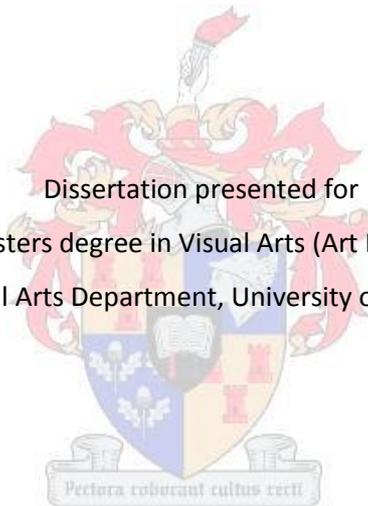


**NEGOTIATING POWER RELATIONS
IN THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN ARTS EDUCATION PROGRAMME
IN A PRIMARY SCHOOL IN DELFT, WESTERN CAPE**

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ABSTRACT

After two decades of democracy, the phrase 'a troubled time' could be seen as accurately describing the current educational reality of South Africa. Art education has, in particular, been described as being lacking and undervalued in South African primary schools (Lochner, 2011). It has been contended that "pervasive exercises of power relations in educational institutions and processes" (Gore, 1995:166) could be contributing factors to the perceived lack and undervalued status of art education in this context.

In reaction to the impoverished status of art education in South Africa, this study was aimed at gaining insight into the power relations that played out during the implementation of a specific art education programme in a low-income area in Delft, Western Cape. The objectives of the study were to gain nuanced insight into the variety of power relations at play in the implementation of the programme and to explore these power relations' relation to one another.

A qualitative approach and a case study design were used for the empirical part of the study. Through interviews, feedback forms, participant observations and written reflections, experiences of negotiating power relations in the establishment of the programme were collected. Inductive content analysis was used to develop key themes in the data.

In the negotiation of power throughout the process of establishing the art programme, issues regarding the themes of 1) race, 2) inequality and exclusion, and 3) neutral territory featured strongly. The theme of race brought the fact that art education is considered to be a status symbol affordable only to the privileged and associated with whiteness to light. In efforts to address the complex racial and power related challenges facing art education, it was proposed that teachers should become knowledgeable in the functioning of hidden curricula to be able to work towards unbiased observation of learners. The theme of inequality and exclusion emphasised feelings of discomfort experienced by participants. Discomfort was often related with regard to language and learning barriers and limited material and human resources. It was suggested that dialogue within these moments of discomfort could potentially cultivate within teachers more understanding of how the opposites of, for example, poor and privilege intersect with class and race and power to shape the outplay thereof in education. Findings concerning the theme of schools as possible neutral territory opened the question of whether all role players in the art programme, i.e. school management, teachers and parents, could potentially detach from the symbolic forms of meaning that constitute their histories, social constructions, beliefs, viewpoints and preferences to be able to find a meaningful way to work towards social justice.

The study revealed that the influence of hidden curricula was distinctively stronger than actual policy instructions, and that prevailing perceptions of art as a subject crucial to learner development should be addressed. Findings implied that teacher training aimed at increasing awareness of hidden curricula could be valuable in terms of promoting dialogue, resolving conflict and personal transformation. Improved power relations and the promotion of equality and inclusiveness could possibly serve as driving forces towards a more socially just education system which could ultimately improve learner success.

OPSOMMING

Na twee dekades van demokrasie, kan die frase 'troebel tye' gesien word as 'n raak beskrywing van die huidige onderwysrealiteit van Suid-Afrika. Kunsonderwys in besonder, word beskryf as gebrekkig en onderwaardeer in primêre skole in Suid Afrika (Lochner, 2011). Gore (1995:166) maak die stelling dat die "oorheersende invloed van magsverhoudinge in onderwysinstansies en -prosesse" waarskynlik 'n bydraende faktor is tot die oënskynlike gebrek en onderwaardeerde status van kunsonderrig in hierdie konteks.

In reaksie op die power status van kunsonderwys in Suid-Afrika, is hierdie studie daarop gerig om insig te verkry in die magsverhoudinge wat uitgespeel het tydens die implementering van 'n spesifieke kunsonderrigprogram in 'n lae-inkomstegebied in Delft, Weskaap. Die doelwitte van die studie was om genuanseerde insig te verkry in die variasie van magsverhoudinge ter sprake met die implementering van die program asook om te ondersoek hoe die magsverhoudinge in verhouding met mekaar tree.

'n Kwalitatiewe benadering en 'n gevallestudieontwerp is gebruik vir die empiriese gedeelte van die studie. Deur onderhoude, terugvoervorms, deelnemerobservasies en geskrewe refleksies, is ervaringe versamel van magsverhouding-onderhandelinge tydens die vestiging van die program. Induktiewe inhoudsanalise is gebruik om die sleuteltemas uit die data te ontwikkel.

Die kwessies wat regdeur die proses van die vestiging van die kunsprogram uitgestaan het, is die temas van 1) ras, 2) ongelikheid en uitsluiting, en 3) die skool as moontlike neutrale terrein. Die tema van ras bring na vore die feit dat kunsonderwys beskou word as 'n statussimbool wat slegs bekostigbaar is vir bevoorregtes en dus geassosieer word met "witheid". In die poging om die komplekse uitdagings rakende ras- en magskwessies wat kunsonderwys in die gesig staar, aan te spreek, word voorgestel dat onderwysers kennis moet dra van die funksionering van die versteekte kurrikulum om onbevooroordeelde waarneming van leerders moontlik te maak. Die tema van ongelikheid en uitsluiting beskryf die belewing van ongemak deur al die deelnemers van die program. Die gevoel van ongemak is herhaaldelik in verband gebring met taal- en leerhindernisse asook beperkte materiële- en menslike hulpbronne. Dit word voorgestel dat dialoog binne die oomblikke van ongemak potensieel begrip kan bewerkstellig vir hoe teenoorgesteldes, soos byvoorbeeld minderbevoorreg en bevoorreg, ineenvleg met klas, ras en mag om die uitspeel daarvan in onderwys te bepaal. Bevindinge rakende die tema van skole as moontlike neutrale gebiede, laat die vraag ontstaan of alle rolspelers betrokke by die kunsprogram: skoolbestuur,

onderwysers en ouers, hul potensieel sal kan losmaak van die simboliese vorms van betekenis van hulle geskiedenis, sosiale konstruksies, sieninge en voorkeure, om dit moontlik te maak om 'n betekenisvolle manier te vind tot sosiale geregtigheid in onderwys.

