severely affects not only the survival but also the viability of an organization, i.e., its ability to work. In the following, we will therefore outline the specific initial infrastructural conditions faced by actors and examine them in the context of inter/national cultural funding.¹

Initial Infrastructural Conditions

Material Infrastructure

The better the material infrastructure of an organization, the more latitude it has to conceive and implement a differentiated training supply structure, to organize work processes, and to guarantee a certain degree of stability. As table 1 shows, these factors vary, in some cases considerably, between the organizations we surveyed (see p. 200).

Operating under very disparate initial conditions, the organizations thus require different sums of money to secure their existence and cover running costs, including renting and/or maintaining premises, buying technical equipment, financing telecommunications and the Internet, and paying salaries. But since expenditure of this kind comes under the heading of "structural funding," it presents a major problem, for inter/national cultural funding is rarely designed specifically to cover an organization's material infrastructure in the short- or medium-term, let alone long-term. Assuming an existing infrastructure as a "given" is, however, highly debatable with regard to funding policies in African contexts. Firstly, a reasonably functioning material infrastructure has been proven to be an essential prerequisite for an organization to be able to work and to draw the attention of funders in the first place. Actors engaged in the non-formal field are thus forced to provide an enormous amount up front.

> Germaine Acogny, artistic director of École des Sables: So as not to have to wait for money from other people all the time [...], I sold my apartment in Paris to build the first dance studio. After that we began to build all this here with a large part of Helmut's assets [Helmut Vogt, administrative director]. With our own money.²

> <u>Virginie Dupray, administrative director of Studios</u>
> <u>Kabako</u>: Ninety percent of the running costs and project costs—please note, only for the projects that are *not*Faustin's own projects! [Faustin Linyekula, artistic director]—are financed through Faustin's work, through tours

and co-productions. This gives us independence but puts Faustin under enormous pressure, because he constantly has to do tours. This clearly also has implications for the activities of Studios Kabako, and it is very, very hard work.³

Solomon Tsegaye, founding member of Netsa Art Village: I was thinking about a temporary, very low-cost shelter to display our artwork. At that time Henok [Getachew, found-

ing member and coordinator] by accident discovered metal staffs that were dumped somewhere in the park. Just a heap of iron bars. We measured all [that metal] and the design of the Dome came into my mind. One, it did not require a lot of material, just a very small amount of material could give you a very wide space; the other thing, we could construct it by ourselves, it was very simple,

just using bolts and nuts. And the form was also good. It might be unusual for an art gallery but it is good.⁴

Secondly, some of the costs organizations incur for establishing, maintaining, and expanding their material infrastructure are several times higher in most African countries than they would be in Europe. This applies particularly to what in the West is considered "basic" technical equipment. Studios Kabako, for example, had to spend more than 700 euros to install an Internet connection and pays a monthly flat fee of around 130 euros.⁵ Frequent power cuts present a further difficulty, since it is not always possible to acquire a generator. Repairing technical and other equipment is expensive and arduous, and such items are not always easy to replace. A further serious problem is the cost of flights within Africa, which vary considerably and are in some cases astronomically expensive.⁶

It is not difficult to imagine the impact of such cost-related uncertainties on organizations' budgets. Although all the organizations we surveyed are forced to deal with complex imponderabilities, their efforts to establish viable structures within their respective local environments are intended as long-term, future-oriented projects. For both smaller and larger actors, guaranteeing a reliable working environment is a very cost-intensive undertaking, since they need to factor in and cover many items not included in the scope of the usual project-based funding framework. The following list of expenses for the École des Sables may serve as an example, whereby the level of total costs is of a similar magnitude for Studios Kabako and probably higher for Market Photo Workshop (see table 2, p. 201).

Personnel

As the breakdown of costs illustrates, more than 70 percent of expenditures are accounted-for salaries. This highlights the critical importance of stable staffing levels for the viability of an organization. Over the years, Market Photo Workshop, École des Sables, and Studios Kabako have thus been able to evolve well-thought-out worksharing structures with different areas of competence and responsibility, which not only extend way beyond artistic education/training itself, but are, in fact, an essential precondition for putting this training into practice in the first place.

Can you tell us a bit about your permanent employees and the work they do?

Helmut Vogt, administrative director of École des Sables: Currently we have five or six people just for the office. Then there's our technical director and four people who take care of maintenance. Then we have—and this sometimes tends to get forgotten—a garden with fruit and vegetables and we also raise chickens [...]; it's a place where we are gradually trying to build up something that will help us and where at least two people work. Then there are the people responsible for the rooms; two women who come twice a week even when there is nothing going on. Those are more or less the permanent employees.⁷

How many women work with you in the kitchen?

Adama Ndiaye, chief cook at École des Sables: There are eleven of us. When we are busy, like now, we all work. When there are no activities, then we don't work. And

when there aren't so many people here, then we have a rotation system, so that all of us earn something. That is rather tough, because for years now we've only been working here.⁸

Can you describe your field of work? What are your tasks? Eddy Mbalanga Ebuda, administrative coordinator of Studios Kabako: Everything involving contact with the local authorities. When the artists arrive, I'm at the airport. I prepare the visits, so that the new arrivals have everything they need and they can be given a good reception. Also preparing things, doing the budgets. [...] That means preparing the ground so that every project at Studios Kabako can be realized under optimal conditions.

An organization that is currently being set up cannot yet rely on structures of this kind. The situation faced by Netsa Art Village even hampers processes of structure building; this is due, on the one hand, to the lack of structural funding by international and national institutions mentioned above, and, on the other hand, to a contract between the artists' collective and the city of Addis Ababa. This permits the organization to use an area of the municipal park for a relatively small sum (the equivalent of 1,200 euros annually), but the park itself belongs to the state. Even if the organization furnishes regular proof of the projects it is planning and consciously considers the benefit to city culture, permission to use this space can be withdrawn at any time—for example, if the city suddenly finds more lucrative uses for it.9 Moreover, all the administrative, organizational, technical, and manual maintenance tasks have to be shared among the individual members.

Mihret Kebede, artistic director of Netsa Art Village: That's why we are working on reforming the structure of the Art Village now; the job descriptions, the rules and regulations, and so on, because it's very, very difficult to organize. I really wanted to create that structure because we were turning in work without [having] finished it; we were not meeting deadlines and these things created some uncomfortable situations. It has to be more formal.

Netsa is a creative center, but it's also an organization and you need a proper working structure. [...] We have to go to government offices, pay our taxes, report our things, and apply for funding, but none of us is trained. We really need a secretary or an accountant so that he or she could do it in a professional, appropriate way. [...] At the moment nobody is getting paid! People earn their money in regular jobs, more or less. But we have to start to think about that because these things... they became... conflicted with individuals.¹⁰

For some years now the members of Netsa Art Village have been keeping the organization's structure going by working unpaid, but this situation is increasingly becoming a burden. Each member of the organization ends up facing conflicting obligations because individual creative artistic work collides with administrative and organizational requirements. Although job descriptions have been written and a division of tasks has been discussed, there is limited capacity for putting these demands into practice. For the moment then, the principle applies that: "Whenever you see [a] job, you [do] it."

Immaterial Infrastructure

Despite major differences with regard to their initial material conditions, all of the organizations can rely on a dependable immaterial infrastructure. Derived from individual expertise and professional and private social networks, this represents an important asset when it comes to applying for funding. The existence of immaterial infrastructures is closely related to material conditions of possibility, ¹² yet at the same time it signifies complex processes "of informal, affective, world making connections." These are the expression and result of far-reaching, energy-intensive immaterial efforts by individuals at various levels, requiring communication skills, emotional commitment, and psychological competence (see table 3, p. 201).

Immaterial infrastructures are rooted in certain basic stances. Their existence and their success depend on viable forms of cooperation that may be described both as "special-

ist activity" and as "practice with constitutive effects." 14

Faustin Linyekula, artistic director of Studios Kabako:

You need to plant the seeds, water them, and see how far they can grow. Unfortunately it's not just something you can say: OK, now I'm done and can finally take care of myself. Because it's very fragile. Objectively people have so many reasons just to give up. [...] So for now we have to be there.¹⁵

Molemo Moiloa, project manager of The Makweteng Heritage Project at Market Photo Workshop: One of the things about the Photo Workshop is that there is always a possibility to build upon the last one. Which we sometimes do not do that well, because we do not have enough time to breathe and think. But we do build.¹⁶

All the organizations finance themselves primarily on a project basis and therefore depend on being able to ensure a continuous flow of projects. The fact that they have been managing to achieve this, in some cases for many years now, testifies both to the enormous amount of immaterial work invested to this end and to the quality of each organization's immaterial infrastructure, which hence forms a main component of the actors' cultural, social, and symbolic capital.

Financial Frameworks and Funding Options

To discuss the current financial frameworks and funding options of the organizations surveyed, we will in the following tentatively seek to determine the interrelationship between available sources of financing, funding conditions and guidelines, and the specific practical experience of the actors being funded. The following breakdown is intended to facilitate understanding of the various sources of financing. It is not complete and ignores familiar kinds of differentiation within the context of European cultural funding, where a distinction is drawn between direct and indirect state funding and where private funding is broken down into many different kinds of investment and transactions¹⁷ (see table 4, p. 202).

As we can see, all the organizations have managed to gain access to financing from various sources. These are, how-

ever, not always available simultaneously and must instead be applied for in the context of project funding. Whereas in European contexts such forms of mixed financing are often regarded as a "model of financial sustainability" because "public support, private support and earned income" are obtainable,¹⁸ their transfer to African contexts where state funding is largely lacking appears inadequate. It might therefore be illuminating to selectively spell out the financing framework of the organizations we surveyed.

The Exception: State Funding

Based upon the experience of (not only) the four organizations, targeted and continuous state funding should be considered the exception rather than the rule. While Netsa Art Village does receive indirect state support in the form of a subsidized lease for the site it uses and official support letters, is not given any actual money. Since its inception, École des Sables has managed to acquire just three grants for further training of Senegalese dancers but otherwise also receives no public subsidies. Generally speaking, due to small budgets, constrained scopes, and/or the risk of exercising ideological control, the ministries of culture in DR Congo, Senegal, and Ethiopia are considered somewhat precarious sources of funding.²⁰

Within the context of the present study, Market Photo Workshop is the only actor to have received state funding for some time, one of its sources being the National Arts Council, an authority subordinate to the South African Ministry of Culture. Prior to that, all the money needed was acquired entirely through fundraising, a factor that entails ongoing difficulties for an organization operating on a non-profit basis, both in the field of non-formal artistic education/training and in the area of photography.

John Fleetwood, director of Market Photo Workshop: [It is hard to find sponsors who] would be willing to pay for training. In the South African landscape of potential funders, arts institutions often view photography with a kind of uncertainty because it's not necessarily art production. And there are a lot of media institutions that look at the Photo Workshop but would be wary of the fact that it's not clearly media. So often we fall through the cracks of potential funders.²¹

Bearing these circumstances in mind, the structural measures introduced by the South African Department of Labour in the late 1990s, which aimed to improve professional qualifications and led to the implementation of a Sector Education and Training Authority (SETA),²² would initially seem to offer some interesting options for an organization like Market Photo Workshop. However, the SETA framework's strong orientation towards economic growth harbors delicate ambiguities when it comes to the field of non-formal artistic education/training. The obvious absence of practice-related needs analyses—accompanied by a lack of definition, particularly for subsectors of art and culture—is expressed both in a compartmentalization that is subject to sudden change²³ and in a rather vague allocation of ministerial jurisdiction.²⁴ For non-formal organizations, which have to be accredited with SETA, this involves considerable risks:

> John Fleetwood: Around 2003-04 the Photo Workshop seriously considered becoming accredited through the SETA because it made such good sense. There were a lot of discretionary funds that we would be able to apply for [to en] sure that we can teach photography. However, we very soon realized that the advantages of possible funds did not outweigh the disadvantages of a seemingly very disorganized and uncertain field. [. . .] Up until 2010 there was no formal photography qualification within the SETA landscape, i.e., the understanding would be that you could go and study photography but once you go to the workplace your skill would not necessarily be recognized because there was no qualification attached to it. We tried very hard [to get it] accepted in 2010. Unfortunately, the SETA under which photography skills were listed suddenly changed. This was a major step because photography skills were identified as part of the Media Information and Communication Technologies Sector while some art skills were identified as part of the Culture, Arts, Tourism, Hospitality and Sport Sector. Somehow

photography would again fall somewhere in the middle. [. . .]

In this landscape we had to find workplace entities that would be willing to say that they need photographers [rated on their skills rather than their qualification]. So, after many years of lobbying we have been standing back. Where else can we go? We looked at the Council of Higher Education but the accreditation process there is much more structured and quite demanding in several ways. One [of these] would be that, according to the National Qualification Framework (NQF), facilitators, trainers, and assessors need to hold a qualification that is at a higher level than the courses that they are teaching. [...] At the same time we understand that the South African government will continue to formalize the labor and education fields. There have been various points where the SETAs indicated that the labor law [would] change more dramatically soon and that it [would exclude] people that do not have the correct NQF level and qualification. We therefore continue to research and investigate accreditation as a way to ensure that our students enter the work market but we are very critical about the processes of how that could influence the Photo Workshop.

Despite their unpredictability, long-term plans for restructuring the South African labor sector are coupled with standardization procedures and formalistic criteria. In order to become accredited and to implement the corresponding educational measures, a non-formal organization like Market Photo Workshop would not only need to maintain an elaborate infrastructure but would also have to change its previously inclusive entry requirements for students:

John Fleetwood: The students would have to have some kind of prior learning in mathematics and in English that would cut out a lot of students that we currently have. [...] I think it's very unfair to expect people to learn a second language up to a certain point to be able to operate in a space where they might or might not need that thing. [...] [Although] English is the teaching language at the Photo Workshop there's a system of support that is very clearly aware that there's a diversity of languages

and the importance is not so much in grammatical correctness or in the ability to write well but much more focused on getting people to define critical concepts and feel confident that they can work with us even if it is in broken English. [. . .] Photography is a language on its own. So, people can operate quite comfortably in ways that they set up themselves. [. . .] The Photo Workshop was set up quite deliberately to deal with these kinds of exclusions. So, therefore, it has to deal with including people. [. . .] If you take people seriously you have to include them; you have to create that sense of seriousness right from the start.

In the case of Market Photo Workshop, the usage of state funding, albeit ambivalently accepted, permits the organization to be run in a comparatively consistent fashion, since this covers a quarter of the salaries, the rent for the building, and a number of other running costs. This funding is, however, tied to inflexible conditions and criteria that have been little tested, creating conflicts of interest for an organization whose fundamental principles are based on well-reasoned experience and practice, as well as on a certain educational and cultural-political commitment.

The Rule: International Funding

With the exception of Netsa Art Village, the organizations have been able to secure their financing with money from international funding institutions. Market Photo Workshop, École des Sables, and Studios Kabako have managed to establish reliable cooperative arrangements—in some cases longterm—with various funders, which not only reflects the continuity of their work but also makes it possible in the first place. Since fundraising is associated with research, calculations, project planning, and writing funding applications and reports, all of which require considerable time and energy, responsibility for this administrative field is assigned to specific individuals. Despite differing local contexts, all the organizations have had similar experiences when it comes to funding—mainly because the circle of international funding institutions active on the African continent can be described as rather limited. But it is precisely this aspect that presents a major difficulty:

Helmut Vogt, administrative director of École des

Sables: The situation has become more and more difficult in recent years. First of all many [Western funding] institutions are themselves dependent on the state or on financial funds whose budgets are successively being cut. HIVOS [Humanistisch Instituut voor Ontwikkelingssamenwerking] in the Netherlands, for example, has had its state funding cut by 30 percent! And bodies like the Ford Foundation, which have their own basic capital, have become shareholder companies. Everyone knows what has happened in recent years. Ford is currently not undertaking any cultural funding at all. That means the [opportunities to receive funding are] being reduced. There are only a few, and those that remain are of course more in demand.

Virginie Dupray, administrative director of Studios Kabako: What I am noticing as reality: there are less and less funding partners on call. I've just noticed for three years now that they are [increasingly taking a regional focus] with certain countries which seem to be more stable, like Kenya, Senegal, Rwanda. [...] Before that Congo was part of some funding territories [i.e., it used to be the regional or national focus of Western funders] but it has disappeared now. Funding partners feel they have to invest in safer countries and territories. So it's more and more difficult.

A further problem is that funding is almost exclusively project based. Firstly, this kind of funding is often granted for only a year at a time. For organizations like Market Photo Workshop, École des Sables, and Studios Kabako, this does not exactly prove helpful: for one thing because their work in the field of vocational artistic training mainly consists of sequential workshops or modular teaching units that require medium- or long-term planning; for another, because their work in the field of artistic production involves planning exhibitions and performances, and these are processes that cannot be subject to strict timetables or detailed advance planning.

Secondly, in large and small projects alike, items of expenditure crop up time and again that cannot be included in the calculations because there is no provision for them in the funding guidelines of institutions. So even if project funding is granted, uncertainties remain. This means more administrative work for organizations, impedes or stops projects being realized, and, indeed, may indirectly undermine critical cultural policy practices.

Molemo Moiloa, project manager of The Makweteng Heritage Project at Market Photo Workshop: One of the difficulties is that a large cost of our project is travel and accommodation, because we need to get the photographers from Johannesburg to Potchefstroom and back. And every time you run a workshop you need transport. So when we have a whole week in Potchefstroom with a group of ten to thirteen people, it means that they have to go there every day to take photographs and come back to show the photographs here every evening. It is amazing what they learn; it is very intense but [these are] costs that funders do not want to pay for. They'll pay for the printing or the photographs, you know, for something they can put their logo on, but not for transport or catering.

[. . .] One of the other difficulties was that we tried very hard to use community resources. So when we printed flyers we did it there; same with the posters. It would have been much easier to do it here at the Photo Workshop, but instead we went there. That's part of the point of our work; to support the local kind of industries outside the center of Johannesburg [. . .] but it's a lot more cost.

Funding that is granted over a period of several years and not exclusively project based is thus regarded as an indispensable stabilizing factor by the organizations in a number of respects. Quite apart from the fact that it covers part of their running costs, it also allows organizations to plan their work with greater autonomy. This funding is only offered by a few international institutions; receiving it thus can be seen not only as the result of putting a lot of effort

into cultivating cooperative relationships over many years but should certainly be regarded as a "quality benchmark" for the reputation of an organization within the international funding landscape. The latter is ambivalent inasmuch as it re/creates structures not equally accessible to all cultural actors.

In this respect an organization like Netsa Art Village represents a kind of "antithesis" in the context of international funding: it receives no permanent financing from funding institutions and is currently in the process of positioning itself both in the field of art and in the field of art/s education. For this to happen, highly diverse individual interests, standpoints, experiences, and contacts within what is a relatively large artists' collective need to be taken into account. This may prove very conducive to creating consistent prerequisites and eligible conditions for funding, but it also entails the members of the collective acquiring the organizational skills in order to be able to develop their own structures and approaches, to plan and realize projects, and to work as a functioning organization. Funding that takes into account consolidation phases of this kind is therefore regarded as exceptionally beneficial.

Helen Zeru, member of Netsa Art Village: We are all artists and don't have much experience in fields like economics or financing or management. So in 2010 the Goethe-Institut in Addis organized the workshop "Artists Can Build Their Own Space" with William Wells [head of the Townhouse Gallery in Cairo]. It was for a week and really helped us a lot because it was basically about how to run the organization.²⁵

Financing Strategies

In view of limited funding possibilities, Market Photo Workshop, École des Sables, and Studios Kabako have developed a number of different financing strategies or have focused their activities on more than one financial base, which thus enables work to continue should funding fail to be granted.

The ratio of funding to other income varies considerably, however.

Market Photo Workshop is able to cover a quarter of its costs with state funding and acquires the rest through fundraising. Students' course fees are an important source of income, but are partially refunded via bursaries. Based on the principle of inclusivity, this practice, which aims to ensure that anyone who is interested can train as a photographer, is absolutely dependent on funding for its survival. State funding practices make it very difficult for the organization to develop long-term financing strategies or to build up funding reserves, since any remaining surplus has to be paid back at the end of the year.²⁶

École des Sables must secure a large part of its budget via fundraising, as it does not have any financial resources of its own. Another source of revenue is the touring income of the dance companies attached to the school. Workshops for Western participants who pay for their own tuition and accommodation also provide a regular but insufficient source of earnings. The premises can only be rented out for conferences and meetings (including room and board) when no workshops are taking place. If funding is spread over a longer period, the school is able to accumulate financial reserves in "good" years.²⁷

Studios Kabako recoups virtually its entire costs through income generated by tours and artistic co-productions. The organization can pursue its work with an exceptionally high degree of economic independence and is hence free to decide its own concepts and the content of its courses; funding therefore tends to be accepted partially on the premise of being able to maintain this degree of autonomy as far as possible.²⁸ The main burden of financing is, however, shouldered chiefly by one person. A further source of income is project-based funding and funding extending over several years that is earmarked for project development. There have also been attempts to involve local sponsors, but this has proven very difficult in DR Congo.²⁹

Netsa Art Village is also addressing the issue of financing strategies, even though to date this aspect has not been a high priority. One source of income, albeit largely symbolic, is provided by the proceeds from selling works of art by individual members, a percentage of which always goes to the organization.³⁰

Inter/national Funding: Ambivalences, Potentials, and Alternatives

Inter/national cultural funding in African contexts is seldom discussed from the point of view of organizations receiving funding, although their diverse experiences—for other cultural actors and for funding institutions—should form an essential basis for scrutinizing funding policies, for sounding out both their potential and their weaknesses, for focusing on practice-relevant problem fields, and for considering alternative funding strategies. Three of the organizations we surveyed have cooperated with a highly diverse range of funding institutions in the course of their work and are familiar with various funding frameworks, programs, and forms. This presents a unique opportunity to undertake a comparative analysis and in the following will be constructively used in the form of a virtual roundtable.

Assembling different areas of expertise into a "dialogic collage" may seem rather unorthodox and is certainly not intended to simulate a conversation or even a discussion. Rather, the idea is to provide access to experiential knowledge that has previously been tied to single locations, individuals, and organizations. Creating a joint space/time wherein corresponding positions, standpoints, and perspectives come into contact should be read as an attempt both to bridge realworld distances and to intervene in the representational politics of the present study; it is within this context that we as Western researcher-explorers—as opposed to the actual experts—were provided with the resources to acquire the respective expertise. Although one cannot simply step out of this role, there is always the option of stepping back and leaving local actors to conduct the analysis.³¹

Roundtable

Virginie Dupray, administrative director of Studios Kabako; John Fleetwood, director of Market Photo Workshop; Helmut Vogt, administrative director of École des Sables

Virginie Dupray: Funding is usually about projects. But you get very tired [of] asking every year, and at the end of the day they might say: okay, it's the fourth time now and we have to consider somebody else. It is also very difficult to finance running expenses—salaries, rent, Internet, water, and electricity bills—which is a bit of a paradox because on the one hand they insist that we should create structures, but at the same time they never finance that. It depends also on the funders, because each of them has his own field and sensibility and very specific action

themes. Recently, there was a call [for applications in] the Congo but [focusing on] "biodiversity" and "cultural heritage." And we're not part of that. [. . .]

Last year I made some quite [grueling major] applications to get a more long-lasting support, which succeeded in most of the cases. [...] But all these application processes become more complex in terms of technical and administrative demands, provisional budgets, risks, and so on. [. . .] Before, you got an amount of money and were a bit more free to spend it. But now you have to schedule much more in advance and in a very detailed way what you intend to spend—and this in a local context where prices are very fluctuant and 80 percent of activities are informal. And if you move a bit away from that, it can be problematic. If you organize a workshop, you have to know a long time ahead even the names of all the people that might participate, where they come from, the different prices, and so on! [. . .] By now we have established more personal relations with people in charge [of] foundations and institutions; they know us and trust us. But they are not the ones who take the decisions. They must be able

to defend their actions and to explain to their own funder what the money is used for. That's why they need more information [on] our part, and I feel they are more under pressure. [...] Then, requested applications are sometimes so complex that there has emerged a market: you can pay an expert to write your application, for 2,000 to 4,000 euros. [. . .] So, such modalities do not particularly help to change the situation.

Helmut Vogt: You can't be a school and earn money at the same time, especially when the main target group is dancers from Africa, who can't pay for their training themselves. [...] There are reliable partners, but there are a huge number of requests, too. At the beginning, for example, the Prinz Claus Fund helped us for a long time on a project-by-project basis, but then at some point they said: make us a plan for three years and present the projects you would like to realize in that time. [...] So then we knew we'd have a secure budget for at least three years, and it is, of course, good to be able to depend on that. [...] But funding applications are a ridiculous amount of work! You need an incredible amount of energy to secure the finances that will keep an institution like ours alive, an institution that is absolutely warranted and needed. Africa is not a country, but a continent where dancers have many needs. Really, we ought to have fund-

ing provided from somewhere or other so that we can work with a degree of certainty and pursue our assignments and goals. And currently we can't do that.

John Fleetwood: Funders would typically provide funds for a period of one year without considering sustainability. The difficulty is that if a Foundation Course student walks into the Photo Workshop we need to be able to guarantee that he or she can complete the Advanced Programme in Photography or the Photojournalism & Documentary Photography Programme. And for that we need to ensure that we've got money to secure two or three years of income—which we can't. Also, our accounting system doesn't allow it. So it's really important that funders need to understand they cannot put money down without thinking of the future. [. . .] We have been very happy with funders like Getty Images who have supported us for around ten years now, and the Open Society Foundation, who has support-

ed us for the last five years. They bring an incredible con-

sistency, because they allowed us a buffer fund. I think this is a very important strategy for funders to consider: the idea of creating a buffer fund at all times where

10 percent of the funds need to go to the future so that even as a training institution we can deal with eventualities. [. . .] We just went through a very good example with the National Arts Council (NAC) where we have received money for several years. It seemed like a very stable process, but then the NAC funding policy changed very abruptly and really threw us off our planning at a very late stage. It actually brought us back to the realization of how fragile the Photo Workshop is. Well, we've *always* known that we are fragile as a school of photography that oper-

ates in a quite clearly defined developing world economy. But it also means the immediate transferal of risk onto our students; whatever we can't fundraise the students will have to pay for and that's hard. [...] We have managed the situation, but it was only due to the buffer funds of our main funders.

Another important aspect: funders should *not* negotiate on project management funds. That's where the problem lies. Organizations do not have proper project management capacity and therefore either have to take on more projects or do it with a very, very small staff group which makes it impossible. But it's how funders see themselves; they like to do projects with us but for the training that happens before we have to find money elsewhere. That would be my criticism to the Goethe-Institut and to the French Institute, because often the European institutions like to work with photographers who are established. This is incredibly important for the professional development of photographers, but one needs to understand where this establishment comes from! What we would therefore request in terms of project budgets is a 90 percent contribution towards project management and 10 percent towards training.

<u>Helmut Vogt</u>: It would be really important for far more funding institutions to focus on structural support! And also on making the application process less complicated.

Of course, when we produce and list all the statistics showing what we have achieved, that helps when we meet new people and submit new applications. From the point of view of the funders that is all understandable. But we would like organizations that have been working for a long time to be examined on the basis of their balance sheets, the results of their work, and their planning, so that funders would then say: we will support you now. And, very important: not just for a relatively short period of time but for ... let's say ... at least five years, so we can plan for the long term. That means we have a certain degree of security and know that we can depend on the money we've got for this period of time, and we don't need to reapply or submit new funding applications every year. That would be a very important factor. [...] Stability of this kind has further implications, because if you look at what happens in practice, you see what is needed. For example, with the help of the Dutch DOEN Foundation we have implemented an idea that enables African dancers to finance small projects themselves. Even if we always need money ourselves, of course we also see the desperate situation of the dancers who have virtually no opportunity of approaching an institution of this kind. So we said that we would like to do something in this area. We have an advantage over these institutions [in] that over the years we have worked and become acquainted with a very large number of dancers and companies. [...] Now we invite dancers to submit projects for funding each year: up to 2,000 euros are earmarked for a choreography, up to 3,000 euros to create a low-budget studio structure or employment for someone—for themselves but also in order to be able to give workshops and earn money themselves, which is an important condition for things to move forward elsewhere. [...] It is a lot of work; we receive between thirty and forty applications from all over the continent. We have to read the dossiers, feel our way, and find out certain things in order to create a certain degree of security for ourselves. [...] But it works well and makes us very happy because it enables us to provide really concrete support.