Die studie bring aan die lig dat die invloed van die versteekte kurrikulum onmiskenbaar sterker is as amptelike beleidsvoorskrifte en dat heersende persepsies van kuns as krities belangrike vak vir leerderontwikkeling, aangespreek moet word. Bevindinge impliseer dat onderwysersopleiding gemik op die toenemende bewusmaking van die versteekte kurrikulum waardevol kan wees in terme van die uitbou van dialoog, konflikhantering en persoonlike transformasie. Verbeterde magsverhoudinge en die vooropstel van gelykheid en inklusiwiteit kan moontlik dien as dryfvere tot 'n meer sosiaal geregtige onderwysstelsel wat uiteindelik leerdersukses kan bevorder.

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CHAPTER 1: ORIENTATION TO THE STUDY

1.1 Introduction to the research

[My vision] is to generate inquiry, imagination, and the creation of art works by diverse people. It has to do so with a sense of the deficiencies in our world and a desire to repair, wherever possible. Justice, equality, freedom - these are as important to us as the arts, and we believe they can infuse each other, perhaps making some difference at a troubled time. (Greene cited in Kasprisin, 2010:2).

After two decades of democracy, the phrase 'a troubled time' accurately describes the current educational reality of South Africa. The National Planning Commission's Diagnostic Overview (2012) found, in addition to the endurance of historical inequality two of the country's most persistent challenges are employment and education. "Too few South Africans work (only 41% of adults are employed) and, in spite of the significant improvement of access to education, the quality of education remains extremely poor" (The National Planning Commission's Diagnostic Overview (2012:7). How can an educational system, and given my position in the field of art education, how can art education in particular, contribute to rear critical citizens who can see the possibilities for change in society – who have the desire to confront and repair the deficiencies of society? For Greene, the conditions for "change" by means of art exist within the realm of the imagination, within "the capacity to look at things as if they could be otherwise" (Greene 1995:140). Similarly the idea of imagination is related to distancing oneself from a set of circumstances or a conditioned norm in order to enter into a changed understanding of observed reality. "Without imagination, the injustice of an exploitive status quo is rendered intractable, and bureaucratic power, in direct contradiction to social justice and democratic rights, represses creativity, fosters dependency and forces consent" (Macrine, 2009:164). Likewise, considering critical pedagogy, imagination is important to the process of critical opposition because it not only put emphasis on undoing and the consideration of critical rethinking of conditions of inequality, but also offers solutions that arise from collaboration and consensus. These ideas lie at the heart of my research endeavour, and how they have particularly come together to structure my work are clarified below.

By definition, the notion of collaboration implies human relations. According to Macrine (2009:164) to be engaged in critical pedagogy means that the complexity of both "human relations and human existence are recognised". At the core of the complexity lies the larger issue of power relations enacted among individuals, groups, and institutions. "Power stands at the heart of all social life" (Swartz, 1997:7) and manifests in "cultural resources, processes, and institutions that lock

individuals and groups into reproducing patterns of domination". Because culture is about communication and interaction, it is also about domination. All spheres of life, the arts, sciences, religion – indeed all symbolic systems, as well as language, shape our understanding of reality, influence communication patterns and furthermore, help to create and uphold social hierarchies (Swartz, 1997:7). "Whether in the form of viewpoints, objects, systems, or institutions: culture embodies power relations" (Swartz, 1997:6).

In striving for valued resources, human struggles are moulded by that which is valued and given meaning to. The process is a struggle of finding ways to achieve interests within the valued fields: in doing so, social hierarchical orders and culture are reproduced by succeeding generations (Swartz, 1997:7). If the underlying interests by which individuals and groups are bound into unequal power relations could be exposed, understanding of the struggle against inequality and oppression may become possible.

Weedon (1987) remarks in this respect that the education system lies at the centre of the apparatus of power. "Schools seem to contribute to inequality in that they are covertly organised to differentially distribute specific kinds of knowledge" (Apple, 1990). Giroux and McLaren (1989:xvii) argue against the view of schools seen as important only for "providing forms of knowledge, skills, social practices and entrepreneurial values necessary to produce a labour force capable of aggressively competing in world markets". They argue that adherence to meritocratic measures for the purpose of promoting equality of opportunity and outcome simply masks schooling's hidden agenda to maintain and reproduce ideological domination of the most powerful economic classes in society. This allows the teaching of a hidden curriculum that sanctifies the way in which the formal curriculum adds to the perpetuation of inequalities of race, class and gender (Apple, 1990). This process successfully bars schools and education from being places which should invite struggles and journeys for the search and imagining of new solutions to the complexities of a current world experience. "Pedagogy should be held ethically and politically accountable to the stories it helps produce, and should also foster an environment where critical imagination and discussion can occur" (Giroux and McLaren, 1989:xvii). Similarly, Macrine (2009:6) states that a critical pedagogy should "invite questioning the status quo in the name of social justice, democratic rights and equality".

In this light, this study describes the establishment of an art education programme in a low-income area and contextualises it within the framework of unequal educational opportunities integral to art education in South Africa.

1.2 Background

The next section will give an overview of the historical background of education in South Africa against which this study was done, as well as briefly contextualise the study within past and current manifestations of art education in South African schools.

1.2.1 Historical context

To contextualise this study historically, I will commence by providing a broad outline of education in South Africa during colonial times in the 1600s. I will then look at education during the apartheid years, and will conclude by considering the effects of history in current, post-apartheid South Africa.

For three and a half centuries, education for white South Africans took place within a bubble of colonial bliss, one which had very little to do with the reality of the new South African people. The majority was subordinated by means of physical and psychological repressive measures, while absolute power was in the hands of the minority (Abdi, 2002:21). This picture of a blissful "bubble" – education for the privileged few white people and "dehumanisation" of the majority of black and coloured people by the invention of imperial colonialists before 1948 and the subsequent apartheid education system – is described by Abdi (2005:25) as "one of the most brutal oppressive political ideologies humanity has invented and achieved in the post-Renaissance era".

The stubborn refusal of colonial ideology to be informed by other than its own belief system is evident in Abdi's citation of Mzamane (2002:31): "Colonial education was always characterised by an ideological imposition that denies the colonised useful knowledge about themselves and their world, while at the same time transmitting a culture that embodies and is designed to consolidate slave mentality".

The consistent and slow breakdown of all aspects of traditional systems for three and a half centuries by colonial imperialism culminated in apartheid (Suzman, cited by Abdi 2002:19). The system of segregated and unequal education instilled by colonialism before 1948 had all the characteristics of the Bantu-education which was to follow in 1953. Before 1948, white schooling was free, compulsory and expanding, while black education was financially neglected and sorely underprovided. Urban influx had led to gravely insufficient schooling facilities, teachers and

educational materials, and student absenteeism or non-enrolment in schools was common (South African History, 2014. Sv. "bantu education policy").

With the taking up of power by the National Party in 1948, the manner in which education became politicised was evident in the many laws and policies which ensured a firm base for the party to entrench and safeguard white power. The Bantu Education Act, Act No 47 became effective in 1953. A Black Education Department in the Department of Native Affairs was realised which would assemble a curriculum that matched the "nature and requirements of the black people" (South African History, 2014. Sv. "bantu education policy"). The author of the legislation, Dr Hendrik Verwoerd (then Minister of Native Affairs, later Prime Minister), stated that Africans should not receive an education that would inspire occupational aspirations for positions in society that they would not be allowed to hold. The focus should instead be on an education that upheld an occupational system designed for delivering a service to the people of their homelands as well as doing labour jobs under white people. Instead Africans were to receive an education designed to provide them with skills to serve their own people in the homelands or to work in labouring jobs under white people. In this way the gap in educational opportunities between white and black was widened even further. The act also eliminated financial aid to religious high schools run and maintained by churches. All, but some Roman Catholic schools, could no longer afford to keep their doors open for black students (South African History, 2014. Sv. "bantu education policy"). The Act ensured that black schools had inferior facilities, teachers and textbooks and by the 1970s the per capita spending on black schools was 1:10 of that spent on white schools.

The Bantu Education Act, Act 47 of 1953, caused the development of two completely separate education systems, one for white and one for black learners. According to Truter, cited in De Wet & Wolhuter (2009:365) this led to two disparate cultures of schooling which operated in a different way from kindergarten to university. Language policy also functioned as two separate systems. For black learners the use of home language as medium of instruction was obligatory up to and including Standard 6 (grade 8). Thereafter the medium of instruction was English and Afrikaans on a 50:50 basis. This language policy¹ elicited much resistance because of a shared view that it would lead to

¹ "The language education policy that eventually came to characterise apartheid schooling reflected the grotesque attempt of the white nationalist leadership to Afrikanerise South Africa, i.e., to replace the dominance and perhaps even the hegemony of English with the dominance of Afrikaans language and culture. Most of the anglophile political and cultural leadership opposed the Bantu Education policy precisely because they understood the hidden curriculum (retribalisation, divide-and-rule tactics) but also because they had, as indicated earlier, come to equate all worthwhile education with the English language. The fact that a blatantly inferior and humiliating curriculum was being mediated through the indigenous

the economic and educational disempowerment of black people. Desai (cited in De Wet and Wolhuter, 2009:365), stated that "the use of African languages ... was often perceived as an attempt to ghettoize African learners and deny them access to the mainstream of South African life". Furthermore, the policy serves as a ceiling which hampered development opportunities because black learners were expected to acquire academic skills in two "foreign" languages (Chick cited in De Wet and Wolhuter, 2009:365). That home-language as medium of instruction would ultimately lead to disadvantage, social and political isolation, and to disempowerment led to the phenomenon of most South African learners' preference of English as medium of instruction (De Wet and Wolhuter, 2009:359).

In post-apartheid South Africa, the current sentiment is that government has let down the deprived youth who were victims of the apartheid education system. This is evident in the recent surge of higher education student protest against fee increases for 2016 which led to the shutdown of all institutions for a week:

Twenty one years into the democratic dispensation we face the consequences of incomplete transformation of the economy. One of the major aspects, which still remain inveterate, is higher education; a public good which has callously been commoditised leaving many excluded from enjoying the benefits of democracy. The recent surge in higher education exposes cavernous contradictions in not just an ailing education system but a non-existent correlation between the private sector and the overall developmental agenda of government. These are some of the glaring ramifications of fiscal conservatism policies of the mid 1990's which encouraged privatisation and outsourcing, now coming back to haunt us (Ndima, 2015)

Economic and class system issues can be linked to the prevailing challenges of a dysfunctional educational system and the perpetuation of a status quo favouring a privileged few and a mass poor with the implication that education is practised as 'business as usual'. Saunders cited by Abdi (2002:140) reflects on the current state of affairs by referring to the upcoming black middle class who sees private education as the solution for education problems. Smith, cited by Abdi (2002:114), foresees that "South Africa will steadily come more closely to resemble a normal capitalist society; its inherited racial inequalities interpenetrated by class, an underclass detached from consumption norms and increasingly alienated urban elements within the underclass which may become violently rebellious and vigorously repressed".

languages of the people constituted a mountainous dilemma for those whose first language was a Bantu language" (Alexander, 2003:14).