<u>John Fleetwood</u>: It's really important that European and South African cultural institutions talk about funding

issues and the various problems that are involved for funded organizations because it is a very uncertain field. At the moment we're going through a huge discussion because the priorities of the National Arts Council have changed and are directed to more rural or peripheral organizations. On the one hand, I understand because I think it is important that it develops. But at the same time there are existing organizations like the Photo Workshop that are very much dependent on funding. We don't know what will happen in rural areas in the future and, of course, there is a certain testing involved. There is nothing wrong with "testing and investing," but I think there is far too much emphasis on the "testing" at the moment, and whatever you put there you take away here. You might be able to set up some rural, marginalized, peripheral organizations for some period, but to really build capacity you need to develop it for ten years. And in these ten years you might lose all the [organizations that have been somewhat stable up to now] because you've moved all the money elsewhere. [...] I think to put money into an existing organization that already has a track record—that's reputable, that does good work and is very much aware of the relationship between the periphery and the center—is a good investment. So it's a really tricky time for us. It's a constant struggle. [...] But we cannot afford to put our costs for the students up too much because it would go against what intrinsically we stand for.

Waymarker 2: Self-Positionings

The work of the organizations we surveyed takes place in various interconnected spatial dimensions. By interweaving activities in real-world localities and concrete interactive processes of space-making, cultural-political self-positionings shed light on this multidimensionality in a rather exceptional manner. Accordingly, "space" cannot, by implication, be assumed as a given but is produced through social relationships, cultural practices, and interpersonal connections and as such is continually being newly and differently defined. A "relationality in motion" of this kind provides fundamental and specific reference points for the conceptual

and practical shapings of the field of non-formal artistic education/training and professionalization. These in the following will be more closely examined with regard to the context of the local.

Anchoring in the Local

The organizations consider the local context in which they work to be crucial. It forms a solid basis for encounters and negotiations, for establishing and dealing with close relationships in social spaces, and for arranging opportunities for artistic education/training. Market Photo Workshop, Studios Kabako, and Netsa Art Village are all cultural actors operating in urban settings, yet the respective spaces in which they work are scarcely comparable. While Johannesburg is the largest metropolitan region in southern Africa and is perceived as an important cultural center both within and outside the African continent, Addis Ababa as a capital plays a more prominent role in a national context. As a provincial capital, on the other hand, Kisangani, according to the general mindset in the DR Congo, is situated at the cultural periphery.

Choice of Location

The choice of location marks an important aspect of the self-concept of an organization. Often closely linked with a specific founding history, it already implies inherent cultural-political positionings and intentions. Market Photo Workshop's decision to work in Johannesburg was chiefly related to the existence of a unique institution founded in 1976 during apartheid: the Market Theatre.

The Market Theatre, with which the Workshop is intimate-

ly connected, came into being at the height of apartheid. [...] When the Workshop was started in the late 1980s it made sense that it should do so under the umbrella of the Market Theatre, which had established an international reputation for its work and its stance on apartheid. The umbrella provided the Workshop with an administrative infrastructure as well as respectability among interna-

tional funders. The Workshop was founded and funded on the ideal of making visual literacy and photographic craft available to people of all races, especially those to whom apartheid had largely denied the possibility of acquiring such skills. It was unique in apartheid South Africa. [...] The success of the Workshop is very largely due to the quality and idealism of the people who have run it and taught there. [...] Underlying, even inspiring that dedication and the Workshop itself, has been an unspoken, vague and yet identifiable spirit or ethic [...] that grew out of the struggle against apartheid.³²

Studios Kabako's choice of location, in contrast, might be read as an almost contrapuntal endeavor. The organization's retreat to the periphery can, on the one hand, be seen as a deliberate act of decentralization, as a way of reevaluating an isolated location that is off the beaten track from Kinshasa. Redefining Kisangani as a possibility space in the Congolese context strongly disrupts a common "sense of direction" driven by the dictum: "You *have* to move to Kinshasa to make it. And when you're in Kinshasa then you feel that you *have* to go to Europe to make it." At the same time, this choice signifies the effort to create a "habitable and livable ex-centric location of experience and empowerment," whose materialized being-in-place is thus of eminent significance.

Faustin Linyekula, artistic director of Studios Kabako:

When I came back to this country in 2001 it was obvious for me I could not just make a company where I take care of my own artistic work—and that's all. [. . .] I had to create a space. First of all! A space where I would meet other people and share with them whatever I had learned, what-

ever I had been [getting] up to until that point; a space where I could search for answers—artistically, aesthetically; but also a space where others could have an opportunity to work. [. . .] Calling it "studios" in plural came about when I really started asking myself the question: What are these spaces that I'd like to open? I approach work—even the creative work—as a way of opening spaces and inhabiting them. Of course, being a dancer I deal with the physical space of a performance, but I also believe that the ultimate space where the performance should happen is in everyone's body and head and heart.

So suddenly it becomes like a metaphor for all the possible spaces that we can open. [...] We can be in this country where everything is falling apart and we can still say: it's possible to be here, it's possible to imagine things from here and to do things from here. [...] Coming to Kisangani in 2006, the fundamental idea of the project as "spaces" or "mental spaces" did not change, but we needed to have a physical space to house these mental spaces. [...] Having an impact [on] the scale of a city shifts questions and that goes through the work itself: How can I talk to the people of the city? How do I create a sense of identification with the people around me? Having an impact begins there. It begins by saying: I don't want to be alone. It means to create some kind of space that needs to be physically part of the space of the city, an infrastructure where you meet other artists or people who aspire to become artists, where dialogue and interactions become possible. [. . .] For me it's not some aesthetic quest. Aesthetics only makes sense to me if it becomes a way of exploring how to negotiate my relationship with what I am or it becomes like another way of being a citizen. [...] I [have] called Studios Kabako "the lab," where we can reinvent other ways of being here, being together, and shar[ing] responsibilities.

Netsa Art Village's choice of location is explained by an Addis Ababa-centered frame of reference of the collective's individual members, and it is connected with the organization's founding idea of creating an artists' network. For this purpose the cultural infrastructure of the capital offers much better conditions than other locations in Ethiopia. Although the choice ultimately goes back to the initial efforts of Konjit Seyoum, whose Asni Gallery already existed on the park site, providing an important address and inspiration for many young artists, it is the work and philosophy of the collective that has expanded the location in both conceptual and practical terms.

Henok Getachew, coordinator of Netsa Art Village: Netsa means "free." But it's even more than keeping a free space. Whenever you talk about "free space" it means there are people who create that free space together. You may not have the same attitude [to] arts or the same interpretation. But I think freedom starts from a state of mind, from inside . . . even if you may not have a free environment. [. . .] After Konjit, the owner of Asni Gallery, had brought us together, we said: Let's continue! We just wanted to experience it and invited every artist to share. [. . .] At the end we were eleven people who

founded Netsa Art Village. [. . .] If you look at the space, you see all these sculptures and artworks—it's like a living museum. Well, it's *our* interpretation of "museum": it has a past and present, it is interactive. Artists started experimenting here; there is work with kids, learn-and-teach experiences. People see who we are, how we are doing our art whenever they come here. I think we all agreed on that. To me, that's the most interesting, the most important part of Netsa.³⁵

École des Sables is the only organization among those we surveyed that operates in a rural setting, in a fishing village on the Petite-Côte, about sixty kilometers from Dakar. This choice of location followed a turbulent history that goes back to the 1980s and is connected with the closure of the Dakar-based dance school Mudra Afrique,³⁶ which was run by Germaine Acogny.

Helmut Vogt, administrative director of École des Sables:

The closure of Mudra Afrique was a huge shock! We wanted to try to reconstruct a similar structure. In the Casamance we knew of a small village, Fanghoumé, in the middle of the forest. It was there that we continued on a smaller scale. Every year from 1984 to 1990 we organized a big four-week workshop for thirty to forty semi-professional dancers from all over the world. Then, unfortunately, there was the big conflict, with many dead and we had to look for somewhere else. [. . .] Up until the mid-1990s we tried looking in France as well, but at some point it became clear that we could only realize this project in Senegal. [. . .] We chanced upon Toubab Dialaw through a Haitian artist who has been living and working here for decades, and we continued the workshops under the most simple conditions. It seemed to make sense to stay

here, because the place is really beautiful. [...] But also, as Germaine would say, because African dance has a close connection with nature, with the elements. We wanted to be as close a possible to this energy. [...] Time and again we experience the special energy of this location, where people are prepared to open up, to absorb the energy and be inspired.

Processes of Space-Making

Among all the organizations we surveyed, the question of space-making forms an important basis for the direction taken by their work. The immense significance they all attach to establishing liberating artistic, cultural, social, cognitive, and professional spaces not only indicates the complexity of constrained and constraining framework conditions. It also points to a social will to create alternative options for orientation and action in the respective local working fields. This will is founded on the principle of interrelationality, and it both respects and assumes an interlinking of places, people, experiences, and relations. The situatedness of the organizations is thus characterized by integrations of the local as well as by integrations into the local, two levels that condition one another and are reflected in the organizations' practical work while simultaneously shap-ing it. Bringing these two levels together would have required research more extensive than that possible within the context of the current study. The following remarks therefore examine only the first level in more detail.³⁷

Integrations of the local are characterized by the myriad ways of an organization's "entering into relation" and "being in relation" with its environment. One important aspect of this integration, however, quite tellingly tends to be overlooked: the role of cultural actors as employers. The "economic impact" may vary from one place to another, but, as is the case with Market Photo Workshop, École des Sables, and Studios Kabako, the organizations wholly or in part provide a living for people with a range of competence and knowledge. The organizations we surveyed do not rely on voluntary work, which particularly in Senegal and Congo

would not be possible ("Volunteering is really a Western thing. Here people need to eat!" ³⁹). Instead, they try to institute modes of employment that can be reconciled with limited finances.

Another aspect fundamental to the organizations is the artistic education/training and professionalization itself. As sites for vocational training and social encounter, Market Photo Workshop, École des Sables, and Studios Kabako have opened up novel, unique points of entry and access within their respective localities. This not only includes offering individuals the opportunity to prepare for and embark upon an artistic career but also produces further formative effects.

Helmut Vogt, administrative director of École des Sables:

Two years ago as part of a specific project we began to focus on women. After various selection procedures and a year and a half of regular workshops we founded a women's dance company. Of the nine dancers who comprise this company, five are from our little fishing village Toubab Dialaw! [. . .] Now they've just produced their first choreography. The dancers themselves were very much involved in this process, which means it is closely related to their own lives, their past, and so on. It is highly unusual here to talk about oneself, to examine one's inner life, and to bring up things one has buried away. That acts as a significant trigger, of course.

Eddy Mbalanga Ebuda, administrative coordinator of Studios Kabako: People know that visitors, artists often come here. And of course as soon as the music begins they want to know what's going on, so they come by and watch. [. . .] In the town people talk[ed] a lot about Studios Kabako from the moment when we began traveling—to South Africa, Europe, the United States. It was very rare to see people leaving Kisangani because of their work as artists. That's something people talk about. That's a really strong point. They say to themselves: Hey, I can make a living from this profession; I just need to find a good organization to train me! [. . .] We're starting to grow, but we bear a huge responsibility, because so far

we've been virtually alone. I wish there were another two or three organizations like Studios Kabako here. It would help the town, and it would help the many talented young people to develop and blossom in their work.

At Market Photo Workshop this integrative aspect is intensified by outreach projects that have been planned and implemented for many years now. Participatory and interactive in character, these short- and long-term projects tackle difficult and socially explosive issues, mainly take place in and together with marginalized communities, and combine photographic training with political education on contested matters of culture, representation, and remembrance. The "bigger picture" that thus emerges of South African society brings into focus the dissonances of a fraught present tense yet, at the same time, allows concrete opportunities for participation, engagement, and intervention to be generated that are experienced differently by each person involved.

John Fleetwood, director of Market Photo Workshop: I think we very quickly became aware of the fact that these [outreach] projects can be used in a better way to talk about visual literacy, to talk about specifics around social change. [...] Photography is truly a great way of getting people to think very carefully about where they are. There is an incredible kind of wealth of information that people are living with that you can easily tap into, and that you can make people aware of their own knowledge and how to use it. [...] It's the ordinariness of a day-to-day photograph that people see and communicate so much through. But hidden—beyond that—there is much more, and photography opens up these things. If you have the right project facilitator you can really get into ideas of identity, but also how people in a larger community actually do not belong, how they are very clearly defined in terms of social subtexts, and how quickly they are excluded.

As the work of Studios Kabako shows, the integration of the local can be considerably stimulated through specific artistic activities. These include concerts and performances in which

the whole city is used not only as a stage, but also as a space for negotiation and entering into relation, whereby special significance is accorded to the inclusion of seemingly remote locations. The deliberate attempts to challenge internal politics of the local generate discussions about the interpretation of local identity as an incomplete multivoiced collective process that needs to be worked on persistently. Accompanied by radical counter-topographies that abrogate conventional ideas about "center" and "periphery," these efforts make it possible to imagine a new kind of relatedness between various people and city neighborhoods. Together with the Vienna-based architect Bärbel Müller, the organization is planning to establish three cultural locations as part of a long-term project to "acupuncture" Kisangani, thus inspiring a flow of creative energies/ideas between decentralized locations and connecting the city with itself.⁴⁰

Faustin Linyekula, artistic director of Studios Kabako: The process of "opening spaces" is not static. It's not about belonging to one particular quarter; it's not about what happens in this house only. It's about how it happens here and there and starts to circulate. [. . .] It becomes a question of linking points together because they are all equally important. [. . .] So it's no longer the actual physical location but the bridges that we throw across these spaces that really become the area of exploration. [It's not about saying]: I want to occupy that particular space. No! I want to occupy that space *in relation* to that other space.

The multifaceted and correlating forms and processes linked with the integration of the local are rooted in a politics of appreciation and are bound to commitment, responsibility, and accountability. With regard to all the organizations we surveyed, this is associated with an understanding of creative—and educational—work that does not reduce it to being merely a functional instrument for transmitting political messages. Rather, the individual efforts entail making locally relevant reflexive spaces to house particular issues and sensitivities, different pasts and presents, articulation and exchange. What this may indicate for specific shapings of the

field of non-formal artistic education/training, and which practice-related interstitialities are thereby rendered visible, will be examined in the following.

<u>Art and Education: Emphases, Orientations, and Intertwined</u> Terrains

The activities of all four organizations we surveyed display multidimensional links between vocational artistic training, art/s education, and artistic work. In all cases several groups of addressees are approached and integrated simultaneously, highlighting the interstitial situatedness of both "non-formality" and "art education" in a special way. As illustrated in the somewhat imprecise list of various activities below, education and art are differently weighted in each case and can (and indeed should) interlink in conceptually surprising ways. This should by no means be interpreted as a lack of definitional accuracy. Rather, it is an indication of expanded fields of possibility constituted through an interaction between differently *intertwined terrains* (see table 5, p. 203).

The training and professionalization courses offered by the organizations can be most obviously assigned to the "educational" field since they are centered around the transfer and acquisition of specific knowledge and skills, yet they are by no means limited to this. Market Photo Workshop and École des Sables, in particular, define themselves explicitly as teaching facilities, but the activities of all the organizations reveal a far broader field of action. The deliberate combining and intersecting of "education" and "art" generates multilayered, dynamic interaction spaces wherein diverse people and social environments come into contact and the production and transfer of knowledge is carried out in several directions.

In this regard, cultural mediation performed on various levels constitutes an important precondition. Based on the principle of social inclusion and participation, and characterized by both critically deconstructive and transformative strategies, it has two goals. Firstly, it aims to make people

aware of and critically examine their location and its conditions, as well as dominant parameters and institutions. Secondly, it also tries to influence what is being mediated by placing an emphasis on different avenues for interlinkage and intertwining, in order to achieve more justice, more critical thinking, and fewer social distinctions.⁴¹

Terrain: Vocational Training and Art/s Education

The terrain of vocational training *and* art/s education is most clearly defined by Market Photo Workshop. Course-related outreach projects and project work are patently conceived as a "secondary layer of learning" seeking "to align students' thinking with an awareness of society that describes and creates a background to their photography practice," by integrating them "as photographers; as facilitators; as trainers and as logistics organisers." Since the project work takes place outside Market Photo Workshop, professional learning is connected with important questions of critical cultural mediation work, which challenges students in "external contexts" to find their way into their own role at the same time as they scrutinize it.

Thenjiwe Nkosi, Critical Writing course instructor at Market Photo Workshop: Discussing art as a social practice brings up a lot of questions, especially when you go into communities and work with images. It's not only about going somewhere to bring something. It's also about going somewhere and taking something. I feel it is absolutely fundamental to ask ourselves as well as our students: Why is it important to document somebody else's life? What about their stories is important for you to tell? What happens when you tell somebody else's story? [...] Which, of course, touches crucial aspects of what photography actually is. That's why it is so important having different voices and perspectives and bringing in cultural practitioners from different fields [...] who think about "the arts" and culture but [also] beyond that, and in very critical ways, and who are not so focused on "product." 43

Long-term schemes such as the memory project Makweteng

Heritage Project,⁴⁴ which has been continuing for almost a decade, illustrate such "positioned processual driving forces" in an exemplary fashion. As an "ongoing living heritage project" it focuses on Makweteng, a historic township in Tlokwe in North West Province, which became one of the first sites of racist forced removals and resettlement during apartheid.

Molemo Moiloa, project manager of the Makweteng Heritage Project at Market Photo Workshop: This project has a few elements; one was that the Photo Workshop wants to go outside Johannesburg. [...] It's about moving into communities that otherwise would not have the access you would have if you'd be closer to the center. [...] The other objective is trying to get students engaged in communities and providing a supportive environment so that they can explore to some extent and learn in a situation where they're somewhat protected; but also trying to understand some sort of a "best practice" for community engagement in projects. How do you do it? What's the best way to do it? [...] And also that idea of methodology: How do we get the students to understand what the intention is? How do we get them to understand ideas of research, of ethics? How do we get them into the field and producing work? And how do we get to the point where we're producing something for an exhibition, for instance? So it is very much an idea of process.

To trace the histories of a place, to develop an understanding of its presents, and to find forms of photographic "translation," students have to explore different points of entry, essential aspects of which are knowledge, experience, and insight owned by local communities. "Being in the field" hence does not just mean negotiating research approaches or discussing intentions and results of photographic work; it also means respectfully entering into interactions that can be as unsettling as they are instructive.

Molemo Moiloa: People are appreciative of the fact that you're not going in there and pretend[ing] that they do not

exist, just doing your own thing. They feel they should be asked. There are quite a lot of power dynamics, and students need to know that long before they go in there. [...] One of the first workshops we did [in Makweteng] was with a group of old-age ladies, [...] many of whom had been alive before [the community] were forced to move. The idea was to have an intergenerational discussion and the passing on of oral histories. A lot of the photographers struggled a bit [with] how to relate to these completely different generations who have very particular expectations of how to show respect. The workshop facilitator started pulling peoples' hands out of their pockets, physically telling them that it is disrespectful to stand with your hands in your pockets amongst elders. [...] One very important "exercise" was when we paired an older person and one of the photographers and they had to move around [a sort of] musical chair. Then they had to stand together on a piece of paper, and this piece of paper shrank every time. It was about thinking about what it means for your space to be forcibly shifted and how communities cope when they're moved and separated. [...] As the piece of paper got smaller and smaller, you had to kind of hold on to the person. That definitely changed things! By the end of it, when everyone was broken into groups of six—three younger people, three older people—the conversations had really started and people were talking about what Makweteng was like. The young people were completely different; they had taken their hats off and were kind of leaning into the older women. And they were really listening.

In the case of Market Photo Workshop, the conceptual foundations and practical shapings of vocational training *and* art/s education convey a politics of empowerment that assigns central significance to the lived experience as a "criterion of meaning" and that is based on giving equal validity to diverse "ways of knowing."⁴⁵

Terrain: Art/s Education

As illustrated by the activities of all four organizations, the terrain of art/s education is the broadest of all, including

not only very different settings and addressees but also an equally wide range of formats, concepts, content, and orientations. 46 Despite this diversity, which in the framework of the present study can at best be approached descriptively, a key positional cultural-political aspect can be identified: regular as well as one-off courses, workshops, and other events serve to make alternative spaces of learning and/or communication and/or knowledge acquisition and are therefore also—or even especially—directed at groups of people whose access to such spaces is otherwise impeded. An interesting example is provided by the regular dance courses that École des Sables has been offering the children of Toubab Dialaw for some time now. They are led by dancers from the associated ensemble Jant-Bi Jigeen and take place on school premises. Although the free courses are well received, they do cause ambivalent perceptions and reactions, highlighting different levels of experience that require examination:

> Patrick Acogny, artistic co-director of École des Sables: The kids are very excited about it! But there is always . . . well . . . an ambiguous relationship to dance from the parents. Teachers of the École said, for instance, that some of the fathers had tried to stop the boys [from going] to dance. Dance is not for boys . . . things like that. It's a bit of a strange situation because we have more and more girls but less boys. So one of the obstacles I really want to overcome is to show them that there is nothing wrong with dance. One idea in progress is to transmit twenty-five minutes of the dance piece Waxtaan for the boys to embody and to show it to the village. It's about sending a strong message: dance is not only something they can do, but they can also do something with it so you don't have to be afraid to send your boys. [...] We work on a schedule to bring in people to train them as teachers for the kids. Some of them are already experienced as teachers because they work with children a lot. But we want them to work differently, through improvisation. So basically we offer them a teacher training. One, we are very much aware that they have a lot of experience and a lot to transmit to the younger ones; second, we want people who have been here and who can do

The skills training sessions offered by Studios Kabako and Market Photo Workshop—such as workshops in cultural management or photography—focus on work with adults. However, as selected stages in the Makweteng Heritage Project illustrate, they are not limited to teaching people merely technical skills.

Ikageng Women's Outreach Project 2003 [...] was a skills project, which focused on training women from marginalised communities in basic analogue photography and visual literacy. An edition of the original exhibition showed in Ikageng, a township of Tlokwe, North West Province in September 2005. [...] Ikageng Outreach Project 2004 - 2005: The overall theme of this project was "What makes you a woman?" The project was centred on heritage and history ideas. Visual literacy, basic photographic skills, CV and biography writing skills were taught to a group of women between 18 and 50 years old, to encourage the participants to develop a skill and ability to use photography to document their own lives with a critical understanding of image making. [...] The exhibition opened at the University of North West as well as community halls in the area.48

If art/s education is performed consciously at the interface between community and environment, it contributes to the creation of new representational spaces and critical counterpublic spheres. This holds true not only with respect to audiences, themes, or content, but also with regard to modes of exchange, communication, and engagement. The processual sites that thereby emerge allow a whole range of perspectives, impulses, and ideas to converge and unpredictable quests to occur, which for their part form an important precondition in redetermining intersubjective, communal, and social relevancies, rendering them visible and negotiable.⁴⁹

Terrain: Artistic Work

These quests and redeterminations result in a special rela-

tionship between art and education within the terrain of "artistic work," provided that both artistic work and education are understood as opportunities and sites of a transdisciplinary production of knowledge and content. Publics—in the plural—are generated through a multitude of practices, discussions, and controversies. As both the art/s education and the cultural mediation work of the organizations shows, publics are conceived as *contact zones*.⁵⁰ Approaching public spaces not as "closed units" but rather as "fragmented spaces that are relational to other social spaces and permeated by conflicts of interest between a variety of social groups" directly affects the intentions of artistic works and the character of artistic projects. Since these do not seek "to create consensus" but to put "knowledge and concrete issues up for discussion,"51 they evade attempts at regulatory access or particular expectations, and cause boundary-transgressive effects.

Virginie Dupray, administrative director of Studios Kabako: Artistic projects are very closely oriented towards the people and constructed around them. But it wasn't the idea at all to run post-trauma programs or to treat war traumas. That's what NGOs are for. We are absolutely not out to stage sensitization, action, educational, or reconstruction theater! We want to create theater, music, dance as art which is appreciated for its own sake, which has something to say to people all over the world—whether they are in Paris, London, Kinshasa, or Cape Town.⁵²

Patrick Acogny, artistic co-director of École des Sables: In Senegal questions related to women, like polygamy, sexual violence, having too many children, even beauty conceptions are serious but very tabooed issues. Women talk about these issues but usually amongst themselves. So our recent dance piece *Afro-dite* with Jant-Bi Jigeen deals with that. [. . .] The discussion process took a long time. It started with bringing in women with different views or a more free state of mind. With questions like: What is it being a woman, being a wife? What is beauty

to you? What are the subjects that touch you? [. . .] I think all this has helped the dancers to grow, to think about "woman" as a construction, not as a given. And to find arguments and shout it out loud!

The explosive power of repressed perspectives, realities, and formations of knowledge is clearly evident in the artistic work of photographers who have gone on to pursue individual careers after completing their training at Market Photo Workshop. Even while students are still training, the organization tries to create an atmosphere in which the classroom itself serves as a sphere for critical engagement, with the intention of undermining the idea of an "assumed equilibrium."53 At the same time, students—both in the past and present—have worked to strengthen this aspect in various ways, which has contributed to raising and negotiating extremely marginalized themes, voices, and perspectives. For example, the radical redefinitions of Zanele Muholi, a graduate of Market Photo Workshop who describes herself as a visual activist, have played a key role in visibilizing black lesbian realities in South Africa by providing a representational framework beyond violent distortions and stigmatizations. In this way, points of entry are created that, on the one hand, enable a critical deconstruction in order to reveal conventional patterns of perception and discourse and, on the other, are intended to respectfully relocate and subjectivize queer existences, experiences, and political struggles in South Africa, to offer positive identification, and—like the project "Mapping Our Histories"—to claim and materialize the corresponding historicities.⁵⁴

Artistic creativity that, on several levels and for a variety of reasons, is regarded as socially highly controversial, also reflects back—in the sense of constructive sustainability—on the internal and external perceptions of Market Photo Workshop itself. Within the context of permanent contestations that bring to light structural discrimination and are inseparably linked with discursive and physical violence, the organization is scarcely able to culturally politically affirm itself but instead needs to continually engage in critical discussions and self-examination. This, however, requires certain

framework conditions that allow a degree of artistic as well as cultural and societal criticism and that do not, as for example in Ethiopia, result in state sanctions and bans on production or performance.⁵⁵ Nevertheless, in the case of Netsa Art Village, a fundamental problem concerning artistic work can be identified that indirectly points to the difficulties of ensuring communicative inclusion and interaction.

Henok Getachew, coordinator of Netsa Art Village: Middle class or poor people don't have any chance to see exhibitions because very often it's in a cultural space where they wouldn't go to—in five-star hotels or houses of diplomats. [...] A lot of those artworks focus on people's lives in the streets, in the market, or deal with people in spiritual places. This art is very common. But there is also a problem with it. [. . .] If I paint a market person, for example, there should be the possibility for him or her to see that image and interact with it! A lot of artists just paint people. They take their images, they don't even show it to them, and the artwork ends up in rich people's houses. [...] On the other hand, there is a certain fear because people don't have any idea of what's going on. If I [told] somebody, even somebody whom I might have painted: "My friend, let me just show you my art!" they would say even before seeing anything: "Oh no, I don't understand art!" [...] That's the reality in Ethiopia; and that's why it is very difficult to have interaction between artists and audiences.

Relational Geographies

In order to do their work, devise courses and workshops, and realize artistic activities, the organizations we surveyed require extensive relationships and networks suitable for creating, maintaining, and expanding reliable, flexible, interactive working structures. In the course of this process, the connections formed between local, regional, trans-, and intercontinental contact spaces give rise to complex relational geographies within which individuals, cultural actors, organizations, and institutions enter into relation with one another in changing constellations and on different

levels. Table 7 provides a very rough idea of the scope and multilayered character of these relationships (see p. 205).