The prevailing problem, as Abdi (2002:140) has foreseen, is one of "the potential of class formations and group interests gradually overriding the significance of race in educational attainment and economic relationships." Soudien cited by Abdi (2002:140) refers to the growing number of youth who "take their identity not [necessarily] from being African, but decidedly from their middle class privilege". Abdi states that the identity of the black youth of South Africa has changed dramatically, and that learners from diverse backgrounds, different situations and divergent social packages flavour the face of South African education (2002:141). In light of this Saunders (cited by Abdi, 2002:140) states that it may be necessary to reconsider the educational needs and expectations that has up to now existed as a collective voice for antiracism and improvement in life. Education asks for a new and up to now unknown, approach that has at heart the "crucial process of all children developing a sense of fully identifying with the education system" (Abdi, 2002:141). The current state of inequality of educational opportunities is a central issue and lies at the core of the context of this study.

1.2.2 Context of the study

In this section the specific field of art education is explored within the framework of South African education. The visible inequality with regard to art education practise in schools is considered against the background of policy and curriculum statements. Possible strategies to address the discrepancy between policy and practice are reflected on, which led to the research focus of the study.

The National Curriculum Statement, referred to as the Curriculum and Assessment Policy (CAPS) (DoE, 2011), incorporated art education into the life skills learning area for grades 4-6² (see Appendix J for more information on CAPS). According to CAPS (DoE, 2011:9):

[A]rt education (called Creative Arts) provides exposure to and study of a range of art forms including dance, music, and visual arts. The purpose of Creative Arts is to develop learners as creative, imaginative individuals... Creative Arts education, when successfully applied, has been proven to improve literacy and to reduce education dropout levels... Opportunities are provided for social, emotional and intellectual development, and through non-verbal expression and the process of creating art, the learner comes to understand symbolic language. Visual Arts in the intermediate phase provides the learner with the opportunity to explore and to make decisions about the choice of this discipline in the senior phase.

² Because the study is conducted mostly with grade 4 learners and teachers, the applicable CAPS (intermediate phase, grade 4-6) is referenced in this study.

Although the importance of art education for learners are clearly indicated in the above curriculum statement, there is a discrepancy between what realises as lived experience by learners with regard to art education and what is promoted by the curriculum. In this regard, research (Artists-in-schools-programme, 2011) on art education revealed that the way art education is shift[ed] to the periphery, brings educational inequality in South Africa into clear focus. Likewise Lochner (2011:136) stated that art is perceived as an "elitist practice" that tends to alienate many people. This brought into focus that art has become interlinked to notions of race, class, and economic status, all of which mark the divide between educational 'haves' and 'have nots'. The aspect of privilege and disadvantage is further explained by Swartz (1997:287) in the argument that cultural socialisation in families and schools shape attitudes and behaviour toward the arts which in turn is seen in the way these social-background effects are translated into unequal school performance and subsequent career opportunities. Giroux (cited in Cooper and White, 2007:79) argues that teachers should take up a critical and moral pedagogy that explores how socialisation patterns are shaped by the relationship between power, knowledge and ideology. He states further that critical pedagogy should address and unpack how education processes have wider implications for the shaping of public memory and national identity and calls in this regard for a "wider public responsibility on and active participation in addressing political and social issues that maintains inequality in education".

Many principals, teachers and parents perceive art education as not being vital to the education process. Eisner (2002:xi) maintains that "privilege of place is generally assigned to other subject areas". The arts are regarded as "nice but not necessary" (2002:xi). The emphasis on maths and science, brought about by amendments to the educational practices of apartheid, has caused many schools to concentrate on the development of mathematical and scientific abilities. This preference could also be caused by a deeply ingrained lack of interest in the benefits of the arts as an educational and occupational requirement. In this regard Van Graan (cited in Lochner, 2011:137) refers to how the "non-prioritisation of culture and the arts in development" is perpetuated. He refers to the majority South Africans who experience a lack of artistic skills and resources and relates it to the ensuing difficulty of maintaining and finding identity, making meaning of lived experiences as well as finding difficulty in articulating aspirations, fears and ideas. He states that if development is designed to overcome the historical disadvantages of colonialism and apartheid, then it should be rooted in a philosophy where human beings are seen as equals and observed in a holistic way rather than seen as self-serving and in quest only of economic or political benefits.

"It is generally agreed that without the arts we run the risk of becoming a nation of houses and taps only" (Hagg cited in Lochner, 2011:136). This statement recognises the exposure to and development of aesthetics and is affirmed by the South African White Paper on Arts, Culture and Heritage (1996), according to which the arts have a "vital role to play in development, nation building, and sustaining our emerging democracy" (Lochner, 2011:136). In the White Paper on Arts, Culture and Heritage (1996), it is claimed that: "The Ministry will actively promote the Constitutional right of every learner in the General Education and Training phase to access equitable, appropriate life-long education and training in the arts, culture and heritage to develop individual talents and skills through the transformation of arts education within the formal school system and the development and extension of community based arts education structures." The revised version (2013) further asserts: "Access to all, participation in, and enjoyment of the arts; cultural expression; and the preservation of one's heritage are basic important human rights." Similarly, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (Malik & Bogomolov, 2011) recognises Arts, Culture and Heritage as a right in Article 27: "Everyone shall have the right to freely participate in the cultural life of the community (and) to enjoy the arts ...".

Despite this assurance and ways in which official policies, education curricula and statements confirm equal and just access and involvement in all areas of education, the realisation thereof at root level remains an unfulfilled dream. "Education in South African township schools are seriously lacking in any form of art education. This being the case, how can we expect individuals from low-income areas to be able to enjoy the above mentioned rights as proposed by the White Paper on Arts, Culture and Heritage" (Lochner, 2011:136)? In the official statement of the government-driven Artists-in-schools-project, the following statements are made: "In South Africa art education has been pushed to the periphery," and "[t]here is a lack of quality arts and culture educators and comprehensive education with very little investment in human resources with regard to arts and culture learning areas in the majority of the public schools in the country" (Artists-in-schools-programme, 2011).

The idea of establishing an art education programme in a primary school in Delft started with the commencement of my teaching term at a governmental Western Cape Education Department (WCED) art centre. The art centres were initiated by the WCED to provide learners with the opportunity to be exposed to visual arts and design – informally at primary school level and formally as subjects in the Further Education and Training (FET) phase, if visual arts and design were not

presented by their school of attendance as a choice subject. To a certain extent, art centres can be seen as ideally situated to provide relief to the problem of the negligence of art education.

However, despite the fact that art centres are WCED institutions and function within the same governmental and institutional framework as all governmental schools, engaging in programmes across cultural, class and economic barriers proves to be challenging. The core questions that shaped and lead to the final research question were: How and why is the neglect of art education 'sanctioned' within the framework of schools and government, despite curriculum statements' promotion thereof? And how and why is there a seeming buy-in by parents and communities in this neglect? In this regard, Gore (1995:166) contends that the "apparent continuity in pedagogical practice, across sites and over time, has to do with subtle, but pervasive, exercises of power relations in educational institutions and processes that remain untouched by the majority of curriculum and other reforms". In the light of a more socially just education system which offers equal opportunity to all learners, how to address the seeming lack of interest in art education and how to unpack the reasons behind the phenomenon of the disregard of art education, provided a map in my quest for locating the research question, as discussed in the next section, for the study.

1.2.3 Research questions, study aims and objectives

Against the backdrop sketched in the previous sections, the primary research question of this study is formulated as follows:

How have power relations been negotiated in the establishment of an art education programme in a primary school in Delft, Western Cape?

The aim of the study is to gain insight into the power relations that played out during the implementation of the art education programme and to inform development of that programme.

The objectives of the study were:

- (1) To gain nuanced insight into the variety of power relations at play in the implementation of the art education programme.
- (2) To gain insight into these power relations' relation to one another.

1.3 Overview of the research methodology

For the purpose of this research, an interpretive research approach was followed and a case study design was used in order to respond to the primary research question mentioned above.

The research design is based on an interpretive approach. Interpretation is, by definition, personal and prone to subjectivity: "Knowing full well that no one can ever really fully understand the depths of one's own prejudices, opinions, and frames of mind the researcher could only by questioning (the) own assumptions, come to an understanding relative to the quality of qualitative research" (Cooper & White, 2007:7).

The research sample consisted of some of the learners, parents, teachers, collaborators and volunteers involved in the establishment of the art education programme at a primary school in Delft. The main data source consisted of semi-structured interviews conducted with the principal, deputy, teachers and parents, and was supplemented by feedback forms completed by learners and parents, as well as participant observations and written reflections. An inductive content analysis was used to analyse the data. A more detailed explanation of the research methodology is given in Chapter 3.

1.4 Structure of the thesis

ORIENTATION TO THE STUDY: Chapter 1 serves as an orientation to the study. It provides background information, the research question, an overview of the research methodology and introduces issues relevant to this study.

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES: Chapter 2 offers social science theories as a lens to the study and commences with a theoretical framework on power and power relations derived from Michael Foucault. Secondly, power relations are investigated against the backdrop of Pierre Bourdieu's framework of cultural reproduction. Thirdly, theories on hidden curricula, as explained by Michael Apple, are considered. This is followed by a discussion of social justice in education.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY: Chapter 3 elaborates on the research methodology introduced in section 1.3 above.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION OF THE EMPIRICAL INVESTIGATIONS: Chapter 4 presents the data that were collected in this research. Specific themes emerged from the data and these are presented, along with accompanying discussion.

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS: Chapter 5 closes the study with conclusions regarding the question posed by the study and provides possible implications for further development of the art education programme.

CHAPTER 2: THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

2.1 Introduction

The perspectives that are explored in this study include the notion of power relations as theorised by Michel Foucault, aspects of hidden curricula by Michael Apple, and Pierre Bourdieu's theories on cultural reproduction. These theoretical perspectives are explored against the background of social justice in education in South Africa.

An investigation will firstly be made of power relations and the way in which they provide the grounding for the second aspect, cultural reproduction, to occur. Driven by perceptions of race, class, ethnicity and gender, power relations are also at the root of the way the third aspect, hidden curricula, permeates all formal school activities through socialisation processes.

2.2 Power and power relations

Foucault describes power not just as a kind of mechanism which implies certain persons' exercise of power over others, but refers to power rather as "manifold forms of domination that can be exercised within society, and which is in constant flux and negotiation" (cited in Gordon, 1980: 96). Foucault uses the term "power/knowledge" (cited in Gordon, 1980:93) to indicate that power is shaped through known systems of knowledge, scientific understanding and "truth". These concepts of "truths" are reinforced through the education system, the media and through the continuous change of political and economic beliefs. Power becomes a "battle" (cited in Gordon, 1980:91 for the status of truth, as well as the carrying out of its economic and political roles. Bourdieu (1986:471) also refers to power relations as a social order that has increasingly been ingrained in people's minds' through "cultural products" as well as systems of education, language, judgements, values, systems of classification and events of ordinary life. Power is ambiguous and evasive and can only become recognisable through human bodies and actions. Foucault refers to the "manifold relations of power which permeate, characterise and constitute the social body" (cited in Gordon, 1980:93).

Power relations in their simplest form deal with how individuals or groups are able to interact with and control or tolerate other individuals or groups. According to Foucault (cited in Gordon, 1980), all human relationships imply power, whether they involve personal, official, or commercial relationships. Power always exist in relations and occurs at diverse levels and in a variety of forms.

Power relations are mobile, reversible, and unstable and gain their significance only in enactment between oppositional forces. Anything that sets two things apart can be discussed in terms of power relations. Main issues noticeable in the manner in which people negotiate power in relationships are those which revolve around gender, race, finances, class and culture.

All cultural, historical, economical, ethnological and class differences become potential disputes to be negotiated in relations between people. This means that power should not only be seen in negative terms as a means to "exclude", "repress", "censor", "mask", or "conceal", but as a means to produce – in fact all individual and societal understandings or knowledges of reality and concepts of truths are produced by power (Foucault cited in Rabinow 1991:205).