It is apparent that the relational geographies feature highly diverse, but above all unique "formations," which in terms of their configurations are profoundly processual—i.e., in permanent motion—and ceaselessly reconstituted through interactive relations and references. Although the present study can merely offer an "instant view" of these formations as in the above-mentioned table, they do provide important indications of the connection between the individual agency of an organization and the structural conditions within which it operates. The seemingly simple question of whom an organization cooperates with—as well as why, how, and on what basis—is fundamentally linked with working contexts, positionings, and self-conceptions and raises a whole series of further questions, such as: On what levels/within what spaces does potential cooperation take place and how do these levels/spaces interrelate? What leeway does an organization have in its actions and in taking decisions? What necessities and dictates (perhaps even constraints) does an organization have to deal with? What forms of cooperation are favored, in what constellations, and for what reasons? Which are rejected? What key definitions and reference communities are considered pivotal? What forms of recognition do organizations experience in local, regional, transand intercontinental settings, as well as in institutional, academic, activist, and artistic contexts? How visible is an organization and what impact does this have on the visibility of other organizations? To what extent is it possible to anchor policies of esteem and principles like commitment, responsibility, and accountability interactively, intersubjectively, interspatially, and on multiple levels? What desirable and possibly less desirable formative effects does this generate?

These questions touch on fundamental aspects of cultural actors' "worldliness"—and hence on an enormous variety of interwoven multidimensional narratives, present tenses, spaces, locations, and people. Above all, however, they indicate a *plurality of definitional, relational, and action parameters* in the non-formal field of artistic education/training.

These are neither givens nor pregivens but must be *inferred* from the principles of action and the relational realities of the organizations operating in this field before they can be discussed. This would require the compressed dynamics of each individual organization to be spelled out in contextual terms, which is not our aim here. At this point, any attempt to analyze and interpret the complexity of relational geographies would contribute to producing narrowing perspectives, "programmatic" focuses, or even value judgments. For the time being, then, we can merely assert that the connection between the specific shapings of the field of non-formal artistic education/training and the specific relational geographies of organizations constitutes a fundamental precondition for defining the field more concisely, perhaps even at all, and for locating it beyond biased definitional frameworks that tend to perceive non-formality simply as "other than formal." Further considerations would necessitate the development of practice-related and relational approaches that are consistently orientated "toward the field" and hence toward the work of the actors.

Waymarker 3: Teaching and Learning

Teaching and learning are two spheres closely linked with educational concepts and practices, contexts and definitions of knowledge, sociocultural requirements, as well as ideational and ethical claims. They establish specific spatial and relational settings wherein people with different knowledges and intentions, ideas and experiences encounter one another and embark on joint processes of work. In the field of nonformal vocational artistic training, these processes take place "beyond the formal"; in other words, they embrace extremely varied forms of teaching and mediation and offer a broad spectrum of methodological, didactic, and practical approaches, as well as of content and goals. Moreover, they involve different people/groups of people, which shapes teaching and learning in different ways. In the following, we will take a closer look at the teaching and learning contexts of Market Photo Workshop, École des Sables, and Studios Kabako. Since the activities of Netsa Art Village fall into the area of art/s education and have so far been carried out sporadically, this organization will not be included in the subsequent remarks.

In order to offer their students optimal vocational training, the organizations have developed different settings for their training programs. Each of these settings features specific framings and focuses and provides conceptual and practical reference points that lead into the respective teaching or mediation spaces. This allows us to regard teaching and learning as processes of social interaction in the course of which interpersonal contacts are made, experience gained, skills developed, and meanings negotiated.

Framings and Focuses of Vocational Training

With respect to the framing of training and the structuring of teaching programs, the formats employed by the organizations differ considerably. Whereas non-formal vocational training in dance/performative art at École des Sables and Studios Kabako takes the form of temporary intensive workshops, Market Photo Workshop has, over the years, developed full-time courses in photography. The overview in table 6 is intended to give a basic illustration of the training opportunities offered by each organization (see p. 204).

As the table shows, all of the vocational training programs, despite their differing degrees of formalization, are arranged to allow students to learn in modular teaching or workshop units. In the case of Market Photo Workshop, students can—depending on their initial skills and knowledge—progress through three different levels; École des Sables offers a range of autonomous workshop programs that are conceived as modular units and are conceptually linked, yet take place less regularly; Studios Kabako provides long-term training for a relatively fixed group of dancers, which includes various artistic and creative activities.

Extended Access to Knowledge

Although the organizations necessarily prioritize the practice-based mediation of specialized "technical" skills, their training programs are rooted in an extended professional understanding that embraces additional knowledge and competences. Helping students to get acquainted with the administrative side of professional life is regarded as a key skill by all the organizations. Participants learn how to write project funding applications and business plans; they are required to deal with both the opportunities and the problems of freelance work; they rehearse the negotiation of job contracts and fees; they are given an introduction to accounting and taxation issues; and they gain insight into project management, logistics, and organizational operations. At École des Sables and Studios Kabako this kind of knowledge and skill is integrated into the workshops as required; at Market Photo Workshop, Professional Practice is a separate component of each course level and expands as the students become more advanced.⁵⁶

A further teaching emphasis is placed on competence and knowledge with the aim of enabling students to ascertain an informed reference to their respective artistic field and to situate their own (individual) artistic practice in relation to this. In order to learn the basics of image analysis and develop a critical understanding of how images function, as well as what they convey and communicate, Market Photo Workshop has established a training focus in Visual Literacy. In addition, students are challenged to identify links between form and content and embed them with reference to historical and present-day contexts, to address issues of representational politics, and to position their own photographic work in the field of contemporary photography. The training focus Critical Writing, offered as part of the oneyear Advanced Programme, deepens the nexus between practice and theory by introducing students to various research methods, discussing exhibitions, and analyzing critical texts. Acquiring a broader understanding will encourage students not only to comprehend the various levels of their own image-making processes and articulate these more

coherently, but also to develop professional ethics.⁵⁷

John Fleetwood, director of Market Photo Workshop: It's about trying to integrate the so-called soft skills with hard skills that people would need in order to operate: things like communication, critical thinking, and confidence, because that affects people's day-to-day operation with photography. [. . .] Confidence is a critical factor. It's about getting a story, telling a story, communicating what you think is important; and if people can break the technical demands and the theoretical demands of photography into something that's practical and obtainable, then the road is open to develop many more stories.

École des Sables and Studios Kabako place a similar emphasis on combining theory and practice. Although the term "dance literacy" is neither used nor expatiated upon as a particular training focus,⁵⁸ students learn specific and comparative readings of dance-, body-, and movement-related concepts and are required to address the corresponding different interpretations and layers of meaning.⁵⁹ Here complex relationships can be drawn, for instance between "movement-as-text and context, movement and social and cultural meaning, the execution and grammar of dance, movement and motif, dance style and social context."60 In addition, they are supported in developing "interdependent bodily and intellectual skills, sensitivities, and knowledges,"61 in order to enrich their "vocabulary of body expressions," 62 to find their own dance and/or choreographic idioms, and to assume creative artistic responsibility.

Patrick Acogny, artistic co-director of École des Sables:
Dance is not only about performing certain movements.
It has very many conceptual aspects that need to be addressed. That's why I run seminars on different issues:
What is contemporary African dance, what is contemporary dance, what is technique, what are African aesthetics and principles. So it really is about broadening the artistic mind [of the dancers]. [...] But it is also important for them to understand other aspects that might

become crucial; for instance, how funding and politics are related, how dancers might be perceived, why and in what partic-

ular ways Europeans fund and "help" African dancers. Dancers cannot afford to be naïve about that because it is or it will be part of their work, of their working field, too.

Faustin Linyekula, artistic director of Studios Kabako: Of course, I teach art when I work with young artists here, but the idea is to approach it with that kind of vision and always saying: What we are doing here is *not* in a vacuum. There is a pedagogical aspect of the work but also a social one. It is about working with individuals who are ready to take responsibility for themselves as well as for the space around them. And so the work as a dancer in space becomes a metaphor of that reflection: How do I stand here?

The organizations' training work premises a *reflective professional understanding* that needs to be developed *in conjunction* with the students. Measured not solely in terms of technical ability, it establishes a multilayered connection between artistic skills, creative practice, and individual positionings. This entails a comprehensive approach that is formulated most clearly at Market Photo Workshop, but could also be similarly applied to the work of École des Sables and Studios Kabako: "presentation/teaching—demonstration—doing/applying—reflecting/evaluating/assessing." It combines various forms of knowledge, is intended to stimulate creative and artistic points of entry, and requires/encourages interactions to be both communicative and reflexive, because "a lot of thinking, reading, discussing, and debating [is] involved."

Extended Relational Spaces

Processes of space-making that, as outlined elsewhere, form the determining principle governing the work and self-conceptions of the organizations, are also key to the setup of each training context. Market Photo Workshop, École des Sables, and Studios Kabako have created teaching and learning environments that are the result of extended relational spaces. The training sites thus not only become "intersections" of interactive and multidirectional relationships and references, 65 but also establish far-reaching fields of exposure.

In this regard, one primary and significant aspect—albeit based on diverging premises—is signified by deliberately bringing together students and teachers from different African countries. Although it might seem obvious to generate transregional teaching and learning contexts within the African continent, this proves to be neither a matter of course nor an easy task for cultural actors. Most efforts are hampered not merely by the aforementioned structural conditions, which make traveling within the continent—and hence the opportunities for direct exchange and/or processes of regular joint experimenting at different locations—extremely difficult. It is also necessary to bridge cultural and lingual distances that are rooted in dissimilar experiences and realities, originate diversified frameworks of understanding, and, as a component of plural colonial pasts, determine the constitutedness of the present. The organizations' vocational training work creates temporary yet tangible alternative settings within which processes of communication, discussion, and negotiation, as well as processes of generating, mediating, and transferring knowledge, multiply in multidirectional and boundary-transgressive ways. These settings also prove to be stimulating in a broader sense by offering up-and-coming professional artists options for boundarytransgressive practice, experience, and changes of perspective.

Patrick Acogny, artistic co-director of École des Sables: What we call the "African Workshop" is for Africans only; dancers who come from at least fifteen to twenty different nationalities. They're Portuguese-speaking, English-speaking, French-speaking. These workshops last about three months, and when they come here we try to give them as much experience as possible. It is really about bringing people together, to help them to discover each

other, to [establish a basis] so that they can collaborate and share experiences. And also for them to understand that they have something to offer—something that is unique and different in terms of the way they use the form and their body, the quality of their presence, of the movement. [. . .] So we hope when they go back they can use that kind of experience and share it with others and really help to improve the level of dancing in their countries.

John Fleetwood, director of Market Photo Workshop:

The idea for us is to get people to travel. [...] It's really important for us to create these kinds of links and integration with neighboring countries because people also learn very much about themselves. The *experience* with traveling is often more important than the subject matter students can find. It's about the idea of a larger world of photography; it's about widening the scope by seeing other spaces. [...] It's crucial for photographers to understand that they can travel and that they start *seeing* what they observe once they are outside the confines that

they are comfortable with. [. . .] If you are operating in a space, for instance, where you don't understand language as easily, it makes you aware of the assumption that the "first language" you speak is not easily understood by your subject, and your ideas around identity might not be easily confirmed. [. . .] In Mozambique students had to deal with very direct reactions in the street, because people were asking them: "What do you photograph? Why do you do it? Where are you going to show it? Do you make money out of it?" [. . .] I think they have a much greater understanding of how to operate within South Africa—in terms of working with other people, and differences in terms of race and class.

Faustin Linyekula, artistic director of Studios Kabako:

When I see young dancers from Kisangani, whom I've been working with for maybe three years, when I see them go for a workshop in Dakar and I hear news from there saying that there is great maturity—that's really important for me. And when these boys come back here and you can see that their attitude changes, how they carry themselves—that's really important for me. I know

that these dancers can now go to a festival in Kinshasa where you have dancers coming from other parts of Africa or from Europe because they have realized a certain value, which helps them to change their focus. Suddenly they start looking at themselves in such a way: we don't need to move away from our city. They can travel and come back here; they can do things at their own scale. It's still very fragile but they're doing things.

The deliberate attempts to create relational spaces for internal cooperation and exchange within Africa correspond with an intercontinental dimension that generates further boundary-transgressive connections and opportunities for exposure. In the vocational training setting of Studios Kabako this task is shared with visiting artists, who are invited to Kisangani to lead workshops; École des Sables has developed various workshop programs for African and international participants specially tailored to fit their purpose. The interspatially and interpersonally condensed contexts that thus emerge are based on esteem, respect, and empathy, and—taking the form of a "layered learning"—they offer students important orientation for artistic and personal growth.66 Here the "classroom" is understood as an open lifeworld that is repeatedly reconstituted through the knowledge, experience, and skills of teachers and learners, individuals and communities.

Extended Frameworks of Reflection and Communication

Opening the "classroom" in this way is intended, on the one hand, to stimulate students into developing further in their field. On the other hand, it aims to encourage them to engage constructively, to subject their own work to discussion and to discuss the work of others, to give and receive feedback, and to improve their individual artistic (and personal) self-perception. This requires extended frameworks of reflection and communication that are designed not only to create an atmosphere of (mutual) trust, but also to advocate strategies for dignified conduct, to improve critical thinking, and to provide constructive discomfort. Frameworks of this kind can be established if "teaching" is understood as *facili*-

tating learning and the relationship between teacher and student is defined as particular, i.e., entered into for a specific purpose for a specified period of time.⁶⁷

Faustin Linyekula, artistic director of Studios Kabako: We invite different artists to come here. We do not call them "teachers" but "visiting artists"—on purpose. My wish is to have them more as masters. And what I like about this mastership is that [the dancers] will not be provided with answers. They are just given a sense of direction. [...] In the process of creating a space where people can be responsible for themselves, I felt it was really important at some point that my voice would not be the only voice that would come across. Because then there is this risk of me becoming some other Mobutu, being like the one who knows. Inviting other strong voices to come and meet them offers [the dancers] the opportunity to sometimes see or hear things that contradict. [...] It means that they need to find their own answers. [...] That's why I tell them all the time that this is not their home and they should not get too comfortable. It's not a point of arrival; it's just a road. We'll be there, for now, but it is most important to disappear at some point and take it to a level where they don't need me. So meeting all these people—it's also about that. Maybe in terms of form, aesthetics, and so on, it will be very different from one visiting artist to another, but in the variety of propositions there is one thing that's clear for me: that they are strong voices.

"Facilitating learning" also means asking and permitting questions, being a driving force, and purposely exposing students to experiencing things that provide a valuable referential foundation for developing a reflected artistic self-image.

Patrick Acogny, artistic co-director of École des Sables: When we bring in teachers—whoever they are—it's not only to help [the dancers] with technique but also to help them to *think* by sharing with them a choreographic experience so that it opens their minds. [. . .] But there is also another aspect to it. I recall that one day Germaine was saying: the dancers who come here, they come here

to deal with who they are. That's very true. So here is also a school of life, not just dance. When dancers come here they are put in a situation where they have to think strongly about what they are doing, why they are doing it, what are their plans for the future. It's about dealing with questions: Why are you dancing?—I have been dancing all my life. Yes, but why have you been dancing all your life? Maybe it's interesting to find out. Maybe you find out it is not important and this is an answer, too. [...] I need to know what it is I am doing in order to know where I can stand and say who I am. Because from the moment I can say "this is what I am doing," I can give it value. If I don't know what it is I am doing, then I am confused with it. And [the dancers] sometimes get very confused when they understand that there is not a straight answer in terms of that.

It is hence necessary for students to plunge themselves into often unsettling processes of exchange, in which their own work as artists must be discussed, explained, and defended. Feedback and criticism are designed not only to improve their perceptions of themselves as artists (and as people) or help them to understand differentiated, sometimes contradictory perceptual contexts, but also to exercise interpersonal communication based on negotiation. Students thus find themselves challenged to lay bare their work as artists with all its intentions, meanings, and inherent positionings. In the vocational training contexts of the organizations we surveyed, this takes place in critique sessions conducted in a number of different ways. Although not always explicitly labeled "critique," their goal is invariably "to provide a supportive environment where students can show their experiments and talk about their ideas"; and they are designed in such a way that "trainers and fellow students give constructive feedback to help each student progress."68

Entry Requirements and Eligibility Criteria in Vocational Training Contexts

The obvious effort of the organizations to link artistic creativity *and* personal growth within the training frameworks

implicitly suggests that other teaching spaces do not share the same focuses.⁶⁹ In each of their fields, Market Photo Workshop, École des Sables, and Studios Kabako therefore offer outstanding and rare training opportunities. Since these are tied to particular approaches (in terms of teachers) and are limited to a particular number of participants (in terms of students), it seems legitimate to ask about entry requirements and eligibility criteria. Although preconditions and standards of the respective criteria may differ, they are always underlaid by specific ideas about competence and quality.

Teachers/Visiting Artists

Within the context of vocational training, teachers/visiting artists must not only be competent in their field but also possess a personal stance that accords with the principles of the organizations we surveyed. The question of *what* someone can teach, consequently, is always linked with the question of *how* he or she teaches, what kind of professional self-conception is brought to bear, and whether this fits the respective training framework. Market Photo Workshop and Studios Kabako hence have very precise "eligibility criteria" for determining who is a suitable teacher, since the work of both organizations is based on positioned, decentered world-views and values that are shared by all those involved and should be represented by those participating in training.

Claire Rousell, Advanced Programme course instructor at Market Photo Workshop: It's very important here at the Market Photo Workshop to provide students with a range of trainers with different perspectives. We try to maintain a balance. [...] We have managed to create a certain "teaching routine" and I think it is important to sustain that routine because it creates a structure that allows us to be more flexible in other ways, such as bringing in a range of different trainers. [...] In terms of the theoretical subjects there is an emphasis on conceptual backgrounds that people could offer. If you think of teachers like Sharlene Khan, Thenjiwe Nkosi, or Gabi Ngcobo—it's usually artists who position themselves critically, who take a particular stance. [...] In a way this also applies to

the digital trainers because they bring in more than just technical skills and their ideas will impact on students.⁷⁰ Faustin Linyekula, artistic director of Studios Kabako: Collaborations are determined by a certain ethical approach to arts and to life; it's about believing in something and trying to share that belief. Because ultimately, making art—to me—is about sharing or intending to share a certain worldview, certain values. [...] That's why I believe in "guerrilla networks" where we choose to be together. Right now I am in a great network with Boyzie Cekwana in South Africa, with Panaibra Canda in Mozambique, with Andreya Ouamba in Senegal. [...] I know of choreographers whose work can be really impressive but who, in their relationship to performance, for instance, are so authoritarian that I would never invite them here. [...] So concerning teaching it is important for me to try to assure people of what to do and also of how to do it but in a way that doesn't take all the responsibility away from them.

Due to the differing conceptual and methodological focus of each workshop program, the selection of teachers at École des Sables is informed more explicitly by their "technical competences." But other aspects that reflect the organization's main approaches are also taken into account.

Patrick Acogny, artistic co-director of École des Sables: We have certain teachings that are very important here. There is, of course, the technique of Germaine Acogny. Then with me, in terms of what I call the deconstruction of traditional dance; that is a method [of taking] traditional dance forms and transform[ing] them into cultural performances by using some simple contemporary choreographic tools. Then we work with contemporary dancers and choreographers who are Western or African or both, who bring their experience and expertise as teachers but also as choreographers to share their vision, their ideas with the students. These are the workshops we organize. Then there are collaborative projects where you need particular teachings, so teachers are chosen and invited accordingly. [...] But there is also another layer; every student who comes here needs to teach his or

her traditional dance forms to the others. That is very important to us—the sharing of what is part of one's heritage.

A further important factor determines the choice of teachers at Market Photo Workshop. As a critically positioned training institution that can draw on a reservoir of knowledge and experience gathered over the course of many years, great value is attached to continually passing on and mediating the correspondent basis for work and understanding. The organization therefore actively involves alumni—for example, by consciously supporting contacts, organizing joint projects, and/or inviting them to teach and lead workshops. The intergenerational aspect thereby manifested indicates independent reference systems, at once being transformed, renewed, and developed further through the individual work of former students. This allows extended professional fields of possibility to emerge and links processes of tradition-building and of structure-building, which in turn impact the scope and perception of the organization.

The organizations do not regard a teacher's educational background as an explicit criterion for admission. That way, recognition and value are attached to knowledge contexts that are based on practical and professional *experience*. "Good work" does not necessarily precondition "higher" education but instead validates other quality standards within the realm of training, professionalization, and artistic activity. However, especially at Market Photo Workshop, a noatable number of teachers have an academic background, which, as a comparatively new "effect," can be attributed to a significant change in the vocational training format.

John Fleetwood, director of Market Photo Workshop:
Several current trainers at the Photo Workshop are
people who would have some kind of university training.
But that has not always been the case. Up until about
four or five years ago, the majority of the trainers were
actually working photographers, not previously trained at
university. The change came in 2005 when we changed
the curriculum from part-time courses into full-time
courses. [. . .] Before that the workshops were run on

weekends or maybe an evening during the week. The reason why we considered moving classes to become more full-time, and more structured in terms of outcomes, was to ensure

that what students would learn during this period of time would be more meaningful. Often people had just had a taste of some kind of experience and weren't really able to go out and try that. [. . .] The trainers who we then kind of lured to Photo Workshop, and who came to work here, typically would have been people that were able to continue to train on a daily basis. That, in many ways, excluded photographers that we previously would have asked to train. So our staff shifted much more from photographers working in the field to trainers that are primarily dedicated to training and are [also] interested—well, we hope so—in the methodology of training.

Such "internal" developmental and transformational processes of an organization, which are mostly undocumented, are of great significance for understanding and discussing very specific becomings. They raise questions about *questions* that preceded the changes, they direct our attention to organization- and context-bound historicities, and they allow us to identify the waymarkers "in motion" relating to the vocational training work itself.

Students

The vocational training courses offered by the organizations are designed for a limited number of participants and differ in their entry requirements with respect to the prior skills and knowledge thereby entailed. The workshop programs in dance are aimed at both professional and semi-professional dancers, who by virtue of their status must possess a certain level of technical skills and professional experience. Market Photo Workshop, by contrast, has established courses of different levels, which also allows people with no previous knowledge of photography to enter the training program. Since the number of applicants as a rule by far exceeds the number of available training places, the organizations have developed a range of different selection procedures. In the case of Market Photo Workshop, this applies to the higher-level courses—the Advanced Programme (AP) and the Photo-

journalism & Documentary Photography Programme (PDP)—for which prospective students must be able to demonstrate an advanced level of technical and practical ability in addition to submitting a detailed résumé, portfolio, and motivation letter when they apply. École des Sables issues public invitations for potential participants to apply for their self-organized workshops; interested candidates must likewise send in résumés, samples of their work, and a statement of motivation, as well as a letter of recommendation where appropriate. Studios Kabako used to select their students by means of an audition several years ago.

Combining expertise and "educational background," as well as applying flexible eligibility criteria, conveys the self-conception of the respective organization. Market Photo Workshop, for example, is interested in "applicants from a broad range of backgrounds" to its higher-level courses, too.⁷¹ The deliberately open criteria take account of differing degrees of professional experience and individual expectations, as well as unequal structural preconditions that still put black South Africans in particular at a major disadvantage. As the diversity of the students shows, the term "broad range of backgrounds" implies a number of more general inclusivity principles implicitly linked with the eligibility criteria.

In the framework of its various workshop programs, École des Sables has developed different eligibility criteria for African and Western participants, thus indirectly providing information about the impact of unequal—in this case also globalized—structural conditions, with which the organization has to contend within the context of its vocational training work.

Germaine Acogny, artistic director of École des Sables: The African dancers must be familiar with their own cultural heritage in the field of dance, the foundations on which it rests, for this is not something we address here. This means that they must be able to dance and exchange their dances with others. Then there is also an intellectual criterion: their level of schooling. [...] Some people have interrupted their schooling to become dancers. In other cases their parents are unable to pay for their schooling. But we don't reject anyone *because* they don't have a particular level of schooling. [...] There have been and there continue to be cases where we have worked with intelligent and exceptional young people who have never been to school. If they come from Senegal it is, of course, easier because we speak Wolof. In other cases we were always lucky to have someone who could translate into their respective language. [...] But we're increasingly looking at people from other [African] countries who come here and have the equivalent of a [baccalaureate], for example. They should understand what we expect from them. [...]

European or Western dancers must have a grounding in their own culture — whether it is classical dance, contemporary dance, or hip-hop. They must have a physical basis, a sufficiently sound physical technique in order to withstand the shock of the other techniques. They must be willing to compare their experiences, since there is always a process of mutual give and take among students.

At Studios Kabako, vocational training is regarded as part of a more comprehensive and multilayered process designed to create space on different levels and in different ways. Since the training runs for several years and involves a relatively fixed group of dancers, the eligibility criteria should really be seen more as process oriented questions that must be asked and answered recurrently anew. Questions such as: Who is willing to immerse themselves into such a process? Who is willing to remain in this process? In this respect the training itself can be seen as a continuous selection process.

Faustin Linyekula, artistic director of Studios Kabako: Creating the space that you want to create takes time. So, the group we've been working with here—it's been almost four years. When you call for auditions, people come but you only have a very brief impression and you can never base a relationship on that. [...]

So, the first time it was not so much about physical abilities, really. If I have someone standing in front of me, I have to feel that there is something here. The rest of the time is to try and find out if that first impression was really based on something deeper that you discover and the person is discovering as well or if it is totally wrong. [...] For me within that process of four, five years it's important who really bites into the experience of this, of "this is how I want to live my life"—and that's great! If someone after all this time comes to me and says: "You know, dance or art is not really what I want to do in my life," then for me that's successful. Because it means that this person can take a position and say: "This is what I want." [...] That's why we started with a group of fifteen; after a year there were only thirteen; four years later we decided to continue with only seven. After some time you realize that the sense of commitment is not the same. I don't want [Studios Kabako] to be a space where you just hang out or [see] it as a way of being in nice company.

I want to try and go a bit further. And so for the workshop we are holding right now with Boyzie [Cekwana] it will be good to have these seven not alone but with people from elsewhere—with dancers from Goma, three from Kinshasa, two from Brazzaville—coming together and spending some time here. It's [a] very intensive five weeks, and after these five weeks where they're really challenged they might suddenly realize again: "Oh, we are not asked to dance in this way, but we're asked to think about what we're doing."

The entry requirements and eligibility criteria for teachers and students reveal each organization's basic stances and approaches and help to maintain these in a constructive way. The inclusive training spaces constitute settings that are sensitive to differences and based on a deliberate redistribution of access, which counteracts prevailing social conditions and at the same time renders them visible. The process-oriented broadening of artistic and personal latitude for thought and action proves to be a challenge for all involved.

Insights into Practice in Training Settings

Since both teachers and students must act "practically" in such extended contexts, the question arises as to how these "extensions" are experienced, what opportunities they offer and what potential conflicts they contain, what kinds of negotiations are conducted and what boundaries can be discerned. After all, the individuals involved bring not only diverse personal, professional, and social histories and preconditions, but also similarly diverse ideas and expectations, something that has an impact on interaction processes and makes vocational training work an "uneven" field. Such "unevenness" neither produces a coherent picture nor offers any manageable explanatory patterns. It is, at present, merely possible to approximate them with a situative approach, by showing and drawing connections between ambitions, actions, and instant experience. In the following we will seek to do this by putting into relation the various levels of experience of teachers and students in the form of a dialogue. As the fragmentary snapshots reveal, not all levels were accessible; however, these are identified as such—not as blank, but as open spaces.

Focus: Inclusivity

Although the inclusive approach of the training courses and workshops tries to take account of the students' very dissimilar backgrounds, these diverging preexisting conditions—particularly variances in schooling—are a challenge for the organization. Not only do such conditions affect teachers' pedagogical ideas and mediation in practice, but a balance between them needs to be found. For the students, the theoretical side of training in particular may provide critical borderline experience.