Foucault further states that power in itself is nothing – it is the effects of power that grant it its influence (cited in Gordon, 1980:93). Similarly, Paechter (2004:468), referring to Allen, argues that power is inextricably linked to its effects. For example, power should not be confused with resources – resources are only the vehicle by which power is transferred. There are only assets, resources, aptitudes and skills of varying kinds. These could be an array of amounts of money, property, land and goods to those that are less measurable, such as status and influence of some kind, which may be positioned and used to generate what we would identify as power (Paechter, 2004:468). According to Foucault (cited in Bălan n.d.:1):

Power should not be viewed as the plain oppression of the powerless by the powerful, but as a strategy which utilises resistance and production as co-existing factors, because it has positive effects such as the individual's self-making, and because, as a condition of possibility for any relation, it is everywhere, being found in any type of relation between the members of society.

Arguing for the conceptualisation of power as a positive generative concept, Hanna Pitkin (1972) notes that power is linked grammatically to the French word *pouvoir* and the Latin *potere*, both of which mean "to be able". "That suggests," she writes, "that power is a something — anything — which makes or renders somebody able to do, capable of doing something; power is capacity, potential, ability, or resources" (Pitkin, 1972:276). Accordingly, Hannah Arendt describes power as "the human ability not just to act but to act in concert" (1970:44).

This view of power as a constructive force for creation links to the social behaviour perspective from which Boulding (1989:10) conceptualises three types of power based on the consequences of the exercise of power: destructive, productive and integrative power. Each type of power has negative

and positive uses and, although all three types of power feature to some degree in all social activities, it is integrative power that can be used to unite people. Within the exercise of integrative power, relationships such as loyalty, respect, friendship and legitimacy³ among members become possible. Integrative power is the most prevailing and important form of power, in the sense that neither destructive power nor productive power could achieve much without the aspect of legitimacy provided by integrative power. Without legitimacy, both destructive and productive powers are "naked" (Boulding, 1989:10).

In reference to a specific community in South Africa, Hulme (2012) describes how power relations which are ruled by strategies of power and which have as their purpose the suppression, classification and control of people, ultimately leads to marginalisation of people. A key point in engagement in community activities is an awareness of these strategies of power and their objectives. How to question and unpack the kinds of power that are seen as "objective truths" – but which have been shaped by specific social discourses and which have caused society to organise itself into oppositions – lies at the core of addressing social inequalities. Moreover, how these power relations are organised and preserved to allow the exercise of control of some people by others, should be critically considered (Hulme, 2012). To challenge power is not a matter of pursuing some "absolute truth" (which is always a socially created power), but of "detaching the power of truth from the forms of hegemony – social, economic, and cultural – within which it operates at the present time" (Foucault cited in Rabinow, 1984:75).

According to Weedon (1987:164), the educational system is central to the way power structures operate in society and as such allows for the investment in values, modes and preferences of the dominant social group. This causes imbalance in power relations and are on all levels among the factors that underpin inequality. To address inequality is first to ask how social power is implemented and how social relations of gender, class, and race are shaped and perpetuated and "where we might look for weak points more open to challenge and transformation" (Weedon, 1987:132).

A key point about Foucault's approach to power is that it sees power as an "everyday, socialised and embodied phenomenon" (cited in Gordon, 1980:93). Foucault points to the numerous ways in which customs, norms and ideas can be so entrenched as to be outside our perception – causing us to stay

³ "Legitimacy of a rule or a decision signifies the fact that people reckon the decision as fruitful and in the welfare of the society" (Boulding, 1989:10).

within the controlled margins without any intentional intimidation from others (Gordon, 1980). This is mainly done by the socialisation processes that pervade all social bodies. Weedon (1987) observes that how we live our lives and give meaning to our various social relations is both fostered and constrained by our access and understanding of how our world is organised and maintained by social institutions and processes: "...power relations structure all areas of life, the family, education and welfare, the worlds of work and politics, culture and leisure. They determine who does what and for whom, what we are and what we might become" (Weedon, 1987:35). In this way, power relations are at the core of the way cultural ideologies and practices are reproduced.

2.2.1 Cultural reproduction

What we assign power to, the symbols, meaning and actions that form the basis of everyday life, are what will be reproduced by future generations. Cultural reproduction refers to a system where norms, values, meanings, symbols and activities are transferred from one generation to the other within a specific social body. Although there is disagreement (Gartman, 1991:422) on the value of Bourdieu's theory on cultural reproduction, it provides a model to explain how educational systems seem to play a vital role in the perpetuation of stratification and inequality in society (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977:ix-xi). Culture⁴ applied to reproduction, is the process by which structures of culture are passed on from one generation to the other. Nash (1990:50) labels the power of socialisation as an "internalised set of master patterns that structure perception and action". Bourdieu's position on socialisation is stated in this passage from *Distinction* (1986:468):

The cognitive structures which social agents implement in their practical knowledge of the social world are internalised, 'embodied' social structures. The practical knowledge of the social world that is presupposed by 'reasonable' behaviour within it implements classificatory schemes (or 'forms of classification', 'mental structures' or 'symbolic forms' – apart from their connotations, these expressions are virtually interchangeable) and historical schemes of perception and appreciation which are the product of the objective division into classes (age groups, genders, social classes) and which function below the level of consciousness and discourse. Being the incorporation of the fundamental structures of society, these principles of division are common to all agents of the society and make possible the production of a common, meaningful world, a common-sense world.

⁴ Culture is defined as "a historically transmitted pattern of meanings embodied in symbols, a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms by means of which humans communicate, perpetuate, and develop their knowledge about and attitudes toward life" (Geertz, 1973:89). According to Parsons (*Boundless Sociology*, 2014) the key processes for system reproduction are socialisation and social control.