Examples of Settings

Photography

John Fleetwood, director of Market Photo Workshop:

There are typically twelve students in a class. In terms of the longer courses, we thought that it is very important to have some people in the class [who] might have been previously trained in whatever field, so that the experiences that they had could be transferred among the students. [. . .] It might also be a result of the kind of trainers that we started to draw, and that more students had university training before[hand]; it's really about that dynam-

ic transfer. [...] But it needs to be managed. It helps if there are effective kinds of teams set up and if the *culture* of the class as a learning entity is corrected from the beginning of the year, so that people understand they are a unit; that they need to integrate, they need to work together, to peer up. I think it needs to be managed very carefully ... these ... interjections ... to make sure that it happens. And sometimes it becomes a problem, I think, in classes where some trainers might struggle to manage different paces for all the learners to learn equally.

Dance

Patrick Acogny, artistic co-director of École des Sables:

For many of [the dancers] it would have been much easier if they had a proper education. We don't have statistics here, but I would say in terms of the African dancers: of those who have come here so far maybe 20 percent have had a level that would allow them to enter higher education. In Senegal probably around 70 percent of them have stopped early secondary school. [. . .] A lot of them want to go into choreography. They are very smart, they can learn and do things, but often they don't have the tools to analyze, to do research and things like that. [. . .] They would know if you showed it to them, of course, but some of them hardly master language—French or English—and that brings a lot of issues we have to deal with as well. So, one of the things we're thinking of for those who

want: to find somebody to teach them some French, to teach them history, so that they get more aware. Most of them don't even know the story of their field. They just want to dance. And then they realize that for dancing they might have to go back to school.

Examples of Experience: Teachers

Photography

Thenjiwe Nkosi, Critical Writing course instructor at Market Photo Workshop: I don't know if any of the students whom I am with came up through the Foundation and the Intermediate Courses. So, structurally it looks one way but then, obviously, it might play out totally different. Students just come in for the Advanced Course [AP] and they come from everywhere. They have all kinds of expectations. If I look at the feedback that I got from the first term—it's all over the place! Some were saying: "I want more reading." Half of them were saying: "This class was too conceptual for me." And I was lost! [...] I really fumbled the first term. In a way I could not plan anything because it is such a broad range of people and there are so many different dynamics going on. I came in with a reading and then half of the time mostly a few white students would be talking. Then I tried a bunch of different readings, which kind of helped to change that. [...] Discussion is just one aspect, though. The course is called Critical Writing. But in terms of writing skills you have to work with people who don't know how to separate paragraphs and you have people who are putting footnotes. So then I was fumbling [with] how to get them to write. I had actually never taught writing before and do not consider myself a writer at all. So I was using it also as an opportunity for me to really think about what writing is. [. . .] And I also realized the enormous responsibility that goes with it.

Dance

[...]

Examples of Experience: Students

Photography

[...]

Dance

Fanny Roselyne Mabondzo (Republic of the Congo), workshop participant at Studios Kabako: The workshop is great! And there is a difference: if you look at École des Sables, on the one hand, you know, it's one thing; but when you look at Studios Kabako, then it is something else. And what I'm doing here right now is something I've never done before. [...] Joining the workshop here is something new for me; here you get a notebook and you write or you try to write texts. Then I have to find a partner and he has to carry out what I've written down. You become a choreographer; he becomes an interpreter. [...] I'm currently doing some research for a solo. To be honest, I'm a bit scared, because I've never done one before, but that really pushes me! You have to do everything at once. 72

Kaïsha Essiane (Gabon), workshop participant at École des Sables: This is the first time I've done a workshop with a theme [War and Peace], where you really have to do research. The other workshops I've done were introductions to contemporary dance. And here you do both hip-hop and African dance at the same time—it really is very diverse. [...] You are taught all kinds of things, with exercises that get you reflecting. For example, I simply looked at the steps they taught us here for what they were. But beyond the movement itself, if you work with your mind you look at what's behind this movement, and then you find even more. A single movement can give you a thousand other things, a thousand other openings. [...] I think if you've been to school, you have certain advantages. You find it easier to understand the exercises. The fact that I've studied [communications in France] makes a lot of things here easier for me.73

Clariss Sagna (Senegal), workshop participant at École des Sables: I liked school, but the whole time I was in the class they kept calling on me and saying they needed me for this or that. So I stayed away from school more and more and, as a result, I had problems. [...] Dance and school together—that is really difficult. In Dakar, dance courses take place in the evenings or on the weekend when you are sure you won't be going to school. [...] When I arrived here in Toubab Dialaw and we worked with Patrick, I increasingly realized that [school] courses are important—because I always have problems. They give you things and you have to respond quickly. [...] When he tries to make us do the work in our heads, then that's the reason I don't talk much.⁷⁴

Focus: Structural and Individual "Baggage"

Training programs geared to training and professionalizing artists have to deal with various conflicts at the same time as they take place in various areas of conflict. Here the structural framework conditions and social perceptions are closely linked with the students' individual situations. These include the fact that there are very few opportunities to do artistic training in the non-formal sector; that there is a widespread lack of appreciation for artistic creativity, which—depending on the artistic area—is associated with certain preconceived opinions or prejudices; that, accordingly, students' families often resent their decision to pursue an artistic career: that students come with different backgrounds, experiences, attitudes, and expectations about what it means to become a professional artist and plan a career; and that they experience all kinds of pressure to "make it" as an artist.

Examples of Settings

Photography

John Fleetwood, director of Market Photo Workshop: I would say that people who chose to study photography—in one way or the other—must have some kind of understanding that they're working with the world "out there." It's inherent in the study and in the teaching of photography how you look at whom you're looking at and power relationships. It's always clear that the class is sometimes uncomfortable because it's so personal. But then: art-making is a very personal process. [. . .] The students at the Photo Workshop are not a paragon of beautiful, innocent, undiscriminating people. They are very much living in the communities out there and reflect "community" very strongly. So a good trainer should have the ability to speak about subject and form in a way that responds to that.

Dance

Virginie Dupray, administrative director of Studios
Kabako: Most of our dancers come from quite modest
backgrounds. One has a middle-class background and
was sent to Kisangani to stop [him from studying] art
but unfortunately met us. Three of them live together
and take care of each other because it is easier in terms
of limited resources. For the [duration] of this workshop,
though, they have a five dollars per diem, and they will
save money to finance their studies next year.

Patrick Acogny, co-director of École des Sables: Most of the [dancers] dream of a professional career. For many of them it is even stronger because they go against the wish of their family. Half of our dancers have been kicked out of the house—until they [started earning well] and then were the most welcomed guys back home. [...] There are a lot of things that need to be done in terms of supporting them; not giving all their money to their families but thinking of building something for themselves. The career as a dancer is short and a lot of them don't plan. So it's also about teaching them how to plan a career.

Examples of Experience: Teachers

Photography

Thenjiwe Nkosi, Critical Writing course instructor at Market Photo Workshop: I feel lucky teaching this class because I think they're all trying to figure something out—not just in terms of image-making but also in terms

of negotiating. [...] But in a way they are obsessed with this idea of consent, which I find very disturbing. If someone gave consent, does that mean that I can do what I want? It's a very important question for photographers. Because photography is different than painting and it's different than a lot of things. As a photographer you have to understand the value of a person's own image. [...] I think it's absolutely crucial to develop a capacity of acknowledging that—as an artist, as a photographer—you are on very fragile grounds. And many [students] are quite uncomfortable with this idea of ambivalence: they sort of acknowledge that things can be problematic but then feel that it is important doing something. So the doing seems to make up for everything because it's better to do than to not do. [. . .] There is something quite immobilizing about it, because it rejects this idea that we are always chang-

ing, that you as a *person* are always changing. So, you are allowed to be something else tomorrow. There seems to be something very securing about a "particular position" and "representing" it. And that has a lot to do with history here.

Dance

[...]

Examples of Experience: Students

Photography

[...]

Dance

<u>Dorine Mokha (DR Congo)</u>, workshop participant at <u>Studios Kabako</u>: I should have gone to South Africa to study, but my father told himself I was more likely to become discouraged in the Congo. He was happy with Kisangani [because he thought]: "What's the boy going

to do there, who will pay him, where will he dance—in the end he'll give up." [. . .] Okay, I'm going to university anyway, and I've already managed four of the five years [studying literature and economic law]; everyone says it's important to have a degree because then you can make decisions. I say, maybe it's also an opportunity to triumph over your parents. [. . .]

Before I started at Studios Kabako in 2009, I had an image, a vision of dance: I'll dance, I'll get invited to all kinds of places, I'll travel. [...] But here a dream has become a reality: that it can be a life, a profession from which I can make a living. That's something I didn't have before. Because an artist isn't regarded as someone professional, but someone killing time, amusing himself. [...] Studios Kabako changed that—it's more about what's going on in your head. Of course you learn dance techniques too, but I think it has a bigger impact at the reflective level. [...] And in addition they help me to organize myself. My parents do finance me, but only when I have to pay for university. I can't ask them for money for transport; I can't ask them to buy my shoes. Studios Kabako have helped me with respect to working—with the money aspect but also with the time aspect, because I'm attending university in parallel. It's a question of organization—you can't live from it. You do three workshops in the space of a year. That's a great thing, but it's not enough to survive the rest of the time. But it's the future. You are still finding yourself, asking yourself questions, and trying to find answers.75

Mohamed Dramé (Senegal), workshop participant at École des Sables: Dancing isn't so easy. Sometimes there are events you get invited to. Or you go to battles and concours, do little performances. But not everyone has the chance to attend a dance school. For young people without any money that's difficult. That's why they prefer to learn from the Internet or to watch video clips from other countries and try to do the movements. There are video tutorials. If you want to learn a particular style, you type in the name and you find videos of artists or musicians or dancers. We learned lots of steps that way, the steps for breakdance or house. [...] We dancers rely

a lot on computers to find out what's new, whether someone's invented a new style. You try to adapt to that style. Of course sometimes you don't know all the steps but the essence. [. . .] We do that on our own, to equip ourselves. You don't always have the opportunity to attend a workshop like this.

Fanny Roselyne Mabondzo (Republic of the Congo), workshop participant at Studios Kabako: I remember when I attended the Africa Workshop at École des Sables in 2011: my dream was to see Mama Germaine. I spent the first day watching her and asked myself: "This Mama, how did she do it? Will I manage to do that as well?" I'd really love to continue, to keep working at it like Germaine Acogny, till I get to her age. [...] But it's hard to be a woman and to keep on dancing. Not everyone understands dance. And if you have a husband who doesn't understand you and doesn't understand dance either, you even risk messing up your life. You risk losing what you had when you started, because if you give up—what then? And if you have children, if you have a family . . . For most families here it's not easy to accept a girl or a woman who dances. Most of the women I started out dancing with have given up. [...] At the beginning I had no hair; I had shaved it all off and told myself I had to be free so I could do anything, no matter what, because I wanted to rebel. At the place where I worked, the choreographer didn't allow you to fiddle about with your hair. And nobody said: "You're a woman, he's a boy." Whatever men do, the women will do as well. [...] You can't avoid that. Here, for example, there's a dance floor, but in Brazza[ville] you have concrete; you hurt yourself all over and have wounds. [...] It's not always about working under good conditions. I have to —how shall I put it—I have to be able to work everywhere. [...] It's up to you if you come back: for example, you try to read a bit, for example, you try to organize young dancers and to teach them the technique you learned where you were. You can't go back not having done anything. [...] It's certainly tough here. You have to try, you have to fight your way through everything, and you have to think carefully about how it can all go on.

Focus: Communication, Reflection, Evaluation, and Participation

As we have already seen, processes of communication, reflection, and evaluation are all primary and related aspects that enable interpersonal exchange and participation. To do justice to the complexity of these processes and to their profoundly multidimensional, interactive character, we would need to bring together four mutually interactive layers and their various premises, orientations, emphases, and goals. These four layers comprise interaction (1) between teachers, (2) between teachers and students, (3) between students and teachers, (4) between students. Within each organization, each layer raises—in combination with the other layers very specific questions and refers to equally specific issues, discussions, and the determination of relationships. Each layer helps—in combination with the other layers—to frame and to "atmospherically" shape communicative, reflective, and evaluative spaces in the context of training/teaching and learning. And each layer creates—in combination with the other layers—specific *interactive structures* that bring to light particular forms of participation and provide information about the internal constitutedness of organizations. Combining the layers in this way is not, however, something that can be achieved in this study. But even the very fragmentary insights into practice point to the multilayered nature and the varying directions of the interaction processes.

Examples of Settings

Photography

Claire Rousell, Advanced Programme course instructor at Market Photo Workshop: There are different kinds of evaluation; students evaluate the courses as well as individual trainers. [. . .] For the Advanced Programme [AP] these evaluations are important milestones, because the course takes place over a year and consists of four terms plus time for the personal project and an internship. So, these are different "stations" or phases and students

need to receive feedback at each of these points along the way. [...] Every AP student has to choose a personal project at the beginning of the course and to develop it throughout the year. At the end of the second and fourth terms a "Summative Assessment" takes place. This is a particular kind of evaluation where the students present their body of work to two internal assessors, one external assessor (from outside of the Market Photo Workshop), and a moderator. The external assessor, frequently an artist, photographer, or curator, can provide quite a different outlook on the students' work. At times we also arrange "group crits" and invite all the trainers on the course to attend and share insights on the students' work. These crits take place with the whole class present so that students can contribute and also see how trainers assess work, [...] External assessors are extremely important for the students since a lot of things that might make sense to a student in terms of a "final product" might be perceived very differently by someone who was not part of the process. [...] [Students] need to be prepared for that. If you go out and show your work, you will have to face criticism. It could be very harsh criticism; it may not feel "supportive" and sometimes is not meant to be supportive. And students learn to deal with different kinds of criticism during the assessments.

Dance

Virginie Dupray, administrative director of Studios

Kabako: We don't have an evaluation system as such. At the end of every workshop I try to make a report and so I have a conversation with the [dancers]. They have a conversation with the person who did the workshop, and then we always have a conversation together to see what are their feelings about this workshop, what did they learn, what they didn't like—but it's more informal. But we've got these exchanges, oral exchanges. I try to follow the process, not everyday but regularly, so I can see

that some are growing more rapidly; in certain workshops some are feeling better than others. So I try also to have individual conversations with them at the end. But we don't have something with notes. And yes, at some point, they should have the opportunity to evaluate us, but we didn't organize that yet.

Germaine Acogny, artistic director of École des Sables: The students choose someone to represent them amongst themselves. Those are then the chefs des villages, with whom we meet every week. They say what they think—about the food, about problems, about what they've experienced—and we listen in order to make improvements and to improve ourselves. We know very well the quality of the work that we offer here, but they have the right to talk about the teachers. using questionnaires, about what we are doing, what they particularly liked, what wasn't good. And then we have this report, to see what we have to work on, to decide whether to invite a teacher back or not. We always try to get them to say what they think—every week and then right at the end of their time with us.

Examples of Experience: Teachers

Photography

Claire Rousell, Advanced Programme course instructor at Market Photo Workshop: We have informal feedback all the time, but it is very important to make sure that it's not a one-way process. I might be a trainer, but I am also an artist and a human being. In a way I am verv much like my students: I make mistakes, I have to deal with a changing state of mind, responding to creative challenges. If we talk about their problems in conceptualizing a one-year project, about their difficulties in planning it or sticking to it, about being confronted with lack of creative drive these are all things I know and understand very well. So instead of giving an authoritative answer, I rather talk about my own experi-

Chapter 3 Fragmentary Depictions

ences and sometimes students respond to each other's fears and problems in class or even to my own fears which I voice, which is really wonderful. In the longer courses, like the AP, there is quite a personal relationship between the trainer and the students. I think trust is very important to do good work together.

Dance

[...]

Examples of Experience: Students

Photography

 $[\ldots]$

Dance

Mohamed Dramé (Senegal), workshop participant at École des Sables: Many African dancers have told me: "Mo, you must go to École des Sables!" It's now the third time I've come here and I've learned a lot. It's a challenge. The first time I came, I could only speak French and Wolof and I was a bit too shy to talk to the others. But then Germaine Acogny said to us: "Speak, make yourselves understood even if you have to use your fingers!" That was a really good experience for me, to pluck up my courage and try something out. [...] At this workshop I personally find that the Francophones make

more effort to speak English than the [Dutch] do to speak French. [. . .] They try: sometimes someone asks, "How do you say this or that," but as soon as we get into a real discussion it tends to be in English. [...] The integration with the other side happened much faster here. Sure, sometimes there are language problems, but we are open. [...] Once I got angry at C. when she said: "No, not me." I said to her: "You must speak, even if you use your toes to do so!" Then she began to feel the challenge. [. . .] In other matters the African side tends to be a bit more reserved. There are things one tries not to say. I'm quite a dynamic person and hence one of the chefs des villages. People confide in me. Then we try to find solutions and take the information we've put together and talk about it with the office, talking about everything that's going on. We

often talk about the work: about what's happening, how people feel, whether they are exhausted or motivated. At the end of each workshop you get forms to fill out, like a kind of workshop report, not anonymous. [...] It's quite open here, not closed. You're working, but as a student you have a right to say what went well and what didn't.

Dorine Mokha (DR Congo), workshop participant at Studios Kabako: The workshop here is a fantastic experience! I had never met the dancers from outside [Studios Kabakol before; we had never worked together previously. But after a few hours it felt like we knew each other. [...] Dance brought us together and we really became one. There were no differences any more: like, I'm from Kinshasa. I'm from Kisangani, I'm from Brazza. We were all dancers. That was an important experience, and that's one of the things I

value about Studios Kabako: that new people come here with new ways of seeing things. We have common ground as dancers, but at the same time you see things; for example, I see a dancer from Goma, and I try to understand what he thinks, how they dance there, and I learn a lot of things. And at the same time they learn new things from us as well. [...] The workshop is more about practicing technique. But after an hour's break we try to talk about the work, where we are at, what we are going to do. For example, if you work for three or four hours. there are two or three occasions when you sit down and try to discuss things: if you have seen solos or danced them yourself, then you ask other people for their opinion, their impressions, what they have seen, what they haven't seen. And that is very interesting, in order to position yourself and not just to keep going forward blindly. $[\ldots]$

Normally there are meetings with Virginie before the workshops. She tells us who is coming, etc. At the end there is another meeting: "How did you find the workshop, how did it go?" And choreographers also talk about how it went with the dancers. And Virginie talks to us to hear how it went with them. Normally it's very positive. You always have different experiences, you come with different perspectives, everyone has their own technique, their own way of doing things. And that is always a real gain.

The various processes of communication and reflection allow the vocational training space to become a "space of possibility," which all the participants actively help to shape and in which value is attached to personal responsibility and commitment. In its interpersonal intensity and its limited time parameters, it appears as a transitory for space encounters, through which teachers and students "pass" interactively and which is constituted of three main elements: relation, process, and movement. Within a space of this kind, voocational training work can be seen for what it is: work in progress and work in motion.

Concluding Remarks

In this chapter we have sought to approach and disu S certain shapings of the field non-formal vocational artistic training and professionalization. Carrying out a perspective and taking the specific experiences of local organizations working in the field as the central starting and reference point was intended to pinpoint and understand structural framework conditions, cultural-political positionings, conceptual, methodological, and substantive points of entry, as well as practice-based cornerstones of vocational artistic training. Although it was possible to place only a few waymarkers within the framework of the current study, the extraordinarily multilayered character of the field under investigation became very apparent. The reason for this is not so much the divergent artistic areas in which the organizations are engaged and their specific conditionalities, but rather the independent (and unique) of the nature non-formal training settings, each of which over time has created equally independent foundations and frameworks, emphases and orientations. With respect to the organizations we surveyed, we were able to identify the following aspects (all of which interact with one another and are relevant to further considerations):

> — The vocational training opportunities open up inclusive points of entry, hence allowing individuals with very different backgrounds to become professionals in the field in question. The vocational training work aims to develop a reflected professionial understanding. Going beyond simply mediating technical abilities and skills, it

hence appears to be a framing practice, based on an extended access to knowledge as well as on extended frameworks of reflection and communication, continuously regenerating these in different ways. The vocational training contexts are an expression and a result of extended relational spaces, which all those involved help to shape in different ways and which, likewise for all those involved, establish both multidirectional and multiperspectival fields of exposure.

A further important and characteristic aspect of the organizations' work is linking training with other forms of arts/cultural education and with artistic work. Within the multidimensional interaction spaces that thus emerge, the r e 1 a tionship between education and art as well as between art and education is conti-

nually redefined. The deliberate inclusion of a broad spectrum of social spaces and individuals and declared decentering knowledge and experience (reference) contexts point to a cultural mediation best described as a positioned "art of involvement."⁷⁶ By creating the conditions of possibility for a critical, pluralizing formation of consciousness, the field of art/s education is C 0 toured and rendered dynamic, opened, and condensed. W h in such "concentrated a field," which the organizations shape differently by combining their various activities and in which they therefore position themselves differently, "non-formality" in its autonomy and simultaneity appears as a participatory terrain and a structure formation process.

If we understand "non-formality" in this way, then we can regard the training courses and training work offered by the organizations we surveyed as primarily "formative" processes. This by no means implies that they are not

Table 1	Market Photo Workshop	École des Sables	Studios Kabako	Netsa Art Village
Premises	 Rented, multistory building 	 Village-like structure with a small farm attached 	 Single-story building, half of which is rented by the organization and the other half inhabited by a family 	Tent-like dome constructionCorrugated iron sheds for storing artists' work
Available space	 Seminar and teaching rooms of various sizes and a foyer used as an exhibition space Analog photo lab and digital work stations Various computer work stations Offices for directors, management, and teaching staff 	 Numerous accommodation options, restaurant, and multipurpose hall Own office building for the artistic and technical directors and administration Two dance studios, each with different flooring Generator 	 Main room with several computer workstations, sound studio, and instruments Storage rooms for technical and stage equipment Office with computer workstations Open-air dance training space in the courtyard; temporary access to a hall belonging to the municipal library when it rains 	 Temporary exhibition space (limited availability during the rainy season) Open-air exhibition area in the park Space for working is arranged by the artists themselves, some of whom work outside in the park
Personnel	 Permanently employed director, management, and administration Some permanent, some temporary staff and workshop facilitators Maintenance personnel 	 Permanently employed director, management, and administration Temporarily employed guest artists and musicians Some permanent, some temporary personnel for kitchen, garden, and maintenance 	 Permanently employed full-time staff (administrative and technical directors, technical staff, and guards) Liaison office in Kinshasa Temporarily employed guest artists and associés for the workshops 	— Members work on a voluntary basis

Chapter 3 Fragmentary Depictions

Table 2							
Salaries	Communications	Offlice	Electricity	Local Transport	Maintenance	Insurance	Eventualities
€ 129,405	€ 12,576	€3,384	€ 5,184	€ 4,944	€ 16,848	€ 4,800	€ 5,496
							Total: € 182,637
Taken from the are in some ca	Taken from the funding report of École des Sables from 2008. Individual items are in some cases grouped together here. Maintenance, for example, includes	les Sables from 2 9. Maintenance, f	2008. Individual items or example, includes		machine maintenance, building maintenance, and vehicle maintenance. Similar breakdowns were given for salaries and communications.	tenance, and vehic laries and commu	le maintenance. nications.

Netsa Art Village	 Knowledge required for artistic productions and projects Methodological knowledge of teaching and learning situations Experiential knowledge gained from processes of organizationbuilding 	 National and international contacts and cooperation Links with the local community in the process of being established
Studios Kabako	ditions al, and s and any ical settings	operation
École des Sables	Knowledge required for artistic productions and projects Methodological knowledge of teaching and learning situations Specialist knowledge of particular teaching and mediation traditions Experiential knowledge with regard to organizational, temporal, and communications structures, processes, and routines Formulaic knowledge for dealing with imponderable situations and any eventualities Strategic knowledge of funding and cultural/educational political settings	national communication and cooperation d on various levels mmunities
Market Photo Workshop	 Knowledge required for artistic productions and projects Methodological knowledge of teaching and learning situa Specialist knowledge of particular teaching and mediatio Experiential knowledge with regard to organizational, ten communications structures, processes, and routines Formulaic knowledge for dealing with imponderable situa eventualities Strategic knowledge of funding and cultural/educational 	 Extensive pools of experts Established national and international communistructures in various areas and on various levels Established links with local communities
Table 3	Practical and processual knowledge held by individuals and organizations	Professional and social networks

Table 4	Market Photo Workshop	École des Sables	Studios Kabako	Netsa Art Village
State funding	— Yes (since 2004)			
Sponsoring and funding (national)	— Yes (e.g., National Lottery)	— Yes (e.g., National Lottery)		
Sponsoring and funding (international)	Yes(by institutions and companies)	Yes(by institutions, companies, and private individuals)	— Yes (by various institutions)	— Yes (by various institutions)
Other sources of financing	— Yes (course fees)	 Yes (course fees; renting out premises; income from tours) 	— Yes (income from tours; coproductions)	— Yes (sale of artists' work)

Chapter 3 Fragmentary Depictions

Table 5	Market Photo Workshop	École des Sables	Studios Kabako	Netsa Art Village
Training/ professionalization	— Various kinds of subject-specific training with respect to the artistic discipline	cific training with respect to th	e artistic discipline	
Training and art/s education	 Outreach projects within and outside Johannesburg Project work alongside studies 			
Arts education	Photo workshops for community membersPublic discussions	 Regular dance courses for children 	Project management workshopPublic discussions	One-off projects with childrenPublic discussions
Artistic work	— Exhibitions	 Productions and performances by the associated dance companies 	 Productions and performances; artistic co-productions 	Exhibitions, art festivals

Table 6	Market Photo Workshop	École des Sables	Studios Kabako
Teaching /vocational training programs	 Full-time modular courses: Foundation Course: teaches the basics of photography (two months) Intermediate Course: students expand their technical and visual 	 Various kinds of training programs: Transmission Workshop: teaches the technique developed by Germaine Acogny (long-term) 	 Long-term training (three years) for a fixed group of dancers, divided into intensive workshop units taking place several times a year Temporary workshops for
	knowledge/skills (three months) Advanced Programme in Photography (AP) and Photojour- nalism & Documentary Photogra- phy Programme (PDP): established training programs with a special focus (one year) Various mentorships arranged by Market Photo Workshop, including one specially for women	African workshop specially for African dancers (long-term) 5 Continents Workshop for international participants (long-term) Workshops for African and Afrodiasporic dancers (long-term) Workshops as part of project-related, often international collaborations (temporary)	African dancers (regional workshops) — Hosting creative get-togethers for choreographers, dancers, and artists from other fields (conceived as a laboratoire)
leaching focus	 Practical and Theoretical Technical Skills Professional Practice Visual Literacy/Culture Critical Writing (in one-year courses) 	 lechnical and Choreographic Skills Professional Practice Artistic Self-Conception 	
Addressees	BeginnersPeople with some prior knowledge and/or professional experience	 Professional and semi-professional dancers with the requisite prior knowledge and/or professional experience 	cers with the requisite prior

Chapter 3 Fragmentary Depictions

Netsa Art Village	 Individuals NGOs Artistic and communal actors, organizations and institutions mainly in Addis Ababa and surrounding area Universities/art institutions 	 Individuals, artistic actors, and organizations in various countries Artists' networks 	 Individuals, artistic actors, and organiza- tions in Western countries
Studios Kabako	 Individuals Artistic actors and organizations in Kinshasa and East Congo 	 Individuals, artistic actors, and organiza- tions all over Africa, including North Africa 	 Individuals, artistic actors, and organizations in Western countries and in countries of the Global South Universities/art institutions
École des Sables	 Individuals Alumni Artistic actors and organizations, mainly in Dakar Universities/art institutions 	 Individuals, artistic actors Alumni Cultural organizations and institutions all over Africa 	 Individuals, artistic organizations in Western countries and in India and South America Universities/art institutions
Market Photo Workshop	 Individuals Alumni NGOs Artistic and communal actors, organizations, and institutions in Johannesburg, Gauteng, and other provinces Universities/art institutions 	 Individuals Alumni Artistic and communal actors, organizations, and institutions mainly in neighboring countries 	 Individuals, artistic and communal actors, and organizations in Western countries Universities/art institutions
Table 7	Relationships (local/regional)	Relationships (transcontinental)	Relationships (intercontinental)

Chapter 4 Formative Effects Non-Formal Vocational Artistic Training and Professionalization within the Context of Western Cultural Funding

Preliminary Remarks

As we have noted more than once, cultural funding in African contexts is generally provided by Western funders and correlates with an almost complete absence of national and supranational cultural funding programs. This dearth is not attributable to historically evolved, globalized economic structural conditions or dependencies alone. Rather, as Achille Mbembe has pointed out, it is also rooted in problematic cultural-political stances held by governments, who either believe arts and culture to be of "secondary" importance or associate them with prospective deliberations that are subject to functionalizing and economics-related constraints.² Both of these objectives result in a lack of public funding, so that Western institutions find themselves with considerable scope for action in the field of cultural financing. While this gives rise to numerous possibilities, it also actively shapes and influences the field through the specifications, postulations, and practices of cultural, developmental, educational, and funding policies.

Even if we assume that "art and culture in our age are more and more powered by transnational flows," economic and geopolitical relationships remain defined by "cultural power [that] still trades on difference and exclusion" and "still engenders or sustains deep inequalities." In the context of cultural financing, this represents a problem for African actors. Given the structural conditions within which they must operate—typically marked by a lack of government support and a limited array of Western funding organizations—they cannot afford to be too choosy and are more or less forced to adapt their work to fit the available funding frameworks and guidelines. The lack of targeted and, in particular, specifically context-oriented programs, as well as the prevalence of programs formulated in "donor countries," places further constraints on the self-determination of African actors and may also reinforce existing dependencies or create new ones.4

The discussion and inclusion of local African needs and agendas is impeded still more by the complex dynamics that prevail among the various Western institutions themselves, which are engaged in an ongoing process of raising their own profiles—with reference, for example, to their different budgets and the scopes of action thereby permitted, to their regional emphases and areas of activity, and to the cultural and/or educational and/or developmental policy stipulations of their own financial backers. Additionally, the resultant different and shifting positionings are also characterized by the strategic search for possible interfaces and synergies or by the delimitations that are deemed necessary in this context. The instability or fragility perceived by African actors in the landscape of cultural funding⁵ is thus attributable in part to various—occasionally unpredictable—strategic maneuvers on the part of Western funding institutions.

All these factors give rise to far-reaching questions and problems that affect cultural funding in African contexts and must be formulated more specifically with respect to non-formal vocational artistic training and professionalization—above all with respect to training options provided by African actors for African actors. We should be asking, for example, about the extent to which the postulations and focuses of funding programs, concepts, and formats that have already been developed or that are currently in development meet the needs of an existing structure of training opportunities. Do they give adequate consideration to the specific requirements of teaching organizations? What funding deficits can be identified? In the following, we will take the surveyed organizations' own assessments of their requirements as our basis for exploring these aspects in more detail.

Requirements Identified by Funded Organizations within the Context of Funding Arts and Education and Vocational Training

The assessments of the organizations we surveyed reveal funding requirements that are as specific as they are exigent. Focusing on fundamental aspects of financing and funding frameworks, these requirements—with particular regard to the field of non-formal vocational artistic training—provide valuable analyses of funding objectives as well as challenging current funding forms and directions. Tellingly, the problems identified by the organizations are not limited to individual financial sources active on the African continent. Instead, they illuminate the dispositions of an entire funding landscape that is dominated by Western institutions⁶ and characterized by interactions between the following:

- Clearly discernible tension in African contexts between cultural and development policies with diverging premises and agendas⁷
- Funding policies that continue to separate art from education and can be traced back in part to the policy preferences of Western institutions⁸
- Thematic specifications and priorities set within the framework of so-called "issue-related" projects by Western institutions.⁹

As a result, the diverse objectives in terms of funding may nevertheless do justice to certain requirements, since the work of different African actors differs in its approaches, concepts, and preferences and some activities may indeed be situated "solely" within the field of art or education or may focus on a specific theme. However, those actors whose strategies and practices have an explicitly cross-sectoral character and who, like the organizations surveyed for the present study, combine artistic practice, art/s education, and non-formal teaching and vocational training in different ways and develop their own frameworks and approaches, currently have to face enormous difficulties in finding supporters whose programs and policies do justice to such interstitial spaces. Hence, their expressed needs and criticisms with respect to the interstitial area of art and education and vocational training point to comprehensive structural trends in funding. These trends seem to be particularly detrimental for those organizations that, like Market Photo Workshop, École des Sables, and Studios Kabako, are primarily active in non-formal vocational artistic training or that

explicitly define themselves as teaching/training institutions. To determine the constructive and problematic impact of conflicting funding policy demands and implementations on the practical work of cultural actors, in the following we will discuss the main criticisms of the surveyed organizations.

Reference Point: Infra/structural Funding

By "structural" and "infrastructural" funding, the organizations mean the allocation of money to finance their premises, technical equipment, human resources requirements, and running costs. In the cases we studied, this refers to their own, existing material infrastructure which represents an absolute precondition for their ability to do their job, but which—as we have seen—is extraordinarily expensive to maintain.10 Although most Western funding institutions in the cultural sector are explicitly interested in strengthening cultural infrastructure, the funded organizations must usually finance their ongoing overhead on their own. This poses both very serious problems and a fundamental contradiction, particularly because most African countries offer neither public or municipal nor any other kind of official funding to cover these basic costs. Western institutions assuming the infrastructure of organizations as a given and targeting their funding at requirements located one layer "above"—therefore indirectly contribute to the existential insecurities and imponderabilities experienced by funded organizations, with all the attendant knock-on effects on the art, cultural, and educational sectors.

It is thus necessary to ask what meaning Western funding institutions actually attribute to "infrastructure funding" in the cultural sector. There seem to be at least two prevalent understandings of the term. While Western funding institutions, to put it simply, mostly refer to processes leading to medium-term and/or long-term goals and results, the organizations we surveyed focus on facilitating their everyday work, on *maintaining* an infra/structural condition. Although these two aspects are by no means mutually exclusive, they do follow different lines of argumentation on different levels.

An interim result of the assessment undertaken for the present study could thus be phrased as follows: a transnationally expressed *specific requirement* of actors in the field of non-formal vocational artistic training seeks Western funding institutions to provide more funding for, and to orient their funding policies towards, the prerequisites and framework conditions for *everyday* work.

Reference Point: Long-Term Funding and the Creation of Buffer Funds

From the perspective of the organizations we surveyed, the funding for infrastructure maintenance represents an inherent component of cultural infrastructure funding. Moreover, teaching institutions such as Market Photo Workshop have expressed the need for long-term funding and the creation of buffer funds.11 Ensuring stability and continuity is extraordinarily important for non-formal vocational artistic training and professionalization, however, the practical realities of funding policies signify a sizeable uncertainty factor. Organizations must therefore be given the ability to support themselves and continue their educational activities during lean periods. While this problem is not limited to African contexts, the difficult structural conditions in most countries and the lack of funders providing support for non-formal vocational artistic training considerably exacerbate the respective consequences. These issues raise further questions: How can long-term funding programs take this situation into account? Is it conceivable for individual funding institutions operating in regions under the conditions mentioned to develop specific context-bound and field-dependent funding forms or funding alternatives in order to do better justice to local conditions?

Reference Point: Project Funding as Process Funding

Among the organizations we surveyed, the financing of non-formal vocational training, art/s education, and artistic work is either primarily or entirely project-based. However, because of the different links between art *and* education *and* vocational training¹² that come into play here and have already been discussed, the term "project" is subject to a

number of different yet simultaneous meanings. For example, projects in the arts are quite often (though not exclusively) carried out "in the usual way," i.e., as temporary limited endeavors with specific content and a specific end result or end product. This approach coincides with what the organizations perceive as the "usual," primarily goal and/or the outcome-oriented stipulations of Western funders.

However, this definition of "project" not only falls short when referring to non-formal vocational artistic training but—as in the case of Market Photo Workshop, École des Sables, and Studios Kabako—can even undermine the premises and requirements of the respective training activities. As we have seen, the training offered by these organizations takes the form of complex and elaborate mediation models. Their conceptions and methods, approaches and focuses, as well as teaching and learning practices correspond in several ways to the modes of "project-based learning." This is not merely characterized by criteria such as action orientation, learner self-organization and personal responsibility, cooperative learning, situation-dependency with references to real life and practical experiences, interdisciplinarity, democratic training design, and the inclusion of different learning sites. Most importantly, it adheres to the principle of viewing the "training project"—i.e., individual and/or modular workshops at École des Sables and Studios Kabako or the developing and implementing of projects as a secondary layer of learning at Market Photo Workshop—as a coherent whole.

The vocational artistic training provided by the organizations we surveyed is invariably both long-term project work and long-term process work. Their explicitly process-oriented focus would thus necessitate a funding model that explicitly supports this aspect and systematically finances the interdependent parts of vocational training-as-a-working-process: from developing and managing projects to conducting follow-up and documenting the projects' impact. Unfortunately, experiences with funding policies that were gathered for the present study appear to suggest the opposite. To date, even long-term funding programs still fail to

adequately reflect the complexity and multifacetedness of non-formal training provided *by* African actors *for* African actors. This is the case even though these opportunities—as the work of the surveyed organizations shows—combine education/training, professionalization, and artistic work while offering alternative, inclusive points of entry and access and striving to create reliable structures that, because they emerge "in process," must remain both durable and flexible.¹³

Reference Point: Funding Non-Formal Artistic Teaching / Training

As we have seen, the non-formal vocational training offered by the organizations we surveyed takes place in alternative, *informally institutionalized structures*; these are rooted in independent, context-bound and field-specific cultural practices, networks, and modes of cooperation and reflect correspondingly autonomous reference systems. ¹⁴ In the view of the surveyed organizations, however, specially funding these informally institutionalized structures of non-formal vocational training and professionalization has so far either been largely neglected by funding institutions or, if available, has proven problematic. ¹⁵ Several interlinked issues come to light here:

- Funded vocational training and continuing education programs in the arts and culture sectors usually cast African actors in the role of addressees in need of professionalization, and/or focus on the creation of certain career profiles
- Funding for professional qualifications or professionalization is often contingent on the existence of formal graduation and certification systems and/or aims to establish such systems
- Funding in the educational sector is mostly geared towards institutions and/or primarily focuses on the formal sector and/or is largely detached from the artistic sector
- Funding in the artistic sector is generally not geared towards actors offering non-formal vocational training

and professionalization

These factors not only explain the lack of financial support for teaching and training provided *by* African actors in the field of non-formal vocational artistic training, but they also explain why particular actors fail to "fit the frame" for funding in several respects:

- They are not recipients but providers of vocational training or continuing education
- Their training work is geared not towards creating certain vocational profiles, but towards developing a reflective, subject-specific professional understanding
- The introduction of training certificates is viewed with severe misgivings since such measures might place considerable restrictions on the inclusive admission requirements in the non-formal training sector. This, in turn, would structurally counteract the efforts to maintain, enhance, and expand the existing spectrum of training and professionalization opportunities for people working in the arts sector 16
- While non-formal vocational artistic training is considered to be a part of general educational work, it does have certain autonomous characteristics and its connections with the formal sector are tenuous at best. Even actors who maintain firm, established contacts with universities and other institutions offering formal education deliberately keep a certain distance from these institutions in order to remain credible to their non-formal profile 17

As a result, the concepts and funding policies of current Western funding frameworks and criteria in African contexts are proving only partially appropriate in their response to structure formations at the interstices of art *and* education *and* vocational training as well as their varying reference points and practical arrangements. Although non-formal vocational artistic training should explicitly be regarded as a component of general educational work, the "education aspect" continues to fall by the wayside, and this holds true even for those funding institutions that try to arrive at connective and innovative contextualized definitions of the rela-

tionship between art *and* education. The formative effects of these phenomena will be discussed below by adopting a change in perspective. As implied by the altered order of the sectors listed, the vocational training sector is taken as the main starting point.

Formative Effects of Western Funding Policies at the Interstices of Non-Formal Vocational Artistic Training and Education and Art

To identify the formative effects of Western funding policies at the interstices of non-formal vocational artistic training and education and art more precisely, an initial question needs to be posed: Why is it so difficult for Western funders to support training work that is carefully conceptualized as both a long-term project and a long-term process and is embedded in artistic practice, art/s education, and sometimes in general education as well?

This particular funding phenomenon is not limited to African contexts, but it does rather illuminate a more general problem: the export or transfer of limiting frameworks and practices inherent to Western funding modes. According to the experiences of artists and art mediators in Germanspeaking contexts who, for example, work for highly dedicated small or medium-sized organizations and whose activities are not mainstream-oriented or limited to specific genres and concepts of "artwork," funding institutions are likewise largely unable to handle long-term artistic or cultural projects with a deliberate interstitial design. This is not due exclusively to narrow definitions of "work" and "project" or to "rigid funding categories" and "ossified selection criteria."18 Rather, it also indicates a relatively "low level of knowledge" within the institutions about the "funding requirements of immaterial, research-, communications-, and context-oriented as well as cross-disciplinary practices." ¹⁹ Consequently, non-product- or result-oriented artistic/cultural practices that instead "focus on discussion, exchange, and the production of knowledge and content"20 receive little financial support, and what they do receive does not meet their requirements.

This state of affairs largely corresponds with the funding experiences reported by the organizations we surveyed and therefore gives rise to further questions: What are the specific effects of these funding objectives and policies for non-formal artistic education/training and professionalization in African contexts? How does this impact upon negotiating and entrenching alternative artistic/cultural practices and along with it producing knowledge and content, namely, alternative social discourses? To answer these questions—at least to some degree—we will examine three main focal points. Inferred from the experiences and evaluations of the organizations we surveyed and presented in the form of advanced reference points, these may help to advance the discussion of the requirements.

Advanced Reference Point: Linking Vocational Artistic Training and Education and Art

The identified urgent need of funding for processes of project development, management, follow-up, and documentation reveals a key tension arising when vocational training and education and art are brought together, one determined mainly by divergent yet overlapping requirements. As we have seen, non-formal vocational artistic training as a component of general educational work focuses primarily on medium-term and long-term processes that are not limited to practical instruction, but also include conceptual, thematic, and reflexive frameworks and designs for the training settings. These include:

- Developing and reflecting upon teaching and mediation methods
- Creating teaching and learning cultures
- Establishing organizational, temporal, and communications structures
- Creating and maintaining networks and cooperation
- Facilitating educational planning
- Organizing the documentation of impact

Because these processes are geared towards *creating immaterial values and structures* as well as ensuring their sus-

tainability, stability, and reliability, they are extremely laborintensive and consume a great deal of energy and time. On the other hand, they do not lead to "presentable" results such as an immediate "output" and/or a concomitant "end product." Their "success" is not measurable in terms of sales figures or a short-lived exterior impact, but rather in terms of a dynamic permanence that is effective for an extended period. Thus it is imperative to allow cultural actors to follow a process-based approach described as "productive slowness."21 Such slowness involves vast amounts of extra effort for all involved, but in ways that are difficult to categorize and are not sufficiently taken into account by funding policies. In view of the "paradigms of efficiency and optimization" which, in the art and culture sectors, combine "with the 'creative imperative'" to make "heightened demands on 'human resources," 22 these efforts meet with little response.

The fact that Western funding frameworks for "cultural infrastructure funding" fail to adequately address this aspect thus contributes to transferring the precarious structural and working conditions of the cultural sector in Western countries over to African contexts, since in this case too though under different but exacerbated conditions—much of the immaterial work is inevitably carried out voluntarily, i.e., it remains unpaid.²³ As a result, alternative cultural practices based on the principles of inclusivity, participation, communication, and exchange that extend far beyond non-formal vocational artistic training are structurally marginalized in several ways, despite being developed in this context. In terms of cultural policies, such practices are perceived as unattractive because they do not fit the prevalent—and problematic—African trend of mediating only that content and those skills which are "marketable" within the realms of the "culture industry." In terms of Western funding frameworks, their explicitly processual nature, their focus on open structure formation, their conceptual and thematic complexity, and their reflective support and mediation tools do not lend themselves easily to categorization. As a result, their specific needs are not recognized and/or supported.

Advanced Reference Point: Reflecting and Documenting within the Context of Vocational Training

Against this background, organizations offering non-formal vocational artistic training and interlinking it with education *and* art are more or less forced to finance the continuity of the long-term project/long-term process of vocational training by means of art productions and art projects that meet the "usual" funding criteria. In the view of the organizations we surveyed, this is not necessarily a contradiction, for their work does feature a cross-sectoral design. Yet the permanent extra workload these activities entail significantly impedes the continual reflective support of the long-term project/long-term process of vocational training. This gives rise to a permanent state of affairs that Molemo Moiloa, project manager of The Makweteng Heritage Project at Market Photo Workshop, has aptly described as "not enough time to breathe and think."²⁴

This "breathless" state, for which current frameworks and funding practices bear a decisive portion of the responsibility, prevents fundamentally necessary processes of reflection and documentation from being adequately integrated into the work of non-formal vocational artistic training even though they represent an *intrinsic component* of it. The organizations still "somehow" manage to provide for moments of reflection and establish different layers for feedback, criticism, and self-evaluation²⁵ that, in fact, can primarily be attributed to their reflective professional attitude. Although this attitude is consistently mediated *and* practiced within the training contexts, it is not possible to do proper justice to its approaches, demands, and needs.

The obstructive impact of current funding policies on reflective processes has extremely detrimental implications, not only for the long-term preservation of experiential knowledge, but also for the associated in-depth level of documentation that serves to make acquired information, knowledge, and findings accessible for use. While this aspect is particularly evident in the case of organizations such as Market Photo Workshop, École des Sables, and Studios Kabako,

which have been working in the field for a long time and may look back on many years of experience in teaching and mediating knowledge, it also applies to organizations that are still in the process of establishing themselves, such as Netsa Art Village. The organizations we surveyed for this study have developed various informal forms or formats with special reference to reflective processes in the context of vocational training. However, despite the explicitly and implicitly expressed need for continual and regular reflection on their practices and methods, this is currently proving impossible. Additionally, none of the organizations possess the material resources, time, or staff for documenting the input and output of such reflective processes, let alone for systematically organizing and archiving their teaching and mediation methods as well as other aspects of their training.

Project documentation, as issued by Netsa Art Village and Market Photo Workshop, for example, provides only a limited reflection of the processes described above since it is usually designed as a catalogue raisonné or exhibition catalogue. The same holds true of the illustrated instruction manual published in 1980 by Germaine Acogny, the artistic director of École des Sables, which depicts the fundamental elements of the dance technique she created. External publications or articles about, for instance, Studios Kabako or Market Photo Workshop—even if they are informed and comprehensive, and even if they discuss various processes, histories, and developments or embed the work of the organizations contextually—tend to focus predominantly on artistic practice or art productions.

Although such a representational direction has a beneficial effect on the external impact made by an organization and provides the opportunity to take a view of the work or to "reflect on the necessity of reflection," it also indirectly—and mostly unintentionally—reinforces the notion of encoding vocational training as an "unglamorous task" because the processes, histories, and developments related to *this* are not granted the same degree of attention. The resultant

disparate visibilities, both the cause *and* the effect of funding strategies, exercise an exacerbating influence by assigning a virtually "justified" priority to the funding of artistic productions and projects; they thus lead to the manifestation of special agendas that primarily emphasize the arts and, for their part, codetermine what does or does not appear in social discourse, how this appearance occurs, and what can or cannot be perceived therein.

Advanced Reference Point: Practical, Processual, and Experiential Knowledge and Social Discourse

As we have seen elsewhere, the organizations we surveyed not only hold a vast inventory of practical, processual, and experiential knowledge derived from what are in some cases longtime training activities; they also continually generate new knowledge in their day-to-day work.³² This knowledge resides within the field of non-formal vocational artistic training, yet by virtue of its cross-sectoral nature interrelates with other fields such as education and art, but also with pedagogy, history, and sociology. It thus displays a broad and detailed specialist competence in the field, covering different layers, contents, and practices of knowledge, as well as diverse instances of access and entry. At the same time, it roams within a complex and continually changing, spatially and temporally determined context of professionalization and positioning that is shaped not only by a diversity of interests, but also by national and international cultural, educational, developmental, and funding policies. As the non-formal sector is marginalized in terms of educational policies, the training sector in terms of cultural policies, and the non-formal vocational artistic training sector in terms of funding policies, the question arises: How does such marginalization affect an interstitial knowledge (which is situated "out in left field" in several respects) of organizations whose work appears to fall between more than two stools?

Firstly, the either absent or inadequate funding for the longterm project/long-term process of non-formal vocational training and its inherent processes of reflection and documentation significantly impinges upon the work of the organizations themselves. Specific preparatory, ongoing, and follow-up activities for project, learning, and teaching processes enable conceptual, thematic, and practical aspects of training work to be critically evaluated and discussed by all participants. Such processes involve at least four layers between teachers and students in the "inner circle" of the organizations we surveyed.33 Considering the complex relational geographies,34 external contexts add several more layers. If, however, self-/reflection can be put into practice merely in rudimentary form, the knowledge jointly acquired in the process of such reflection is only partly accessible for future use. Additionally, it becomes almost impossible to retrace concrete references to and formations of this knowledge, for it is both highly specific and individually and/or organizationally based and therefore accessible only to a particular group of people. The same applies to the different phases and stages and to the shifting approaches and accentuations of these knowledge formations.³⁵

Secondly, the above has implications for the entire field of non-formal vocational artistic training. For example, teachers/instructors working for the organizations we surveyed introduce a wide variety of individual methodological experience and approaches that, because of the project-based nature of the training, is also extraordinarily multifaceted. When not compiled and documented, it becomes highly difficult to systematize these various knowledge constituents, make them visible, and open them up to external discussion, even if this is desired and attempted. An *implicit* practical and processual knowledge arising from project and training activities that cannot be transferred is, at any rate, highly unlikely to find its way into public discourse—meaning that it remains largely inaccessible and may even be lost.

Thirdly, leading on from the above, there are consequences for various knowledge actors. For both individuals and organizations working in non-formal vocational artistic training, it becomes inordinately difficult to embed and interrelate their own experience and knowledge in wider contexts and sectors. Theorists and researchers are impeded in their ability to access the wealth of practical, processual, and experiential knowledge generated in the field in order to use it as a basis for developing critical analysis and theoretical approaches or new epistemologies,³⁶ something that exacerbates any existing tendencies towards discursive marginalization. Western funding institutions face a similar problem when they aim to combine vocational training *and* education *and* art and seek to provide dual support for cultural practices and actors on the one hand and social discourse on the other. They are therefore challenged to reorient their funding policies; to some extent, and indeed perhaps especially, this is necessary in order to be able to counteract the multidimensional loss of knowledge that they have partly helped to create.

Concluding Remarks

Our comments above can shed light only on very fragmentary aspects of the relationship between Western funding policies and non-formal vocational artistic training and professionalization in African contexts; considerably more discussion is still needed.³⁷ Nevertheless, it has become clear that the Western-dominated field of cultural funding is characterized by complex tensions, dynamics, and ambivalences. On the one hand, the different funding policy approaches and the support provided for structures and structure formations in the arts and education sectors open up a wide variety of opportunities for African actors. On the other hand, Western funding institutions play a significant role in defining and contouring such structures and structure formations. Based on the critical reflections of the organizations we surveved, it is possible to tentatively summarize as follows the crucial aspects that will be relevant for future investigations, particularly with regard to non-formal vocational artistic training and professionalization:

> Current Western frameworks and practices of cultural funding are only partly suitable for doing conceptual justice to and providing adequate support for the interstitial field of non-formal vocational artistic

- training as well as its informally institutionalized structures and extraordinarily varied interstitial linking of art *and* education *and* training
- The concomitant funding policies and objectives serve to reinforce, on both the practical and the discursive level, a preexisting structural trend towards marginalizing non-formal vocational artistic training and art/s education
- Current funding practices contribute to the uncertainties that beset real-world working conditions in the field of non-formal vocational artistic training because the portion of immaterial work required by vocational training as a long-term project and a long-term process, including its infrastructural added value, is not (or not adequately) considered or compensated

The following preliminary conclusions may be drawn from this: *one* element in the context of non-formal vocational artistic training and professionalization that specifies the contradictory relationship between the cultural practices of actors in the field and the funding policies of Western institutions is the simultaneity of divergent yet unequal structure formations. The question, however, is whether this "relational aspect" should be read as an exception because of its focus on a specific area (that of non-formal vocational artistic training) and certain funders (Western funding institutions), or whether it represents something like a symptomatic "regular case."

Our observations have so far been guided by the funding conditions encountered by the surveyed organizations, in which Western funding is the rule and public funding is the exception. African funders barely enter into the picture. It is therefore pertinent to ask: What are the formative effects of a local funding landscape consisting of public and private African funding institutions? What funding policies, concepts, and practices do cultural actors need to circumvent while working in the field of art/s education and attempting to explain their interdisciplinary approach to potential local funders? What are the effects of current African funding

Chapter 4 Formative Effects

policies on alternative cultural practices that are developed in the interstitial field of art *and* education *and* culture?

In the following chapter, these questions will be explored from a South African perspective 38 by Rangoato Hlasane and Malose Malahlela, the founders of the Johannesburg-based Keleketla! Library.

- 1 Mbembe, "Arts, Markets and Development in Our Times" (for full reference, see Chapter 1, note 60).
- 2 For more detail, see Chapter 1, Waymarker 1: Communiqué and Survey Literature, subsection Art/s Education within the Context of Creative Industries (Excursus 2: The Commercialization of Cultural Heritage); Waymarker 2: The Press; and Concluding Remarks.
- 3 Mbembe, "Arts, Markets and Development in Our Times."
- 4 See Chapter 2, Approaches to Concepts and Themes, and the corresponding remarks in notes 12 and 13.
- **5** See Chapter 3, Waymarker 1: Funding and Financing, subsection on Inter/national Funding: Ambivalences, Potentials, and Alternatives.
- 6 With respect to European funders, this raises the question of the structural effects of institutional formations such as the European National Institutes for Culture (EUNIC). See http:// www.eunic-online.eu/(accessed October 27, 2013). What funders may regard as a promising potential capacity in terms of interfaces and synergies can be perceived by funding recipients as programmatic and/or policy restrictions. This conclusion is suggested by the fact that the surveyed organizations generally only name those funding institutions that form "positive exceptions" to the "customary" trends in funding practices. See Chapter 3, Waymarker 1: Funding and Financing, subsection on Inter/national Funding: Ambivalences, Potentials, and Alternatives.

7 See Chapter 1, Waymarker 1: Communiqué and Survey Literature, subsection on Art/s Education within the Context of "Culture and Development" as an Evolving Field of Action and Chapter 3, Waymarker 1: Funding and Financing, subsection on Inter/ national Funding: Ambivalences, Potentials, and Alternatives.

8 See Chapter 1, Waymarker 1: Communiqué and Survey Literature, subsection on Art/s Education within the Context of General Education and Chapter 3, Waymarker 1: Funding and Financing, subsection on Inter/national Funding: Ambivalences, Potentials, and Alternatives.

9 See Chapter 3, Waymarker 1: Funding and Financing, subsection on Inter/ national Funding: Ambivalences, Poten-

tials, and Alternatives.

- **10** See Chapter 3, Waymarker 1: Funding and Financing, subsection on Initial Infrastructural Conditions.
- 11 See Chapter 3, Waymarker 1: Funding and Financing, subsection on Inter/national Funding: Ambivalences, Potentials, and Alternatives.
- 12 See Chapter 3, Waymarker 2: Self-Positionings, subsection on Art and Education: Emphases, Orientations, and Intertwined Terrains.
- 13 See Chapter 3, Concluding Remarks.
- 14 See Chapter 3, Waymarker 2: Self-Positionings and Waymarker 3: Teaching and Learning.
- 15 See Chapter 3, Waymarker 1: Funding and Financing, subsection on Inter/national Funding: Ambivalences, Potentials, and Alternatives.
- 16 See Chapter 3, Waymarker 1: Funding and Financing, subsection on Financial Frameworks and Funding Options (The Exception: State Funding).