The invention of a common-sense, meaningful world becomes the foundation from which cultural reproduction functions (Nash, 1990:46). This is a complex system of socialisation in which parents transmit cultural capital to their offspring, children use their accomplished cultural capital in the educational system and, as a result, families who own cultural capital have a comparative benefit assisting them to replicate their advantaged socioeconomic position (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977:167). Attempts to preserve this advantage become the main factors which are conducive to the maintenance of power of the dominant group. This explains why cultural reproduction often results in social reproduction (the process of transmitting societal features), such as class, from one generation to the other. Gartman (1991:425) maintains that, according to Bourdieu and Passeron, the value society gives to each of these distinctive class cultures is strictly prescribed by power. The dominant class is capable of imposing its life-style as the ruling standard by subtle enforcement or "symbolic violence"⁵ (Grenfell, 2008:183). This cultural ruling order permeates society, and consequently the school system. Society is overseen by a small, elite group who makes choices based on the needs and desires of the dominant group, and not necessarily what will benefit society as a whole. Furthermore, this arbitrary "act of violence" (Gartman, 1991:425) is hidden from view and thus accepted by the victims themselves. Consequently, groups in possession of the dominant culture have the power which is constantly legitimated and replicated. Blind adherence to these hegemonic structures is "normalised"⁶ by a cover-up of individual cultural worthiness or giftedness, behind the "ideology of charisma" (Gartman (1991:425). This class struggle signifies the interconnectedness between class, status, economic capital and social life and it explains why inequalities in educational and socioeconomic outcomes persist over generations (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977:167).

Apple (1990:32) explains how Bourdieu links cultural rules, what he calls the "habitus", with economic and cultural control and distribution:

Bourdieu focuses on the student's ability to cope with what might be called 'middle class culture.' He argues that the cultural capital stored in schools acts as an effective filtering device in the production of a hierarchical society. For example, schools partly recreate the social and economic hierarchies of the larger society through what is seemingly a neutral process of selection and instruction. They take the cultural capital, the 'habitus' of the middle

⁵ "Symbolic violence" is a phrase coined by Bourdieu to explain forms of social status classification that deals with aspects such as gender and class. The status classifications are legitimised through systems of power and find expression in various forms of domination and submission (Grenfell 2008:183).

⁶ Foucault used the term "normalisation" to explain how discipline is exercised in society by the imposition of precise norms. By means of the process of "normalisation" a clear distinction can be made between what is "normal" and what is "abnormal". National standards for educational programmes are such a pervasive example of "normalisation" (Stanford Encyclopaedia of Philosophy, 2014. Sv. "Foucault, discipline and punishment").

class, as natural and employ it as if all children have had equal access to it. However, 'by taking all children as equal while implicitly favouring those who have already acquired the linguistic and social competencies to handle middle-class culture, schools take as natural what is essentially a social gift, i.e. 'cultural capital' (Dale, cited by Apple). Just as our dominant economic institutions are structured so that those who inherit or already have economic capital do better, so too does cultural capital act in the same way. Cultural capital ('good taste', certain kinds of prior knowledge, abilities and language forms) is unequally distributed throughout society and this is dependent in large part on the division of labour and power in that society.

Schooling, both via formal and hidden curricula, is used as a mechanistic and socialising filter to process knowledge and people. For example, different sentiments are taught to the diverse school groups, influenced by social indicators such as class, gender and race, which could lead to the legitimization of the limited roles certain populations ultimately fill in society (Apple 1990:32).

Bourdieu uses the notion of capital, habitus and field to explain class-based, cultural reproduction and the consequent phenomenon of ongoing social inequalities. In Bourdieu's view individuals are neither the product of their own free choices nor what society shapes them to be, but are formed by a multi-dimensional social space that consists of an individual interpretive schema, availability of resources, age, gender and educational status. "Capital" (Asimaki & Koustourakis, 2014:124) refers to the variety of resources an individual can access. It comprises of economic resources, but also capital in the shape of cultural resources which entails an individual's credentials and knowledge, social capital in the form of social confidence and connections, and symbolic capital which refers to honour and status in society. The relative value of a resource will depend on the type of social domain or "field" the individual interacts with or functions within (Asimaki & Koustourakis, 2014:124). A field, according to Bourdieu, is a social arena, for example the field of economics or education, in which individuals manoeuvre: it has an affirmed-by-all structure of need and significance and is generally referred to as groups or social classes (Asimaki & Koustourakis, 2014:123). "Habitus", or socialised norms and tendencies, refer to the quantity and structure of an individual's capital within the social field (Asimaki & Koustourakis 2014:125). "Habitus" is further described as an embodied inner scope and as a set of sentiments, that guides the way in how we act, feel, think and talk. Bourdieu (cited in Asimaki & Koustourakis, 2014:126). insists on the view that the perceptions which we obtain during childhood in the field of the family, and which "implant" a major habitus in us, are "longer lasting" and more decisive. "Consequently it becomes clear that individuals tend to maintain and perpetuate the dispositions acquired through their socialisation" (Asimaki & Koustourakis, 2014:126).

Grenfell (2008:96) notes that an important aspect to "reproduction" for Bourdieu is the legitimacy, prestige and value (symbolic capital) that the education system confers upon the culture of the middle class. The educated are influential in promotion of the sanctioned legitimacy of their (educated) culture and they use their power to uphold its legitimacy. Middle class culture is seen as cultural capital. This aspect of reproduction connects with Bourdieu's notion of "distinction" (Grenfell, 2008:96), which is defined by him as the occurrence of groups and individuals in social space to cultivate cultural uniqueness which mark them from one another – they have distinct cultures (distinctions). These variances can become a symbolic struggle in that "members of those clusters seek to establish both the superiority of their peculiarities and an official sanction for them" (Grenfell, 2008:96). This struggle then becomes an aspect of class struggle. To have control over the knowledge that is esteemed, endorsed and rewarded within the education system is one aspect of this struggle. Categorising cultural differences into "higher" and "lower" (Grenfell, 2008:96) allows in the end for inequality between groups. These differences and inequalities between clusters appear natural and thus both inevitable and just and, according to Bourdieu (cited in Grenfell, 2008:96), generate the paradox that some individuals and social clusters appear "naturally more cultured" than others. Class struggle could be explained by the perpetuation of "high-ranking occupational groups reproducing their advantage across time by securing access to similarly high-ranking occupations for their children" (Grenfell, 2008:96), effectively narrowing access for children from "lower" (Grenfell 2008:95) backgrounds. The production of class structures therefore includes "closure of ranks" (Grenfell, 2008:96) and minimal social mobility.