- 17 Interview with John Fleetwood, director of Market Photo Workshop, Johannesburg, April 23, 2012.
- **18** Gau and Schlieben, "Zwischen den Stühlen," p. 2 (for full reference, see Chapter 3, note 50).
- **19** Ibid.
- **20** Ibid., p. 5.
- **21** Ibid., p. 1.
- 22 Ibid., p. 5.
- 23 The precise aspects involved and the extent of this phenomenon can be witnessed in several specific long-term projects in German-speaking contexts. See ibid., pp. 3–7.
- 24 See Chapter 3, Waymarker 1: Funding and Financing, subsection on Initial Infrastructural Conditions (Immaterial Infrastructure).
- 25 See Chapter 3, Waymarker 3: Teaching and Learning, subsection on Framings and Focuses of Vocational Training, and subsection on Insights into Practice in Training Settings (Focus: Communication, Reflection, Evaluation, and Participation).
- 26 The documentation of the long-term Makweteng Heritage Project is different in that an explicit conceptual focus was placed on making external and internal processes visible.
- 27 Germaine Acogny, *Danse africain Afrikanischer Tanz African Dance* (Frankfurt am Main, 1980). The textbook was published as a trilingual edition.

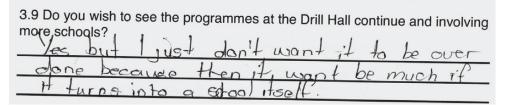
- 28 As an example, see Stacy Hardy, "Islands of beauty," in Über(W)unden: Art in Troubled Times, ed. Lien Heidenreich-Seleme and Sean O'Toole (Johannesburg, 2012), pp. 56-69; Lorenz Rollhäuser, "Ortserkundungen," and David Van Reybrouck, "Mein einzig wahres Land ist mein Körper," both in Presence of the Colonial Past: Afrika auf Europas Bühnen, Ein Reader zum Themenschwerpunkt des Festival Theaterformen, ed. Festival Theaterformen (Braunschweig, 2010), pp. 36-41 and 33-35, https://www. theaterformen.de/pdf/PCP-Online-Pub-deutsch.pdf (accessed April 16, 2013). An English version is available at https://www.theaterformen.de/pdf/ PCP-OnlinePub-englisch.pdf (accessed November 18, 2013).
- 29 As an example, see Camera Austria International 100 (2007). The Austrian periodical devoted its 100th anniversary edition to Market Photo Workshop, linking a historically informed homage to the organization's work with a presentation of projects and photographers, along with a multiperspectival discussion of the role of photography in South Africa. The edition aimed to "take up a programmatic theme," namely, that of "reflecting the social uses of photography, directly supporting art photogra-
- phy, and providing a platform specifically for the latest developments in contemporary photography and media art." See the preface by Christine Frisinghelli et al., in *Camera Austria International*, pp. 10–11, here p. 10.

- **30** Personal conversation with John Fleetwood, director of Market Photo Workshop (interview notes), Johannesburg, September 18, 2012.
- 31 See Chapter 1, Waymarker 3: Theory and Research, subsection on Fragmentary Approaches in Non-Formal Art/ists' Education (Reference Point: Discursive Marginalization of Education and Teaching/Training).
- 32 See Chapter 3, Waymarker 1: Funding and Financing, subsection on Initial Infrastructural Conditions (Immaterial Infrastructure).
- 33 See Chapter 3, Waymarker 3:
 Teaching and Learning, subsection on
 Frameworks and Focuses of Vocational
 Training, and subsection on Insights
 into Practice in Training Settings
 (Focus: Communication, Reflection,
 Evaluation, and Participation).
- **34** See Chapter 3, Waymarker 2: Self-Positionings, subsection on Relational Geographies.
- 35 See Chapter 3, Waymarker 3: Teaching and Learning, subsection on Entry Requirements and Eligibility Criteria in Vocational Training Contexts (Teachers/Visiting Artists).
- 36 See Chapter 1, Waymarker 3: Theory and Research, subsection on Fragmentary Approaches in Non-Formal Art/ists' Education, and Concluding Remarks.

Chapter 5

Bigger than the Tick Box Defining Interdisciplinary Art/s Education to Funders in South Africa

by Rangoato Hlasane and Malose Malahlela Keleketla! Library



The Q & A exchange above is an extract from the Keleketla! Library's after-school program evaluation in September 2011. It succinctly highlights the dilemma of expanding something good: damned if you do, damned if you don't. The key feature of state funding is that it demands more from cultural workers in the effort to supplement shortcomings experienced in other departments, especially in Labor and Basic Education. Often the number of people reached is the measure of a successful art/s education program, rather than the quality of the content. How does a cultural practitioner deal with the dilemma of defining the slippery work that takes art/s education as an interdisciplinary, process-based work? Further, how do we maximize the potential of this particular approach to create meaningful opportunities for cultural workers in an environment where art/s education requires more than vocational study?

Draft 4 of the Gauteng Province Arts Education Policy from September 1995 defines art/s education as "[. . .] any educational context in which learners have the opportunity to participate in, experience, and interpret dance, drama, music and the visual arts." It further notes that art/s education is "a discipline as well as a methodology." A striking feature of the document lies in its non-ageist, institution-free approach to art/s education, a sentiment shared by the historical context of the liberation struggle in Southern Africa that was defined by a series of seminars and conferences on culture as a weapon. Thus it seems to imply an important shift: arts education is often viewed as a form of vocational training aimed only at those few who would make it a career, rather than as a life-skill needed by every learner.³



The cultural programming at Keleketla! Library challenges underlying notions of a heritage tourism that is exemplified by endless guided tour sessions. The rigid narrative told in heritage spaces limits voice and multiple perspectives. As a result, cultural workers who could develop new forms and vocabularies are denied an opportunity for new work. Of course, heritage infrastructures are the responsibility of municipalities and thus fall into the trap of bureaucracy and inflexibility. For example, the current director of the Hector Peterson Museum in Soweto has attempted to introduce alternative kinds of tours around the space to school learners. However, he has been unable to do so due to inflexible budget allocations that often assume that the mere existence of heritage sites, along with their fixed stories in whatever form, is final and adequate. Personnel at the site must facilitate the transmission of the narrative to the patron—that is, tourist—regardless of the weather, time of day, number of visitors, and any in/conceivable factors. This view is not sustainable from any perspective.

The programming at the Drill Hall, and Keleketla in particular, employs a sustained ongoing exchange between school youth and young cultural practitioners over a considerable period of time to simultaneously reflect on heritage and create art. In this way, the terms of engagement are a move away from a fixed methodology to a flexible, malleable process that enables multiple entry and exit points, an approach that provides a breathing space for environmental and social factors to play out.

Working from the inside out, within a historical infrastructure, Keleketla projects are extremely aware of being looked at. As a result, the key feature of the program is voice and self-representation. Cultural work at Keleketla is not an easy feat, contrary to the positive note this passage assumes—it is a constant battle across the board, full of contradictions and sacrifices, and it is almost always underresourced.



The view of art/s education as vocational training is so deeply entrenched that buy-in from teachers, parents, the immediate community, and even the City of Johannesburg itself is limited. Indeed, the latter is a contradiction. The Drill Hall, as a municipal heritage, social, and cultural site, was ill conceived in relation to its "complex" locale.

The Drill Hall is a large historical structure that occupies an entire city block in Joubert Park, Johannesburg. It is located within the dynamic transport hub, lending itself to a wide range of activity and accessibility. Built in 1904 as a military base for conscripting soldiers for the two world wars, the site is widely known for the 1956 Treason Trial of South Africa, in which 156 leaders under the auspices of the Congress of the People were arrested and put on trial. The Drill Hall was at the time the biggest facility to host such a large number of people and more. In the late 1980s, the Drill Hall was abandoned and then subjected to illegal squatting by homeless people. After the original hall burned down in 2001, the building was finally rebuilt in 2004 following much debate by the city and provincial governments. The city's mandate for the site is to promote social, economic, and heritage aspects, as well as arts and culture, for the Joubert Park neighborhood and Johannesburg in general.

In working towards this mandate, four different tenants were approached/secured by the Johannesburg Development Agency in 2003–04: Community Chest, Jo'burg Child Welfare, Rand Light Infantry, and the Joubert Park Project (JPP). In exchange for nominal rental charges, these organizations would be responsible for any maintenance and repairs of the spaces they occupy. The JPP was the only arts and culture organization on the site. Unfortunately, the state's involvement with the site ended there—over the last nine years the JPP and the anchor tenants have been involved in endless meetings with the Johannesburg Property Company⁴ regarding maintenance of the critically deteriorating facility, yet with very little progress. The only hindrance to unlock-

ing the maximum potential of the site is ownership transfer from the cumbersome national Department of Public Works to the City of Johannesburg municipality. Nine years after the renovations, this transfer is yet to occur despite the efforts of the anchor tenants and the Minister of Arts and Culture's belief that "arts, culture and heritage play a pivotal role in the economic empowerment and skills development of a people." The state's neglect of the site is baffling in relation to the 2007 findings of the Gauteng Creative Mapping Project which identified cultural and heritage tourism as the region's biggest employer at 26 percent, nearly double the figure employed by the second-largest sector, audiovisual and visual arts.

While the use of heritage infrastructure is not the key discussion focus of this text, the picture painted here is that of a frustrated, inconsistent national policy with regards to the comprehension of culture's role in a "healthy" economy. A healthy economy is one that is representative of society's aspirations. At the time this text was written, the country is at odds with the state's proposed Licensing of Businesses Bill⁷ that threatens informal trading for immigrants. The bill, seen as a "fundamental attack"8 on South Africa's strong informal economy, is proposed while the arts on their own still suffer from the red tape and gatekeeping practices of a colonial past. In other words, as noted by Monica Newton,⁹ changes in the broader economy have far surpassed the country's funding policy framework. Thus the Drill Hall, a national asset, is no different to the endangered informal ecology that occurs around its block, stretching out into greater Gauteng and beyond.

Despite the challenges of the site, the JPP has produced small- and large-scale arts programs there with local and international practitioners, but they decided to cease their project-only approach in 2007. It was a point at which the authors and partners—then known as innacitycommunity—had proposed to initiate a hub for cultural programming on the site that would assume a day-to-day activity. The JPP's last resident artist, Bettina Malcomess, was interested

in exploring cultural literacy in the city. Together with innacity-community, they started a one-off library that became a permanent project to be known as Keleketla! Library.

Exchanges, Experiments, and Expression

From the onset, Keleketla! Library took into consideration issues related to cultural practice in Johannesburg, not only from the production of music, art, literature, and so on, but also its politics and environmental factors. For example, the founders were extremely aware and conscious of the issue of infrastructure for cultural production. In response, they invited cultural collectives and workers to design art programs with young members of Keleketla. In exchange, the collectives could use the Drill Hall's multiple spaces towards their own initiatives, such as poetry sessions, workshops, music performances, and exhibitions. This form of informal exchange simultaneously expanded Keleketla's networks and widened our definition of a library—as a place of production.

In 2008, the Keleketla After-School Programme (K!ASP) tried out monthly events for young people titled "Once Upon a Month" that showcased outcomes from the workshops with young practitioners (see figure 18, p. 234). The daytime events were aimed at teenagers and children and created a platform for the wider immediate community to experience a sense of the ongoing activities at the library. Furthermore, the events included an evening music platform that invited Johannesburg-based bands and DJs to perform, showing the Drill Hall to be a multi-use space for the broader cultural community.

In the years 2008 and 2009, Keleketla! Library worked on a barter system that hinged on the founders' commitment and its network's ability to find value in the work of the library and the site. This value was affirmed by the library members' keenness to engage in the art programs on offer. These two years initiated numerous discussions on what it means to be independent, the outcome of which was an experiment in independent fundraising called Stokvel. Organized under the umbrella of FRONTLINE, 10 a collective of groups based in

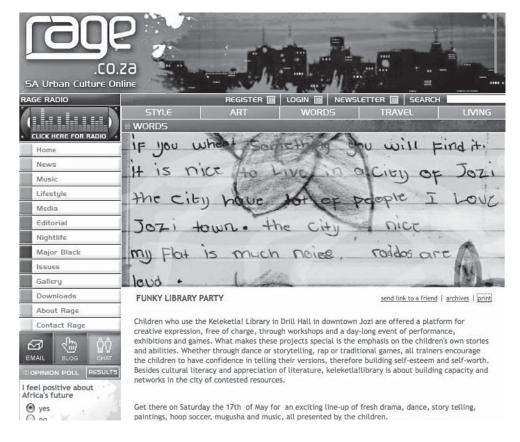


Figure 18: Preview of the "Once Upon A Month" events on Rage.co.za, May 2008

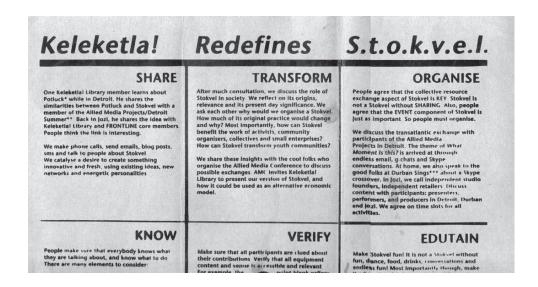


Figure 19: Stokvel mixtape packaging as "curriculum," 2010

Johannesburg, it was committed to social justice work through culture. It created a space for cultural workers to explore their own practices based on networks and shared resources. While people posseses an inherent knowledge of exchange, "structured" projects have the ability to foreground the value of networks—and this was indeed something that Stokvel achieved. We implemented three respective projects.

Stokvel #1 took the form of a visual art show at the author's then new studio apartment. At the time, Keleketla had just embarked on an art auction campaign. Stokvel #1 functioned as a group show that would kick-start the campaign, asking our networks to donate art for the auction. The auction subsequently raised R 30,000, an amount that speaks volumes with regard to the art community's ability to support its activities. Of note is how, contrary to our own perceptions, attendees and bidders at the auction were not "conventional" art buyers, but people who knew of Keleketla! Library and supported its activities.

Stokvel #2 invited two "bedroom music" studios to relocate for one day and operate from the point-blank gallery at the Drill Hall. The project further invited musicians, writers, poets, and performers to create music together and discuss issues related to music production and dissemination. On the day itself, the group of musicians took part in Skype conversations with Detroit and Oakland musicians gathered at the 2009 Allied Media Conference in Detroit. The musicians used an online file-sharing infrastructure to exchange instrumentals and concluded the dialogue with a transnational performance experienced by audiences at both spaces. Nine new songs were created and recorded.¹¹

In 2010, Keleketla! Library attempted a release of the recorded music from *Stokvel #2*, titled *Street Thesis*, with packaging seen as a "curriculum" that could present a model for other practitioners to adapt the Stokvel "methodology." The model broke down each of the letters spelling Stokvel: S – Share, T – Transform, O – Organize, K – Know, V – Verify,

E – Edutain, L – Love. The description for each concept served as both a step-by-step guide to creating a successful Stokvel event, as well as an expression of the philosophy behind the idea (see figure 19, p. 234).

While the experiments were great fun and provided a healthy environment in which to practice as artists, they were not sustainable. As the founders, we were becoming aware of the fact that Keleketla! Library was growing and needed to plan for the future. These moments of concern often led to deliberations that implied the end of Keleketla. Each time we reflected on winding down, the impact of its existence would outweigh our attempts to quit, breathing in new energies and excitement.

The Luxury of Funding at the Right Time

In 2010, Keleketla received support from the National Lottery Distribution Trust Fund (NLDTF). It was a happy accident, for the funding was four years late; it had been originally proposed to the NLDTF by the JPP towards a commemorative arts, heritage, and education program to mark the then fiftieth anniversary of the 1956 Treason Trial¹² in South Africa. At the time the JPP had ceased cultural programming at the Drill Hall, and thus the funds were transferred to Keleketla for implementation.

However, the responsibility came with challenges. For one thing, the funds allocated were 35 percent less than what had originally been proposed, four years earlier. This also meant that the content of the work itself was affected. The original proposal asked for new ideas relating to the state of the Drill Hall site, the rapidly changing demographics, division of labor and the overall methodologies employed by Keleketla! Library itself.

Adapting the JPP's proposal confronted Keleketla! Library with some fascinating questions. We had to find our own relevance in the project, and we chose to do it through a series of workshops that explored the kind of work the organization had done since 2008. The workshop was attended

Chapter 5 Bigger than the Tick Box

by Keleketla core members and studio artists based in the Drill Hall, and also by artists interested in using the Drill Hall for a range of activities. The first workshop looked like this:

Session 1: 30 minutes (15-20 minute presentation and Q and A)

Presentation on the background and history of the proposal and original ideas for the projects

Session 2: 20 minutes (Maia leads)
Photography activity: working in pairs
Reimagining our history: the Drill Hall
What does history mean to you?
What does history mean to us all?

<u>Session 3: 60 minutes (Maia leads)</u> Presentation of photographs/dialogue

Session 4: 10 minutes (Ra leads discussion)
List and think about 5 Keleketla projects that have been most meaningful to you

<u>Session 5: 20 minutes</u> Present thoughts on previous projects

Session 6: 30 minutes (Maia intro, Ra leads)
Activity: brainstorming ideas for Keleketla projects/
activities that explore history, based on a discussion
of the proposal, our own ideas about why history is
relevant, and a reflection of past activities

The workshop deliberately ignored the contents of the original proposal, using the opportunity as a space to dream up the kind of work we really wanted to be doing. The points below indicate some of the broad themes that emerged out of the workshop activities, exploring in no particular order:

- The history of the city of Johannesburg
- The discovery of gold; the historical exclusion of Black people, the post-apartheid rush into the city, contemporary exclusion, and the marginalization of African nationals in the city
- Xenophobia

- Is the notion of Johannesburg as a cosmopolitan city a myth?
- The Drill Hall; drilling, movement
- Re/presentation of history
- Film as exchange
- The irony of the 1956 statement WE STAND BY OUR LEADERS today
- Visual culture; visual pollution

These workshop notes indicate our desired approach to the proposed project—content informed and inspired by the culture in the city of Johannesburg. We wished to create a space for expression that feeds from the inner-city context: the food, the films, the processed noise, the smell, the voices, the fashion, the struggle, and the hustle of the street. Projects that draw from our daily encounters with the city are relevant as they create a space to look at the world in relation to our realities, before these realities are projected.

In responding to the NLDTF proposal, we began to be conscious of the rigidity of funders' criteria, which were intended to support cultural work but in actual fact had a crippling effect. While the role of culture in economic development is recognized as fundamental, structures in place demonstrate a wide gap between high-level policy and implementation in the specific context of the arts,¹³ not to mention national arts funding policies that seem to be an extension of those implemented by the National Department of Trade and Industry.

Over two years—between 2010 and 2012—we implemented the NLDTF project, balancing quality content and keeping attendance registers. Registers are the most oppressive of procedures; no one likes to sign registers. They are at best a procedural nuisance, at worst a reduction of human beings into the means to a funding end. It is unsettling to count people; one wishes that the background machine that is funding could be as invisible as possible, but registers make this process a glaring reality. We have an uncomfortable sense

Chapter 5 Bigger than the Tick Box

that it could be rather easy to fake this kind of "evidence" and that a funder would miss the error. At times the registers were completed in retrospect, when rapport has developed and members can easily understand their purpose without feeling like animals.

Flight!

Let us consider the following extract from our response to the National Heritage Council call for proposals, April 2012:

CAPACITY BUILDING AND SUSTAINABILITY
Each of the three K!ASP project runs for a period of
three months, including research, implementation
and evaluation. Implementation takes approximately
10 weeks, guided by the following structure:

- Five disciplines (determined at research phase)
- Minimum of 1 facilitator per discipline (public call)
- Approximately 10 learners per discipline
- One Programmes Coordinator
- Project Committee (Co-directors, Organisational Administrator and Programmes Coordinator)
- Guest facilitators (educators, historians, artists)
 Skills development is at the core of the programme and runs across the project. The freshness of each project enables skills development for every individual, from the school learners to the Project Committee. The fortnightly Critical Feedback sessions enable a forum for exchange and dialogue, where participants share valuable tools from their processes.

Capacity building and skills development are, indeed, at the heart of our programming; we have never really divorced from the "creative hub" term. However, we problematized it and rolled with it. In response to the National Heritage Council (NHC) proposal in April 2011, we entangled our approach yet again in line with funder criteria:

The present request to the NHC thus focuses on the need to consolidate and reinforce the gains that have been made and address difficulties that have arisen.

Objectives

The objectives of the proposed project are threefold:

- Restore and preserve the physical infrastructure of the site that has deteriorated due to non-comprehensive planning since redevelopment of the site
- Research, develop and implement innovative youthorientated heritage programme that uses the arts, media, technology and literature
- Review and assess the current use of the site in order to develop income-generating possibilities to ensure sustainability and generative programming

The funding climate does not enable flexibility to flourish, for there simply is no time to fully experiment and discover best practice for art/s education. On the one hand, very few funders offer adequate time for project implementation, with a maximum of twelve months from commencement of project to reporting. In that sense, the depth of research, development, and implementation can never be truly exploited in the interest of quality programming. Instead, the funders' criterion forces the cultural worker to take shortcuts that reinforce some of the worst practices bordering on exploitation, such as an emphasis on numbers:

If training was offered, how many people participated and in what were they trained?

Direct beneficiaries

A total 36 core participants were trained as part of the Schools Programme. The participating youth have been trained in Heritage Education through arts and culture activities. The Heritage Education took the form of an After School Programme (ASP).

Indirect beneficiaries

Over 500 beneficiaries have been reached through class tours, attendance at five events (three School Programme [sic], one Treason Trial Q & A, one 100 Metre Radius), parents' meetings, a reflection session, and three visits to neighbouring schools (Olympus Educational Institute, Freedom Community College and St. Endas Community College).

Are registers kept of participants who received training and is there any follow-up post training?

Yes registers are kept, please consult appendix 1. However, follow up is a key ingredient of our method. We have a variety of feedbacks ranging from meetings to public showcases/performances.

Instead of innovative, groundbreaking work created out of meaningful exchanges, funders' reports comprise graphs, tables, numbers, and photographs capturing smiling groups of children. While we try hard to avoid this—even at a proposal level and most of the time at the expense of sustainable income—we always slot in passages that foreground considerable numbers because experience has indicated that quantity constitutes an important tick on the funder's checklist. Worse, in response to Investec Corporate Social Investment calls for donations in May 2012, we called our work charity!

Please select which category your organisation focuses on primarily:

Education—Arts & Culture

Please specify the nature of the charitable work (max. 250 words)

Our charitable work is a unique lending library in the hub of the Johannesburg inner city of Joubert Park. We are located at the historic Drill Hall, opposite Park Central taxi rank, one of the busiest commuter stations in Gauteng. The library fills a significant gap for school learners who live in Joubert Park and neighbouring suburbs. Joubert Park does not have a public library, yet experiences

a rapid population growth as research reveals. With over 3000 books, Keleketla! Library records a membership of 916 (as of 25 May 2012).

The library is independent and was established to act as both a learning resource and a space for youth to act against socio-economic imbalances. This is achieved

through a quarterly After School Program that has been running for three years. The programme offers a range of disciplines including Physical Theatre, Creative Writing, Music & Audio, Contemporary Dance, Video and Visual Arts.

The library forms the core of the programming as a resource centre. The range of themes explored through the quarterly programme enables a direct link between research (the library) and action (art activities). This makes Keleketla! Library a unique space in the densely populated city of Johannesburg. The donation required will largely remunerate the services of a skilled librarian to ensure maximum effective service.

Number of people to benefit Direct: 1 (Library Coordinator)

Indirect (internal): 4 (Programme Staff)
Indirect (external): 916 (Library Members)

After all these attempts at satisfying funders, or perhaps in defining the work that we do, we arrived at the conclusion that a holistic use of heritage infrastructure enables meaningful opportunities spanning the art, education, and professional development of a range of cultural practitioners. Heritage stakeholders acknowledge this on a policy level, as reflected in the Heritage Policy Framework:

Historic preservation is important in terms of a range of cultural, social and educational benefits. Preservation of the historic environment supports the social and cultural well-being of residents and contributes to civic pride.¹⁴

However, policymakers seldom provide a horizontal space for ongoing reflection and growth. As a result, a contrary effect occurs that undermines the maximum use of opportunities. The Keleketla work at the historic Drill Hall creates overlapping opportunities in art education through intergenerational exchange that challenges the state's established pattern of heritage tourism.

Frequency and Consistency of programme

Weekly 2-hour sessions consisting of action (music, theatre, dance, print etc) and reflection (Treason Trial archive, inner city contemporary issues)

It is important to recruit, maintain and sustain a core group of participants for a block period (roughly 3 months).

Develop weekly lesson plan to guide progress; this way, facilitators can bank on and develop previous session's information and activities.

Meaning and Relevance

To maintain and sustain a core group of participants, facilitators should create a sense of incentive. In other words, efforts must be made for participants to find value in the workshops.

How do we create this?

- One way is to recruit those youth who really want to learn music (for music facilitators) or drawing (for visual art facilitators)
- Another way is to start by enabling the youth to choose contemporary inner city issue of their concern, and make the issue richer through the workshops
- Linking the workshop to school curriculum (long term) so that parents encourage youth to participate (long term)

tions with every program before, during, and after implementation (see, for example, figure 20, 444) ol

Program guidelines, September

Relevance is a slippery term given the varying interests of our members: artists seeking permanent and one-off studio space, parents seeking to keep children "off the streets," the citv's mandate for the use of the site. cultural practitioners

3.8 How do the After School Programme activities help you with your school work?

The library has all the information I closely need for my assignments. The dence piece we working with helps me with 3 of my subjects at school thickory, Stience and Arts and Cultures so It just makes school easier for me.

craft, or music. Culture is an element of life, entangled in a web of political and economic realities from an evaluation questionnaire conducted in

While Keleketla programming recognizes the relevance of the content for eleventh-grade history learners, we also hope to stay flexible so as to embrace the value of the program within the broader scope of learning. Thus Emma Ramashala identifies how a dance piece that explores history can also benefit her comprehension of other areas of study in school (see figure 21, p. 244). That way we are able to challenge both our programs and their users, shifting mainstream perceptions of art education as a vocational activity to that

of the role of culture in the development of both a collective and a personal voice. Framed as a question, how can art/s education develop new ideas for groups and individuals on issues that fall between art "career" and (cultural) literacy?



One morning, while waiting for members of a commissioned band to return from collecting musical instruments, we questioned restless members of the Freedom Community College choir on the historical songs they had been reworking. The conversation took place on the Keleketla balcony on October 26, 2012, the day before a music concert, after eight weeks of intense workshops. Here Karen Phakhathi reflects on the liberation struggle song "Senzenina?" that they had reworked:

About the song "Senzenina?" to me, let me say [something] about history: I never did care about history a lot. I always thought: I am doing commercials¹⁵ so history is nothing. But when sister Teboho introduced the song "Senzenina?" I used to hear it but not sing it. But now after I started [workshops] here at Keleketla I started singing it and I got back and started reading how it happened; now I know more about history. Before I came here

I didn't even care about history, when I asked [friends] what you having in class? And [they] said: "It's history," I would go: "Oh my god—why all those stuff? It's from long ago!" So "Senzenina?" really changed me when it comes to history; now I can know what happened.

What is striking about the impact of the music workshops here is the overlap between culture and education, as opposed to a clear-cut history curriculum intervention. The process challenges the notion of a fixed methodology with predictable outcomes, yet also with a cultural awareness that leads to a broader education concerning other layers of society (in terms of public discourse) and layers of life (in terms of personal development). Portia Tseke echoes Phakhathi's reflection:

This really changed me—I am one of the librarians at school and now it's surprising for some of my librarian friends, they are like: "You? Reading history? Seriously, you?" And I'm like: "I have to look backward—know what happened. How did we get this freedom of ours!?"

Here we are able to explore the interdisciplinary, cross-curricular role of culture in education. Indeed, both Phakhathi's and Tseke's reflections offer a programmatic flexibility and freedom, in which we can argue the role of culture in the development of a broader worldview for committed participation. In conversation with an entrepreneur who facilitates career expos, he suggested that our educational supplement, 56 Years to the Treason Trial, should not attempt to address its wide audience (learners, educators, cultural workers, and researchers). Rather, Keleketla should produce four different titles, each targeting its specific "market" in a way that can attract sponsorship, particularly of the corporate kind. Needless to say, the suggestion is not surprising in the light of Keleketla's adequately discussed problem statement.

The contradiction, of course, is how we should sustain our work if we cannot package it in neat little focus areas for mainstream funders and donors. While we expand on this funder–cultural worker relationship, it should be noted that it took over eighteen months to arrive at Phakhathi and Tseke's "testimonial," to use donor terminology. It takes time to achieve a meaningful environment for exchange—a curse in terms of funding—as the terminology requires clear-cut definitions. Zen Marie, lecturer in the Division of Fine Arts, Wits School of Arts (WSOA) attempts to encompass our work in a letter of endorsement to the National Heritage Council of April 18, 2012:

Keleketla is a valuable resource to not only higher education institutions but also to high schools from the inner city of Johannesburg. Keleketla's project is exciting and valuable to WSOA as it links high school learners with undergraduate students, historians, artists, researchers etc.

The heritage education program by Keleketla! After School Program (K!ASP) is a unique model that defies categorization. The after school programme draws on learnings from a range of radical pedagogies and proposes a new form of best practice with regards to fluid and exciting methodologies. Keleketla's projects are exemplary in their interdisciplinary nature, combining art, media, heritage and education.

As a result, the projects provide fertile ground for socially engaged art practices and research. Currently, three third year Fine Art students are guest facilitators in Keleketla! After School Programme, a result of a one-day workshop at Keleketla! Library.

Indeed, Keleketla seeks to engage with academic institutions, seeking both the strengthening of networks and platforms for international dialogue, through which policy guidelines concerning art/s education can find another level of negotiation and contestation. As a laboratory space, Keleketla aims to provide an environment for social practice, dislocating student work into other practices.



The South-African writer Mongane Serote recounts the use of literacy in Mozambique, where adult education starts with the words "A luta continua" (the struggle continues), which means that "literacy becomes a skill for dealing with the real experiences of the people, it becomes a step towards self-determination." Indeed, adult literacy programs are loyal to context in Southern Africa, with the English Literacy Project 17 publications focusing on issues of housing and youth struggles as the basis for the adult education curriculum.

The takeoff point for art education at Keleketla! Library is first and foremost the provision of tools for voice, because, as Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o asserts: "[L]ife is the criterion for artistic creation." This approach challenges the mainstream "art education" in the formal, informal, and non-formal sectors where "skills development" and other ends are the crite-

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Figure 22: Letters issuing invitations to parents

ria for education. This is not to say that members do not want art "education" or income, but rather, the focus of participation is for a political act, namely, self-articulation.

Art education in public schools is perceived as a subject to be passed and which can potentially develop an individual to forge a career. However, this approach is problematic, as a career in art is probably the most difficult of all areas of study in high school. Coupled with three factors (firstly, the perceptions that not everyone is an artist; secondly, ill-qualified teachers in art; thirdly, poor or no facilities and exposure to cultural practice) learners are left with an art education in schools that is either nonexistent or simply sidelined.

Hence, when we enter schools with the aim of establishing collaborations, we do not introduce our program as a substitute to the curriculum in art. Rather, we introduce the program as a process that plugs into existing activities. In the case of Freedom College, we were able to expand on an existing choir that sought a conductor and enhance a module in the eleventh-grade history class that dealt with heritage infrastructure. In this way, the program was an immediate hit with the school's activities.

Over the years, the Keleketla program has created access to art for youth in the Joubert Park neighborhood and greater Johannesburg. Revisiting an archive of flyers, letters, meeting notes, and proposals, it is clear that the program speaks not only to the members of K!ASP, but also their families. Each milestone in the program asked for a "consent process," where parents/guardians were encouraged to acknowledge their respective children's participation.

These "invitation to parents" letters serve as an interesting way of tracing the development of the program, as well as an ethical practice (see figure 22, p. 248). In a subtle way, the letters serve as a tool to build an audience, to "educate" the parents/families of our members about culture in the neighborhood. For those parents who manage to attend the public performances where their children participate, the feedback

is almost unanimously "you should do this every month/ year." For a number of these parents, the Keleketla! Library events are the first of this kind that they had experienced. For example, in December 2011 during an end-of-season reflection session, members of the eleventh-grade history class from Freedom College observed that the K!ASP dance piece exploring key liberation struggle narratives did not have adequate symbols. In response, the K!ASP dance group members successfully argued for contemporary dance as a "language" to be studied, as one would poetry. In addition to the history class, the session was attended by educators and artists, a diverse group of practitioners who facilitated the then concluding K!ASP project. In this manner, we believe the process-based approach that honors time extends art education not only to the direct recipients but also to the broader community. The learning of a "new language" opens up new avenues for positionalities and ideas.



It is crucial that it is the Drill Hall where these programs are based and engage with a heritage infrastructure and its narrative, for it presents a model of how these kinds of spaces can be used. It suggests a move away from the tourist model that potentially sidelines and even marginalizes the immediate communities surrounding the heritage infrastructure. The model of "arts and crafts markets" around touristy heritage infrastructure is a shortcut to inclusivity. At its worst, the approach is competitive and reinforces paternalistic practices as opposed to process-based approaches that have the potential to build ownership and over time can suggest sustainable activities rooted in real-time local cultures.

But what exactly are these cultures? We know that heritage spaces are fixed; from the high-tech Liliesleaf Farm that tells the Rivonia Trial story or the haunting Constitutional Hill with its political detention narrative, the story is written, set, and final, stuck in place for (mostly international tourist) consumption. Outside of occasional exhibitions, the spaces are amplified by curio shops and crafts markets. The Drill Hall stands out as a place for social development organiza-

tions and artists' studios. Keleketla! Library expands the setup with an ongoing program that pulls together a kaleidoscope of current practitioners across a range of fields, ages, and races. Again, this privileged position of the Drill Hall is ironic, resulting as it does from the state's neglect of the site! In practice, the Drill Hall would be fortressed under the management of the municipality. The good news is that, after all these years, Keleketla and the Drill Hall stakeholders are building a compelling model that must be adopted when the city finally comes to play. In this case, culture shifts the community's recognition of heritage infrastructure; it is a culture of re/creation as opposed to that of consumption.



History education in schools is riddled with perceptions of backwardness, reflected by the choir members' assumptions in the previous passage. Learners seldom recognize how history recounts culture, and thus the use of art in learning about history can be enriching on a personal level. In our approach, we looked at the last module in a history textbook that challenges learners to write or create an artwork exploring a historical event, site, song, or object. Thus our program created a space for history learners to identify interactive approaches to learning and recognize that each person is a creator, a contributor to history itself. Art processes are Freireian¹⁹ in approach, as they shift perceptions, create new terminology, and introduce recognition of personal capabilities.

Freire advocates a problem-posing approach that speaks to one's condition as a point of departure. Keleketla's approach to art/s education enables youth to balance dialogue and creation, creating a discursive environment. The historical rooting of the programs enables collaborators to investigate what defines a historical moment, as well as the witnessing of such. For example, the very recent "xenophobic" violence that swept South Africa in 2008 was addressed through a public discussion, *Teen Talk*.²⁰



In mid-2012 K!ASP members created a "talk show" for teenagers that dealt with xenophobia, titled *Teen Talk: Fun but not Funny*. During *Teen Talk*, invited guest speaker Prince Adesina Al-Amin, the Gauteng Secretary General of the Nigerian Union of South Africa, discussed the role of government in national culture:

You see, the ANC government with other political parties should be able to go on a special program that will educate South Africans about migration. Because you see, you cannot live in South Africa as all Sothos and only South Africans; it will be boring, it will not be sweet. Let me be sincere with you.

Thus *Teen Talk* as a cultural program is able to create a socialization space where difference can be discussed frankly and critically, and solutions are sought in a conscientizing manner, rather than the dictatorial approach that is often the case with mass media rhetoric. In a reflection on *Teen Talk* (2012) between the members and one of the authors, forward thinking is emphasized:

<u>Ra</u>: Why is it important that it [*Teen Talk*] was produced by youth?

Langa: Older people have experience, and their ideas come from that. With us it's more like if such a thing occurs in the future, what would we do differently? Ikanyeng: It's a visionary method.

<u>Talia</u>: Teen Talk spoke of experiences in our own life, like xenophobia and discrimination, which mostly is amongst youth, like how we sometimes laugh and make fun of Nigerian accents.²¹



The culture that we are building does not only explain to us the nature of our oppression, give us a greater understanding of how we are oppressed, but also indicates to us how we are to fight this oppression and how we will behave in the future to bring about a just society.²²



Chapter 5 Bigger than the Tick Box

Long-time members of K!ASP, a rap trio called the Black Poets,²³ are running against the grain of the current obsession with auto-tune aided singing in rap music characterized by demeaning lyrical content. Instead, they maintain lyrical content that speaks to core issues they face daily. They write and rap about issues of national significance such as:

Can you see me? Making empty promises / Haha—I got so much power I don't know what to do ("My Machine," Black Poets, 2011)

The first time I heard this track after its recording, I was taken back to one of the many "corridor moments" at Keleketla! Library when one of the most vocal members of the Black Poets cornered me with copies from the pages of Steve Biko's I Write What I Like.

Jecto: Uncle Ra, I have some questions for you.

Ra: Let's do this.

<u>Jecto</u>: What is inferiority complex?

Ra: Do you know the meaning of superior?

Jecto: Yes.

<u>Ra</u>: So [with superior] as the opposite of inferior, what is your understanding of the term "inferiority complex"? <u>Jecto</u>: Isn't it when you feel smaller to someone else?

Reflect, Refine, and Redefine

The Medu Art Ensemble Newsletter editorial of 1982 reads:

In this edition of our Newsletter we carry several articles, critical essays and book reviews. This is not because we wish to draw attention away from the project of creating poetry, short stories, novels, drama, film scripts, etc... but perhaps it is because we feel the need to do some hard talking about the position of culture in our society at this time. In fact we want to have the hard talking now in order to avoid finding ourselves later in all the old cul de sacs, dead-ends, blind corners and no-win situations.²⁴

Listening to the voices from the liberation struggle, we find allies in the understanding that art education needs to facilitate access. What did we learn from our interdisciplinary processes? We know that intergenerational dialogue is a fertile ground to build audiences. The Western canonical contemporary art practice is not accessible and thus exclusive. It is a vocational practice with its own set of audiences, scholars, dealers, collectors, and institutions that control the circulation of ideas, objects, and currencies. Contemporary art practice and its schooling is not concerned with the broader understanding of art as basic to the whole community, but rather with itself. Often when it attempts to engage with "socially engaged practice" it does so to gain some street credibility, at the worst with paternalistic and condescending results not very different to corporate social investment efforts. This mutes voices, widely referred to as "hit and run" projects that misrepresent people.

We must not work on the assumption that people need to be stars, or artists, or learn skills; rather, we need to work from reflection, from calm dialogue that is not a chase towards that funder's report or this school's examination. Culture, like nature, has a tendency to strike back at us if we rush towards Utopia. Culture, like education, is lifelong; it asks for grace and needs a pace that is rooted in context.



In February 2013, amidst the many activities marking five years of Keleketla! Library, K!ASP member in dance Wesley Hlongwane stopped me in the alleyway, next to the studio of Breeze Yoko, visual and video artist:

Wesley: Uncle Ra, did Marie tell you of our idea?

Ra: The one about "A Book to Be"?

Wesley and Langa: No . . .

Wesley: Another one . . . you see the wall in the People's Studio where we dance? Isn't it a place for dance, music, and theatre? We want to paint that wall using symbols like music notes, smiling and crying faces and such things . . .

These moments are on the next level. A week before Wesley and Langa's proposal, a letter to Breeze Yoko was languishing in the drafts, mostly due to budget issues. The letter reads:

5 February 2013

Dear Breeze Yoko

Keleketla! Library turns five in February 2013. Towards this, we look inside-out to create a conceptual and practical archive [. . .].

We are calling on your imagination for the wall on the 1st [floor] of the Drill Hall north block named The People's Studio. The People's Studio is a free to [low]-rental space for music, dance and theatre rehearsals. Numerous Joburg-based practitioners (mostly Keleketla! After School Programme contemporary dance group) as well as bands and collectives have used the space. [...] We would like you to create a mural that uses the above users as reference, combined with the history of the Drill Hall, linked with other historical liberation & art movements in Africa and its diasporas, including but not limited to Sophiatown, Medu Arts Ensemble, Afrobeat, the Black Panther Movement, the Black Consciousness Movement. [...]

My conversation with Wesley and Langa got more interesting when I told them of the impending proposal to Breeze—they were not so keen! I proposed that he works with them to translate their visions onto the wall. They said no, they want to do it on their own to save Keleketla's money! This kind autonomy is intriguing when it breaks expectations.



One of the strong members of K!ASP, a gifted dancer, does not want to dance as a career. She knows the exact role of dance to her being, and it has nothing to do with a profession, but rather with personal harmony, as expressed in a written exchange with one of the authors.

You are gifted both in art and academia. You want to be a medical doctor, correct? Do you think you can be both a professional doctor and a dancer? Do you think dance has a potential to heal?

Well, I want to keep three jobs at once. I like to think that I've got ambitions. I want to be a pathologist as well as a surgical practitioner while I also want to have an orphanage where I can give a brighter future to someone in need. I believe we all deserve a chance to succeed. When you dance you can bring out your emotions and calm down so yes there is a connection. But I'm not quite sure of being both a doctor and a dancer although I'm not going to stop dancing. It will just be a hobby—my patients will need me. So it is people first before dance.²⁵



In realizing more and more that members of our programs participate not for vocational purposes but for their own autonomous reasons, we are finding it difficult to explain in succinct terms what we do, particularly to funders. If education and culture are understood as broad, how can we fit our work into categories such as "gender," "the disabled," and the ugliest of terms, "previously disadvantaged"? If members of our programs can exercise their own voice, isn't it arrogant to label them "previously disadvantaged"? If we sat down with the members to fill out these application forms, wouldn't we end up rewriting funding policies? Keleketla programs are not a replacement for the art curriculum, but a space to enhance the experiences of its members. While the themes developed are shaped by context (including the funding criterion) the processes open up a space for self-discovery for all the members.

While the discovery may mimic an "aha moment" in the classroom, the program hopes for richer discoveries, the kind of discovery that leads to a deeper comprehension of the living conditions. The Medu Publications & Research Unit (1982) clarifies:

Not only have the oppressor [sic] separated one discipline, one art from another, but they have also tried to convince us that cultural forms do not deal with ideas. Form is everything, content merely subsidiary. To us, con-

tent is as rich and varied as the experience of our people, and form is merely a tool used to portray the reality around us. Our culture is a culture of ideas, a culture in which progressive ideas paramount [sic].²⁶

Many community-based art projects claim skills exchange and development, yet the results often look rudimentary and embarrassing, worse, the process is the standard hit-and-run, where there is no time for discussion of content and ideas that give birth to the tick-boxed "painting workshop for fifty township/inner city children." Indeed, there is nothing wrong with teaching painting to people who cannot afford to have paints and canvases at home or school. It is a basic human right to engage in art. However, art and its forms should be a tool for something, especially for those who do not have the tools at their disposal; they can't take part in a workshop only to see a recreational tool, for every young person can devise means of recreation—in fact, often the most innovative means emerge when resources are an issue. Maximum impact occurs when the magic of art is paired with the comprehension of freedom. Any freedom.



While individualism is encouraged, collective work is preferred in our programs, and thus several hands and minds can create one image. For example, when Langalibalele Mathuthu created an image to express his understanding of migration (see figures 23 and 24, pp. 258–59), he was part of a poster-making group and *Teen Talk*. By the time his image was chosen for a portfolio set of five posters to be processed and printed graphically, he had migrated into a physical theater group. Subsequent members of the poster-making group (some of whom joined weeks after initial images were created) completed his image, readying it graphically for a silk-screen edition. While Langalibalele is proud of his refined creation, he left it behind to explore the theme of migration in other forms in the context of one K!ASP program.





Figures 23 and 24: Langalibalele Mathuthu's painting (left) was refined graphically by other members to form part of a poster portfolio as part of a K!ASP program on migration.

A Space to Find Our Feet: 2013 and Beyond

It is necessary to reflect upon the future of Keleketla! Library and upon insights into this kind of work. Indeed, Keleketla is marking its five years of existence through a reflexive project that aims to create a conceptual and practical archive. Titled "Call & Response," the project has invited past, current, and future collaborators to help us imagine the kind of library we are, to think of practical ways to classify and share an archive, and to discuss issues related to our practice.²⁷ The project is designed as an interdisciplinary process taking the form of talks, exhibitions, happenings, interventions, a concert, and a range of workshops within Keleketla! Library and across different venues in Johannesburg and online.

One of the aims of this project is to arrive at a more succinct definition of our work, not only for funders but also for potential collaborators. Keleketla! Library is aware of its "make your own job" approach—an open-ended programming that enables multiple entries for different practitioners. *Teen Talk* is such an example, initiated by a K!ASP member and later "employed" in its "crew" as a teen "television" show. Indeed, one of the long-time affiliates created her own "job" at Keleketla as a "Reflections Researcher/Facilitator." In fact, the title of this section is borrowed from her contribution to *56 Years to the Treason Trial*, Keleketla's educational supplement published in December 2012. As it turns out, she had borrowed it from a statement by Keleketla! Library's cofounder, Malose Malahlela during a reflection session facilitated by her!

At the beginning of 2013, two of our long-time collaborators proposed new projects as a way of continuing the work they have done over the last year. The important common element of both proposals is the emphasis on an ongoing program. The work, they argue, must be ongoing, firstly because the young people keep asking about it (which is true), and secondly because they as practitioners have identified it as sustainable employment and professional development (which is absolutely true).

On a national level, there is "hope" when we look at the grand plans of the Arts and Culture Education and Training scheme and the Audience Development Project put forward by the Department of Arts and Culture. The project forms part of the Mzansi's Golden Economy program that foregrounds the creative industry as a fertile ground for national development on the economic front. Amongst the plans is the Artists in Residence (AiR) program, which places under- and unemployed cultural workers in public schools, not with the aim of replacing arts and culture teachers, but instead firstly to create work for artists who are already volunteering or working with school learners and secondly to support overburdened teachers in schools. The overall program (with a framework hinging on teacher development and school arts competitions) places a focus on formal, informal, and nonformal art/s and culture education.

Thanks to the sector's involvement in the national arts policy framework, it is hoped that there will be

public input into the design of the framework; that the arts sector is beginning to recognize the need for new of forms incomegeneration strategies; that research into broader economic changes in relation to the arts is beginning to circulate; and most crucially that the national arts policies of both the National Lottery Distribution Trust Fund and the National Arts Council undergoing are changes.

Correcting centuries-old policies and assumptions on art/s education necessitates a holistic approach that takes seriously the importance of consultation with stakeholders. To position art/s education in the center of a country's broader economic development is a permanent activity that responds to factors such as the economy itself, political climate, technology, and other social dynamics. An inside-out approach that recognizes culture as an independent entity first is important in understanding its role in other aspects of society, including economic growth. It helps to clarify its shortfalls and strengths, thus enabling cultural workers to define their own realities, aims, and aspirations, and also to chart a framework for state intervention. The risk of doing this "the other way around" is at the least an imposition and at the worst, corruption—the basis for hit-and-run interventions that fall prey to deadlines and pressures of delivery.

The danger is the potential for a program that costs in the millions to employ a hitapproach, using and-run very well- established commercial artists with without an interest in community development. It is in this kind of mainstream art/s education program displaying a poor understanding of the role of culture in education that we risk the future of sustainable work for cultural practitioners.



Expanding and scaling down Keleketla work has been the core of our discussion over the last two years. The question gained urgency at the beginning of 2012 as a result of Maia Marie's *Reflections* series, where the organization explored its

core program and priorities. It was decided after much assessment that we need to scale down. However, the 0 j ect returned to the back-toback programming entrenched in its DNA, and 2012 saw some of the most interesting projects that created immense visibility for Keleketla. Towards the end of the year, with the NLDTF funding coming to a conclusion, flight mode kicked back in again, and we are thinking about scaling down once more.

But the environmental and programmatic factors do not allow for scaling down, for the membership of the program has grown due to the visibility created in 2012. More learners at our partner school have seen the impact of the program and they want to join. We have achieved a real partnership with a school, which took us three years. It is a feat that many struggle to achieve, as an education unit member of New York's New Museum of Contemporary Art observed. It is a model that could be of use for other practitioners and institutions—but does it grant us a sizable

the next (now) nine years.

tick on the checklist? Is it clear enough how our work contributes to professional development across the different sectors we service?

1 The Q & A evaluation was produced in the context of an arts, culture, and heritage project funded by the National Lottery Distribution Trust Fund.

2 "Definition of Concepts" in "Gauteng Province Arts Education Policy Discussion Document" (unpublished, Johannesburg, 1995), pp. 3–4. The document was produced for stakeholders' feedback. The Policy Task Team was composed of nominated representatives from different arts disciplines as well as formal and non-formal education sectors.

3 The Medu Art Ensemble, a collective of (mostly exiled South African) artists working in Botswana between 1979 and 1984 convened a series of conferences and seminars on the role of culture in the liberation struggle. The conferences took place in Southern Africa, including Namibia, Zimbabwe, and Botswana. Anecdotes from conferences are well referenced in Medu Art Ensemble Newsletter 3, no. 4 (1981), pp. 7-16, and Medu Art Ensemble Newsletter 4, no. 1 (1982), pp. 23-30, and more comprehensively in Clive Kellner and Sergio-Albio González, eds., Thami Mnyele + Medu Art Ensemble Retrospective (Johannesburg, 2010).

4 The Johannesburg Property Company is an agency of the City of Johannesburg, tasked with the management of the city's built infrastructure.

5 National Minister of Arts and Culture, Paul Mashatile quoted in the Mzansi's Golden Economy conference program, published by South Africa's national department of arts and culture. The conference was held on April 14, 2012, to address how arts, culture, and heritage can contribute to the government's New Growth Path program that aims to create five million jobs over

Chapter 6 The Challenges of Interstitiality Reconsidering Cultural and Funding Policies for the Non-Formal Artistic/Cultural Field

Preliminary Remarks

The preceding chapters should be seen as elements of an attempt to map the field of non-formal artistic education/ training and professionalization from a number of different angles and with various goals in mind: to localize the field more precisely; to focus attention on interstitial approaches and practices of cultural actors; to highlight the special significance and unique, partly autonomous features of non-formal structures in African contexts; and to discuss the current realities of funding policies in relation to this.

These attempts to undertake a discursive locating of our subject matter revealed that not only "vocational artistic training" but also "art/s education" and "non-formality" seem to be largely dissociated from public discussion about education, art, and culture. The problematic positioning of these fields in the communiqué and survey literature, as well as their coverage in the press, shows that prevailing discourse. dominated by technocratic approaches, emphasizes economic considerations, reducing both "education" and "training" in the art and culture sector to acquiring and mediating "expedient" knowledge and "exploitable" skills which can be "marketable" in the culture industry. The premises and priorities resulting from this trend generate disparities that have an impact on local, regional, and transcontinental social discourse, as well as on scholarly theory and research.1 Moreover, they are articulated in cultural policy framings that—as Rangoato Hlasane and Malose Malahlela illustrated in the previous chapter using the example of South Africa² determine the basis for state and private national funding of the arts.

In a funding landscape generally dominated by Western institutions, national funding policies—if indeed they exist at all—interact with Western funding frameworks, whose programs and agendas often fail to pay sufficient attention to the needs and focuses of local actors. As a possible consequence of this, actors may find themselves confronted in their professional practice with projects and project forms that emerge less from processes of negotiation than from

programmatic guidelines, operationally agreed targets, or funding policy statutes.³ The fields of "art" and "education," together with their interstitial spaces, are hence situated within a complex structural setting whose dynamics are determined by various strategic interests and where "nonformality" is marginalized in terms of educational policies, "education/training" in terms of cultural policies, and "nonformal vocational artistic training" in terms of funding policies. In this regard, the positionings of national and supranational cultural policies as well as of national (insofar as these exist) and international funding policy framings exhibit a number of remarkable similarities and overlaps. These include:

- An ongoing profound conceptual separation between art, education, and vocational training based on unclear, usually Eurocentric terminologies
- A prioritization of the contemporary art sector geared mainly to high-visibility short-term projects, finished artworks, and events, and a correspondingly lower priority of non-formal vocational artistic training and teaching
- A lack of funding criteria and categories suitable for understanding context-oriented, long-term, crosssectoral projects, in which training and education and art are brought together and considered from the perspective of training
- A lack of funding policy concepts and experience dealing with the specific needs of non-formal vocational artistic training as an interstitial long-term working process consisting of interdependent project levels and phases

The current "funding climate," as Rangoato Hlasane and Malose Malahlela aptly term the actual state of affairs with respect to African funding policies, creates neither a propitious atmosphere nor favorable financial and other conditions for African actors who consciously chose to operate in the interstitial field of art *and* education *and* training. For one thing, a climate of this kind reflects and bolsters social attitudes that regard non-formal artistic education/training

with disinterest or even contempt.⁴ For another, it serves to "obstruct a clear view on the fundamental structural problems facing artistic/cultural [non-formal education/training] projects and the individuals involved in them."⁵ Finally, the categories, criteria, and regulation mechanisms of funding policies hamper the development and examination of alternative cultural practices, methods, and discourses. This finding is not limited to non-formal vocational artistic training, for it also applies to art/s education—even when the project work conducted by actors firstly emphasizes issues that are officially considered to be of cultural-political relevance and secondly has an impact on the formal sector.⁶

With respect to Western cultural funding in African contexts, we have shown that current funding policy concepts and practices are not yet really suitable for bringing together art and education and training in the non-formal sector. Some individual institutions are indeed trying to strengthen medium- and long-term processes of structure formation by targeting their funding at projects with interdisciplinary, cross-field approaches and specifically supporting non-formal contexts. In opening up broadened and at times experimental windows of opportunity, however, the extent to which these funding attempts respond to the demands of the multifaceted non-formal field, with its informally institutionalized structures, is limited. Thus, for example, cultural practices developed specially in this context⁸ and, above all, the specific requirements of teaching/ training⁹ are not adequately supported.¹⁰ The interrelationship between the funding practices of Western institutions and the cultural practices of local actors leads to an inherent tension between partly incompatible—or rather opposing and competing—structure formations characterized by hierarchical distortions. This, in turn, generates a number of distinct yet very fundamental problems. While funding institutions seeking to strengthen local and regional cultural infrastructures cannot do sufficient justice to their endeavors, actors in the interstitial field of training and education and art have to contend with a cultural funding practice that financially "skirts round" the specific requirements of the non-formal field and takes too little account of the artistic training opportunities offered *by* African actors.

Nevertheless, individual funding institutions and actors concur on certain key points regarding working requirements and goals. These include efforts, for example, to make local knowledge accessible, to support interstitial structures, to diversify the cultural sector, and to strengthen translocal, transcontinental, and international networks and exchanges. As the non-formal education/training opportunities presented in our study prove, African actors have long been at work managing to create their own structural realities—despite and sometimes beyond the general constraints imposed by funding policy frameworks. If Western institutions do not wish their actions to run counter to these realities but instead to support them in meaningful ways, they must seek synergetic conditions of possibility and the requisite framings, concepts, and practices.

The structural and creative challenges thereby generated for an institution engaged in funding and mediation culture in African contexts will be examined more fully in the following. Considerations and recommendations for action suggested and rendered more precisely below should be regarded as examples only insofar as they refer to the specific institutional context of the Goethe-Institut South Africa and focus on the field of non-formal vocational artistic training and professionalization. However, as the regional institute of an operational geographical area that is officially termed "sub- Saharan Africa," encompassing almost fifty states, the Goethe-Institut South Africa coordinates institutional branches in over half the franco-, anglo-, and lusophone countries.¹³ The recommendations can thus provide both supraregional and specific reference points for further discussions and negotiations—both between Western and African funding institutions and between Western funding institutions and local actors who are being funded/seeking funding.

Funding Policy Challenges in the Context of Non-Formal Interstitiality

Any consideration of funding policy challenges in the countries of the Global South must take into account the immense power effects of globalized, hierarchically organized structural relationships. Although determined by overt North-South dynamics between Western "money givers" and local "money takers," there is reluctance in cultural funding circles to articulate this situation so explicitly.¹⁴ In the interaction context of the Goethe-Institut South Africa, efforts have been made to weaken the consequences of such dynamics by trying "to take seriously questions, issues, and problems raised in the respective countries—no matter in what cultural format they manifest themselves"15 and to develop projects and programs jointly with local actors. Above and beyond this, it is recognized that "the partners also contribute their own assets—be these place, expertise, or other things." ¹⁶ For this to happen, however, actors have to first become partners. Given the limited funding opportunities available in African contexts and an existential reliance on financial support, the choice of partner itself already entails considerably differing selection options. Actors who receive or who would like to receive funding are advised to exercise "structural caution" or at least restraint, since not all Western funding institutions feel obliged to uphold the principle of cooperation and exchange on equal footing. For an institution like the Goethe-Institut, which explicitly subscribes to this demand and yet struggles to realize it, this raises multidimensional cultural-political and funding policy issues.

Reference Point: Democratization of Funding Structures

As the experience gathered from the work context of the Goethe-Institut South Africa suggests, the desired funding requirements generally encountered in non-formal education, art, and culture can only be fulfilled by formulating new policy concepts and strategies and/or expanding upon and specifying existing ones. Against this background, the urge to conduct a long-term, informed examination of the non-formal field, as has been expressly underlined by the institution, highlights a problematic situation that is both com-

plex and specific to African contexts. Firstly, the African continent contains regions "with the highest percentage of individuals who have no access to regular school education." As a consequence, a significant number of people who are involved in the arts and other sectors at an occupational level remain excluded from further formal vocational training. Secondly, the entire field of non-formal art/s education "rests almost wholly on private shoulders" and even "in the formal sector there are very few institutions covering this sphere, although the demand is very high." A third factor is the "continuing separation of art, culture, and education," which makes it difficult to focus specifically on interstitial spaces and practices, even though "it is precisely the connections *between* these fields that open up other points of entry." 20

At the same time, however, "the region is characterized by a major dynamic, whereby completely different forms [of vocational education and training as well as cultural education] have developed and are continuing to develop out of the informal sector." In the view of the Goethe-Institut, this gives rise to the task of allocating more funding to "training centers *on* the continent" and "better anchoring [of] local knowledge," which is why existing structures and processes in particular need more explicit support. In order to respond appropriately "to experience and ideas on the spot," different formats and approaches are required." And, one might add, new kinds of structures. We should thus be asking what such approaches, formats, and structures could look like and how they can be developed.

In a funding landscape dominated by Western institutions, a single institute may have only limited influence on the complex array of funding structures. Nevertheless, within its own framework it can set certain emphases that may help to steer things in a particular direction both internally *and* externally. Although the Goethe-Institut's core policy of promoting "cultural participation" as well as cultural independence and self-determination in the countries of the Global South is irresolvably ensnared in "structural entanglements,"

it does hold the potential for constructive transformation. If "cultural participation" is also expressly defined as "structural participation"—in the sense of being able to partake in forming and reforming structural framework conditions—then it would initially be necessary to define the structural parameters of "cooperation" in conjunction with local cultural actors; in fact, this would occur prior to formulating concrete funding needs and concepts.

In other words: before considering any targeted funding of interstitial structures and cultural practices with regard to non-formal vocational artistic training and non-formal art/s education, a Western funding institution would first have to change its perspective by focusing primarily on the framework conditions that to some extent result from current funding policies. Since these conditions crucially determine the situation of cultural actors, they need to be examined jointly with them. A second step would then require all those involved to conduct an analysis of the "artistic [and vocational training working and production conditions and methodologies."24 In the context of the funding institutions, it should culminate in "self-reflectively experimenting with strategies and instruments so as to pose productive questions about the possibilities of implementing and financing [long-term project processes]."25 This course of action would contribute to democratizing funding structures and fulfilling the demand for a partnership of equals, yet it presupposes the willingness:

- To prioritize critically reflective questioning over goal-directed considerations
- To enter into a transparent process of communication and negotiation, based (both for the funding institution and for the local actor who is being funded/ seeking funding) on the principle of reciprocity of "participation" and "experimentation"
- To systematically deprivilege and deformalize funding structures in the long term and to make them more pluralistic, shaping them in cooperation with actors by "drawing on practice" and "targeting them for use in practice" 26

Reference Point: Dialogic Development of Context-Bound Funding Criteria

Western funding institutions operating in African contexts have a great deal of latitude for action and decision-making. Since their structural situatedness enables them to exercise influence in a number of areas—concerning what happens in art, culture, and education; concerning which issues are considered relevant; concerning the forms, formats, and visibility of art productions and work approaches—they play a clearly discernible role in determining the direction taken by local, regional, and transcontinental developments in the respective fields and the corresponding interstitialities. There is no doubt that the situation in most African countries urgently calls for multiple approaches and orientations, yet at the same time it explains why prevailing funding is quite likely to match some of the needs. Nevertheless, current funding criteria promote tendencies that not only "open up" but also strongly constrain, for instance by being either too general or too specific in their choice of objective and in the focus on certain issues and/or parameters; by using certain concepts of "project" and/or "artistic work"; and by applying divergent notions of "education," "art," and "culture" along with the corresponding divisions or links between these sectors.²⁷ Furthermore, cultural funding is governed by interlinked cultural policy and development policy agendas.²⁸ That, in effect, "the cultural landscape is highly dependent on funds from development cooperation"29 is proven not merely by the fact that development institutions employ "culture" to serve their own purposes (as manifested in corresponding funding policy approaches and premises). Indeed, tying cultural issues to developmental goals, 30 above all, has given rise to a "distinct NGO market and a distinct NGO aesthetics"31 that inevitably features its own standards, dynamics. and rivalries.

This trend, discussed critically both by local actors and by Western institutions engaged in cultural mediation, yields a twofold effect: on the one hand, as we have seen, local actors who combine non-formal vocational artistic training, cultural education, and artistic work in a range of ways but who do

not want to be tied down to specific content, themes, or anything else barely receive any financial support.³² On the other hand, Western institutions that within the spectrum of cultural and development policies choose to focus on cultural work are challenged in principle to reconsider their relations and positionings repeatedly, since the question indeed arises: "To what extent does one really need more money to carry out development projects and to what extent is it not also important to counteract this questionable tendency?"³³

Since the Goethe-Institut South Africa endeavors "to develop projects in conjunction with partners that are tailored to meet the partners' needs"34 and relies heavily on local expertise and experience, it seems a coherent step to elaborate context-bound funding criteria in a dialogue with cultural actors. To date, however, the latter have mostly been excluded from a joint venture of this kind, although, as has been shown several times, they possess a broad spectrum of expertise as well as concrete strategies and ideas relating to practices and requirements, all of which would be extremely helpful in meeting the specific needs of the non-formal sector.35 Above and beyond this, in the long term such an approach would decisively contribute to de-hierarchizing interaction structures between funding institutions and funded actors. Last but not least, this modus operandi would provide an important precondition for doing justice to the manifold character of the non-formal artistic/cultural field, facilitating the realization of immaterial project formats and increasing the visibility of alternative practices, strategies, discourses, and informal structures.

Developing context-bound funding criteria in a dialogic manner calls for involving plural knowledges that are informed by various references and experiences, mediated via individual local experts, organizations, networks "in the field," and alternative social discourses and comprised of heterogeneous approaches. Since the principle of inclusion and participation should to be applied not only to North–South dynamics but also to various local/regional hierarchical structures, it would be necessary in the course of this

process to repeatedly review the following questions: Which actors are chosen on what basis and with what epistemological interest and objective? What are the epistemological interests and objectives of the actors? With whom, how, and at what levels is this discussed? The systematic search for alternative knowledge formations, participatory practices, and forms of cultural empowerment—as well as structures that empower and facilitate inclusion and participation—would, on the one hand, considerably extend preexisting possibility spaces for critically informed, civil societal approaches and, on the other, create new points of entry. This would require the following:

- Include the processual and practical knowledge of local experts and actors in the process of developing context-bound criteria and accord it equal status
- Elaborate criteria according to the principles of transparency and negotiation, a key component being that they are founded on the multiplicity of approaches of local actors
- Review and re/determine relevant local, regional, and internal African developments and themes jointly in a discussion process
- Ensure that funding concepts always reflect the plurality of the field and the multiplicity of approaches es of local actors

Reference Point: Dialogic Development of Self-/Reflective Structures

If African actors and experts are to participate in forming and reforming discussion and negotiation processes on cultural and funding policies, it is an important prerequisite that everyone involved at all levels should be willing to "work within contradictions." The Goethe-Institut South Africa has already tried to employ this approach in terms of concepts and content for at least some of its activities, drawing on local knowledge, experience, networks, and expertise, as well as considering how participatory working and communication processes could be shaped in the future.

In order for the institution to adhere to its principles of encouraging local self-determination—conducting "intercultural dialogue as a partnership of equals," supporting trans-African exchange in appropriate ways, and "further developing cultural know-how above all in the non-state education sector"³⁶—an additional level of cooperation with local actors must be inserted.

Aiming to reciprocate cultural relation in a manner quite similar in principle to the non-formal education/training carried out by the organizations we surveyed envisages "partnership work" as a long-term process; it regularly necessitates both reflective and interactive accompanying structures. The search for answers to the core funding policy questions arising within the institutional context of the Goethe-Institut—namely, "Which themes, which subject matter, which forms, which discourses do we wish to support, cultivate, and mediate, and by which means?"37—would therefore have to be embedded into processes that move beyond communication with, participation of, and determination by local actors. It would, in fact, require the establishment of reflexivity as a concrete organizational structure in order to subject an institution's own actions (and less an institution's own self-image) to reflexive interaction. To do this, the Goethe-Institut would need to be willing to:

- Situate itself (within African operating contexts)
 consistently as a "learning institution" that recognizes local cultural actors as "consultants" and as "trainers," not only in their respective fields of work and action but also in the processes of communication and
 - exchange with the institution
- Subject cultural and funding policy framings and practices to a process of continuous revision, in collaboration with local actors and experts, and use the experiential knowledge thus gained to further the process

Recommendations for Funding Non-Formal Vocational Artistic Training and Professionalization

The preceding considerations and reference points are aimed at structural changes to funding policies that constitute a key precondition if non-formal artistic/cultural education and non-formal vocational training as a long-term project and long-term process is to unleash its impact not merely in the narrow sense as an educational-political "stabilizer," but as part of a larger educational and cultural and sociopolitical democratizing project/process in African contexts. If, in addition, work of this kind is to be supported as an integral component of educational work and cultural/artistic education/training work and artistic work, then interstitial programs and projects funded by Western institutions require extended or, in some cases, completely new framings. Epistemologically, these framings should be based on and refer to the plurality of determinative, relational, and operational parameters and should refer to the variety of practice- and relation-based approaches that are either inferred by the specific cultural know-how of local actors or have already been formulated by them.³⁸

Given the difficult conditions in most African countries, cultural and educational funding strategies of Western institutions necessarily take a many-pronged approach. Precisely for this reason, it is, however, of prime importance to pay more intensive attention to structures emerging from and within informality. For one thing, these structures—as alternative yet extremely marginalized autonomous spheres often result from and express a "creativity" that arises out of "extreme instability, uncertainty and even [...] desperation." Characterized by an ability to "improvise and to be flexible" and "a constant preoccupation with the state of being temporary," this kind of creativity allows "cultural institutions to be established and brought to life practically out of nothing"39 and to be maintained under the most unfavorable circumstances. For another thing, these non-formal structures offer—as shown by the work of the organizations surveyed in this study—the (at times sole) opportunity to acquire comprehensive knowledge required for professional

and personal growth since knowledge acquisition of this kind is either not offered by the formal education and training sector or else not accessible to everybody.

From a Western funding perspective it therefore might seem strategically consistent to establish links between the non-formal and formal sectors and to encourage broader access—for example, via the certification of non-formal (artistic) education, via cooperation with state educational institutions, or via excellence initiatives in conjunction with colleges and universities. In view of the problematic premises of state and supranational cultural and educational policies and the often limited nature and poor quality of formal curricula and methodologies in African contexts, it is, however, necessary to constantly question whether, to what extent, and above all in what way these efforts are actually regarded as desirable by actors *practicing* in the non-formal sphere.

As the present study has shown, "formalizing non-formality"—for example, through certification—can currently become a major obstacle in the work of organizations, may work to the detriment of both students and teachers, and may undermine the critical positionings of practicing actors. 40 In addition, there is a danger of being appropriated programmatically and ideologically, with guidelines and requirements that would barely allow for continuing to shape non-formal vocational artistic training and cultural education work as a "flexible, malleable process." ⁴¹ Finally, given the current orientation of national education policies and international funding policies towards formal education, non-formal organizations might once again find themselves in a situation where they have to permanently defend their independent educational/training profile and perhaps even their very right to exist. It is thus not surprising that the organizations we surveyed do cautiously consider and critically weigh any cooperation with the formal education sector (as indeed with other state facilities and institutions).

In light of the particular conditions found in African contexts it would be highly worthwhile for an institution like

the Goethe-Institut to contemplate developing a discrete funding option specifically for the non-formal sector in the future. To bring about this change of focus would require the following actions:

- Comprehending informalized structure formations in both non-formal art/s education and non-formal vocational artistic training, not simply as alternative but as autonomous spheres of knowledge acquisition and knowledge mediation
- Extending funding concepts and programs in the sphere of "training and further training" and specifically supporting non-formal training and further artistic training programs that are developed and offered by African actors
- Recognizing non-formal training and professionalization structures as independent specialized and sector-specific professional training systems and placing them on a par with formal and/or certified training and further training systems
- Rather than forcing links between the non-formal and formal sector, looking instead at their viability in each local context and seeking alternatives if necessary

For this to happen, the Goethe-Institut would need to embark on a long-term discussion with local actors practicing in the non-formal field, as well as with Western and African funding institutions, to clarify the following points: What requirements and goals are being pursued by funding institutions and local actors who are being funded/seeking funding in the non-formal sector when they work with crossfield or cross-sectoral approaches? What specific concepts. terms, and needs have to be defined and/or re/formulated jointly? What characteristically interstitial features inherent to non-formal training and non-formal cultural education are deserving of particular scrutiny with regard to funding policies? How can a funding policy that aims to bring together vocational artistic training and cultural education and artistic work take appropriate account of the striking simultaneity of very diverse yet very specific needs?⁴²

Developing regional strategies within the Goethe-Institut as an institution would entail entering into a far-reaching process of "forming and reforming." The deliberately open design of work domains within the specific institutional realm of "Culture and Development," for instance, provides decent preconditions for this process and some interesting options for establishing new associations and linkages. With respect to African contexts, the following aspects should be covered:

- Developing funding concepts and criteria jointly with practicing local actors in which the non-formal sector can appear as a field in its own right and vocational training/teaching can receive targeted support
- Continually drawing on and examining the expertise of actors with cross-field experience spanning non-formal vocational artistic training and cultural education and artistic work
- Creating active opportunities for local actors working in the interstitial area of training and education and art to exchange practical and experiential knowledge amongst themselves—i.e., without the involvement of the funders but with scholarly support—thereby critically reflecting on it and systematizing it so that it can also be transferred and applied outside their own specific contexts
- Developing an inner-institutional understanding of funding policy requirements with regard to vocational artistic training work and cultural education work and artistic work as a complex long-term process and long-term project
- Elaborating process-oriented funding formats by means of dialogue, based on the principle of productive slowness and guaranteed targeted financing of immaterial work, such as:
 - preparations for and retrospective assessment of teaching, learning, and project processes
 - project dynamics oriented to generating long-term and sustainable impact
 - possibilities of collective working practices
 - reflecting, documenting, and archiving implicit process and methodological knowledge and

- opportunities for transferring it into social discourse (including research)
- discursive programs defined not as "framework events," but recognized as an integral part of the knowledge production and the project itself 43

A funding policy approach that brings together non-formal vocational artistic training and education and art in such a manner would go a long way to meeting the needs of African actors and make a considerable contribution towards improving the working and structural conditions in the cultural field. Above and beyond this, its defined interactive "twotrack character" that situates funders and funded actors alike as "teachers" and "learners" would set in motion a long-term dialogic process ranging from jointly reforming funding policy framework conditions to formulating conceptual thematic and content focuses to implementing and evaluating programs and projects. Within the general institutional realm of the Goethe-Institut, this would provide the opportunity to receive fundamental, profoundly intercultural and practice-oriented "indicators for the future design of its educational programs" and also "incentives for the work of other intermediary and implementing organizations."44 It might also permit non-formal cultural practices and discourses to be effectively linked with "scholarly activity and theory as well as strategies and project work tailored to cultural practice"45 in the context of a long-term intercontinental exchange.

A process of this kind might be considered visionary. In a cultural funding landscape determined by unequal structural relationships between funders and funded actors, it could translate into reality the principles of "cultural inclusion" and "a partnership of equals" and allow everyone involved to enter into a mutual process of learning, thinking, and production. At best this process would offer a funding institution a chance to unlearn privileges and challenge actors to become engaged in a more head-on manner. If, as one would hope, this were to give rise to ambivalences, resentment, or even conflicts, then this "rocky road" should be seen as a

constructive indicator for a partnership of equals. Ultimately, the process of establishing communicative and reflexive long-term processes between a funding institution like the Goethe-Institut South Africa and local actors cannot happen "smoothly." We will therefore conclude with a question formulated in the conditional that is thematically in tune with the context of our study: What scenarios would be conceivable if the principle of non-formality as a participatory terrain *and* a structure-re/forming process were transferred to effect long-term change to Western funding policies in African contexts?

- 1 See Chapter 1.
- 2 See Chapter 5.
- 3 This includes, for example, projects by Western artists and other creatives financed by cultural exchange funds and other similar initiatives. Such funds are, however, always part of an institutional mission to represent national art and culture on the international stage. On the need to discuss ambivalences of this kind against the background of post-/colonial unequal power relationships and representational politics, see Chapter 1, Waymarker 3: Theory and Research, subsection on Fragmentary Approaches in Non-Formal Art/ists' Education (Reference Point: Post-/Colonial Ambivalences and Representational Politics in International Discourses on Art and Art/ists' Education). See also the reflections of Achille Mbembe, who frames co-acting global trends in relation to the introduction of "Culture and Development" to "Arts, Markets and Development in Our Times" (for full reference, see Chapter 1, note 60).
- 4 This is expressed both by non-financing or under-financing training and by neglecting and partially discrediting the knowledge and experience of actors working in the field. In this context we should recall the dubious and cynical official argument that the current lack of training/professionalization among actors is seen "as a major reason"

for the sector's weaknesses in terms of output and competitiveness." See Chapter 1, Waymarker 1: Communiqué and Survey Literature, subsection on Art/s Education within the Context of Creative Industries.

5 Gau and Schlieben, "Caught Between Two Stools" (for full reference, see Chapter 3, note 50; text in square brackets added by the author as an extension of Gau and Schlieben's reflections to cover the field of non-formal vocational artistic training). 6 See Chapter 5, Whose Interests? Content and Relevance within the

Keleketla! Library Cultural Program-

ming.

- 7 See the various perspectives expounded in Chapter 3, Waymarker 1: Funding and Financing, subsection on Inter/national Funding: Ambivalences, Potentials, and Alternatives; the needs analyses in Chapter 4, Requirements Identified by Funded Organizations within the Context of Funding Arts and Education and Vocational Training; and the structural implications for the field of non-formal vocational artistic training in the same chapter, Formative Effects of Western Funding Policies at the Interstices of Non-Formal Vocational Artistic Training and Education and Art.
- 8 See Chapter 4, Requirements Identified by Funded Organizations within the Context of Funding Arts and Education and Vocational Training, subsection on Reference Point: Project Funding as Process Funding.
- 9 See Chapter 4, Requirements Identified by Funded Organizations within the Context of Funding Arts and Education and Vocational Training, subsection on Reference Point:
 Funding Non-Formal Vocational Artistic Teaching and Training.

Chapter 6 The Challenges of Interstitiality

- 10 See Chapter 4, Requirements Identified by Funded Organizations within the Context of Funding Arts and Education and Vocational Training. These effects should be considered in the light of the experiences described in Chapter 3, Waymarker 1: Funding and Financing, subsection on Financial Frameworks and Funding Options (The Exception: State Funding) as well as the remarks in Chapter 5 in the section headed Flight!
- 11 See Chapter 3, Waymarker 1: Funding and Financing, subsection on Inter/national Funding: Ambivalences, Potentials, and Alternatives, paying special attention to the funding institutions named by the organizations we surveyed.
- 12 The aspects named constitute important reference points for the regional work of the Goethe-Institut South Africa.
- 13 See http://www.goethe.de/ins/za/joh/uun/reg/str/deindex.htm (accessed September 17, 2013).
- 14 See Mbembe, "Arts, Markets and Development in Our Times" and also Chapter 1, Waymarker 1: Communiqué and Survey Literature, subsection on Art/s Education within the Context of "Culture and Development" as an Evolving Field of Action.
- 15 Skype interview with Katharina von Ruckteschell-Katte, director of the Goethe-Institut South Africa and the region of sub-Saharan Africa, in Berlin and Johannesburg on January 18, 2013.
- **16** Ibid.
- 17 Interview with Henrike Grohs, head of Culture and Development at the Goethe-Institut South Africa and the region of sub-Saharan Africa, in Johannesburg on September 19, 2012.

- **18** Skype interview with Katharina von Ruckteschell-Katte (see note 15).
- **19** Interview with Henrike Grohs (see note 17).
- **20** Ibid.
- **21** Ibid.
- **22** Ibid.
- 23 Ibid.
- **24** See Gau and Schlieben, "Caught Between Two Stools."
- 25 Ibid. (addition by author in square brackets).
- 26 The cooperation between the DOEN Foundation and École des Sables provides an interesting example of the innovative creation of an "open funding structure." Based on the practical needs of dancers or dance companies, funding options could be specially created for such actors that are otherwise not covered by Western funding frameworks.
- 27 Dynamics that are restrictive in this manner may already have their roots in the terminological conventions used in tender offers. This is then repeated by many actors within their funding applications where it appears as a "collection of key words." As Henrike Grohs rightly points out, the fixed orientations implied by such terminology exert an influence on how actors approach their own work because, in attempting (or being forced) to comply with the funding requirements, they are hardly encouraged to ask themselves: What is it that I actually want? Interview with Henrike Grohs (see note 17).

- 28 See Chapter 1, Waymarker 1: Communiqué and Survey Literature, subsection on Art/s Education within the Context of "Culture and Development" as an Emerging Field of Action and Chapter 3, Waymarker 1: Funding and Financing, subsection on Inter/ national Funding: Ambivalences, Potentials, and Alternatives.
- 29 Interview with Henrike Grohs (see note 17).
- **30** Possible focuses here would be fighting poverty or HIV/AIDS or seeking to achieve the development aid goal of sustainable economic development in the creative industries.
- 31 Ibid.
- 32 See Chapter 3, Waymarker 1:
 Funding and Financing, subsection on Inter/national Funding: Ambivalences, Potentials, and Alternatives and Chapter 4, Requirements Identified by Funded Organizations within the Context of Funding Arts and Education and Vocational Training, subsection on Reference Point: Funding Non-Formal Vocational Artistic Teaching and Training.
- **33** Interview with Henrike Grohs (see note 17).
- 34 Skype interview with Katharina von Ruckteschell-Katte (see note 15).
 35 See Chapter 3, Waymarker 1:
 Funding and Financing, subsection on Inter/national Funding: Ambivalences, Potentials, and Alternatives.

- 36 Katharina von Ruckteschell-Katte, "Goethe-Institute in Subsahara-Afrika," Reportagen, Bilder, Gespräche 2 (2011), http://www.goethe.de/uun/pro/gim/gi_02-11_web.pdf (accessed July 17, 2013), p. 79.
- 37 Enzio Wetzel, "Geleitwort," in Kultur und Entwicklung Ein neuer Akzent in der Vermittlungsarbeit am Goethe-Institut: Pilotprojekt zur kulturpolitischen Forschung im Handlungsfeld 'Kultur und Entwicklung' Zwischenbericht September 2010, ed. Institut für Kulturpolitik der Stiftung Universität Hildesheim, (Hildesheim, 2010), http://www.uni-hildesheim.de/media/fb2/kulturpolitik/basis/Kultur_und_Entwicklung_Pilotprojekt_2010_pdf.pdf (accessed June 26, 2013), pp. 2–5, here p. 2.
- 38 See Chapter 3.

Alternatives.

- 39 Mbembe, "Arts, Markets and Development in Our Times."
 40 See the experiences of Market Photo Workshop, Chapter 3, Waymarker 1: Funding and Financing, subsection on Initial Infrastructural Conditions (The Exception: State Funding).
- 41 See Chapter 5, Departures.
 42 Here, once again, I quote Helmut
 Vogt, administrative director of École
 des Sables: "You can't be a school and
 earn money at the same time." For the
 original reference, see Chapter 3,
 Waymarker 1: Funding and Financing,
 subsection on Inter/national Funding:
 Ambivalences, Potentials, and

43 See Gau and Schlieben, "Caught Between Two Stools." Some of the points listed here are taken from Gau and Schlieben; for better readability the quotation marks have been omitted. Since this contribution focused particularly on immaterial, temporary, and interventional art projects, these would form important reference points for further discussions in this direction.

44 Wetzel, "Geleitwort," p. 5 (see note 37).

45 Ibid.

46 Issues, questions, and problems of this kind were discussed—with special attention to the field of art—at the "Condition Report" symposium held in Dakar, Senegal in January 2012 (staged by the organization Raw Material Company in cooperation with the Goethe-Institut South Africa, the Kulturstiftung des Bundes, and the British Council). See the conference publication, Koyo Kouoh, ed., Condition Report: Symposium on Building Art Institutions in Africa (Ostfildern, 2013).

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The text series is edited by Nina Wichmann and Tom Odhiambo. Project coordination: Franziska Lukas Design: Estúdio Chocolate, Angola

CREATING SPACES

Editor: Goethe-Institut South Africa, Katharina von Ruckteschell-Katte. Henrike Grohs Commissioned research institution: Institute for Art Education (IAE). Zurich University of the Arts Author: Nicola Lauré al-Samarai Contributors: Fouad Asfour and Judith Reker Guest Authors: Rangoato Hlasane and Malose Malahlela Supervision (IAE): Carmen Mörsch © Élise Fitte-Duval (pp. 106-13), Mulugeta Gebrekidan (pp. 114-17), Lungelo Mbulwana (p. 102), Madoda Mkhobeni (p. 103), Motshwari Mofokeng (p. 105), Rodell Warner (p. 104)Translation: Tradukas GbR

Picture editing: visual affairs
Proofreading: Dawn Michelle d'Atri
Printing: Dr. Cantz'sche Druckerei,
Germany
Thanks to: Iris Buchholz Chocolate,
Nicola Morris (Tradukas),
Lien Heidenreich-Seleme,
Princess Mhlongo

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ISBN 978-9966-071-00-2

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PUBLISHERS
Goethe-Institut Kenya
P.O. Box 49468 – 00100 Nairobi
www.goethe.de/nairobi

Native Intelligence P.O. Box 23195 00100 GPO Nairobi

DISTRIBUTION

Jomo Kenyatta Foundation (East Africa)David Krut Publishers (South Africa) Walther Koenig Books Ltd (Europe/online)







The field of non-formal art/s education and vocational training for artists in Africa leads a shadowy existence. Although embracing the vital interface of education/ art/culture, related approaches and projects frequently fail to meet the prevalent funding frames. However, African actors have long been autonomously contouring and shaping the interstitial space of non-formality with their ideas, concepts, and practice. What concrete form does their work take? What basic conditions is it subject to? Which formative effects are caused by current cultural and funding policies? These and other questions are elaborated in this volume with special reference to five actors in South Africa, Senegal, Democratic Republic of Congo, and Ethiopia.

CONTACT ZONES NRB TEXT is a book series by the Goethe-Institut Kenya and Native Intelligence, Kenya. This volume is published in cooperation with the Goethe-Institut South Africa. In partnership with the Institute for Art Education (IAE) / Zurich University of the Arts.

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