Inequality in education is perpetuated by schools and teachers who, in enacting the dominant hegemonic ideologies, become central agents to these social exclusion processes and reproduction – by means of the system that rewards the cultural capital of the leading class, who owns such capital, and punishes and rejects others not in possession thereof (Apple 1990:25).

According to Michael Apple (1990:23), the dominant societal structures of collectivity, power and control, allow legitimation of social and cultural reproduction of class, racial, and gender relations through the mechanism of hidden curricula which covertly sustain the ideological configurations and link school life to the wider public arena. This is the focus of the next section.

2.2.2 Hidden curricula

Contemporary literature on schooling suggests that the production of educational programs reveals two types of curricula. The first type is the formal and official programme, designed by educational authorities with detailed description of educational content, objectives and activities. In the second type, the hidden curricula, essentials are not clearly laid out, but are taught 'covertly' via social interactions that deal with attitudes, principles and behaviours. Barnett and Coate (2008) refer to a hidden curricula or a curriculum within a curriculum, where what is said on paper and in policy documents does not always correspond with what is happening in actual educational interactions. Kentli (2009) refers to Henry Giroux whose views on a hidden curriculum as opposed to the formal curriculum in schools explains how dominant perceptions can 'covertly' be imposed by means of implicit norms, values, and beliefs rooted in and conveyed to students through unspoken rules that arrange the customs and social relationships of the educational landscape. "What is being taught in schools" and "how learning takes place" are crucial questions to ask in identifying the hidden curricula (Giroux cited in Palmer, 2001). Why do we become willing participants (and instigators) of these ideologies that allow for 'schizophrenic' behaviour by means of systems of classification, discipline, praise and punishment which is central to the educational system and which are intentionally used for the betterment, improvement or motivation of learners? Contrary to the intention; the effect is the legitimization of social position and inequality. For example, those who fail at school assume that that they are not "brainy" and therefore do not "deserve good jobs and life chances" (Trainer, 2012:1). This helps to make inequality in society seem inevitable and legitimate (Trainer 2012:1).

To Apple (1990:22) the concept of hegemony is the most helpful way to explain the complex characteristics, scope and functions of ideological structures which can, at the same time, be helpful in organising our everyday life and can make us believe that we are neutral participators in the system. Hegemony implies that fundamental patterns in society are held together by unspoken assumptions or rules, economic control and power. It suggests a web of conventions that, when internalised by students, becomes legitimate knowledge and grows into the norm (Apple, 1990:87). The point is that these assumptions are obligatory because they are at no time articulated or questioned. The very fact that they are unspoken, that they "exist not at the roof, but the root of our brains, enlarges their potency as aspects of hegemony (Apple, 1990:87)." Apple cites Dreeben (1990:87) in the argument that students learn definite recognisable social norms mostly by managing the day to day happenings and tasks of school life. The fact that students' cultured norms

permeate many areas of later life is critical, since it helps document how schooling is devoted to individual regulation for the benefit of an ongoing social, economic, and political order (Apple, 1990:87). Hegemony acts as the vehicle through which subtle connections which exist between educational activity and particular economic and socio-political interests become normalised.

"Schools are seen as connected to a marketplace; especially to the global capitalist market and the labour needs and processes of such a market" (Apple, 2004:174). Apple (1990:20) refers to the hidden teaching of an achievement and marketplace ethic:

Differential power intrudes into the very heart of curriculum, teaching and evaluation. What counts as knowledge, the ways in which it is organised, who is empowered to teach it, what counts as an appropriate display of having learned it, are part of how dominance and subordination are reproduced and altered in this society.

Disciplines (subjects) are either highly "commodified" (Apple, 1990:37) by the system or tolerated as a fringe activity in the curriculum. Disciplines on which the capitalist system feeds are those disciplines that are kept in favour by the hidden curricula. It seems that the knowledge assumed to be most prominent, could be linked to economic reproduction (Apple, 1990:35). Disciplines in the arts and humanities which focus on producing critical and confrontational, imaginative and progressive human capital are not necessarily favoured by the system. According to Apple (1990:37), "the relationship between economic structure and high status knowledge might also explain some of the large disparities we see in levels of funding for curricular innovations in technical areas and, say, the arts". The neo-Marxist approach⁷ (Apple, 2004:21) states that the dominant classes and forces in society effect education through hidden curricula. According to this approach, "schools help perpetuate an unjust social order through conveying beliefs, values, and norms that are effective in political, social, and economic life" (Apple, 2004:21).

How does the inattention to art education link to the way the hidden curricula correspond to the ideological needs of capital (Giese and Apple, 2006) and, what is (covertly?) perceived as essential disciplines (subjects) for learners to prepare them to cope with the economic system of capitalism, and how do these perceptions relate to art education?

⁷ The neo-Marxist ideology states that "changes and amendments need to be made to the classical Marxist theory in order to make it relevant and useful to the current times. This approach combines Marxist ideologies with free-market and other capitalist ideologies" (Farahmandpur, 2004).

Education is deeply indicated in the politics of cultural reproduction. It is impossible for a curriculum to simply be an unbiased accumulation of knowledge. It always derives from convention or it is indicative of a selection of someone, or a group's idea of appropriate knowledge. It is created out of the cultural, political, and economic conflicts, tensions, and negotiations that categorise some, whilst confusing others (Apple, 1990:viii). "The choice to delineate some groups' knowledge as the most meaningful and official knowledge, while other groups' knowledge hardly sees the light of day, says something extremely important about who has power in society" (Apple, 1990:viii). Although the official curriculum and policies promote and expect creative and imaginative development of learners through art related activities, the disregard of art in many schools open up questions as to why art activities are allowed to be neglected. Over and above the obvious lack of resources, what are the barriers and perceptions guiding the disregard of art education by school authorities, school management, teachers and parents? In this respect, the theories of Henri Giroux (in Palmer, 2001:280) become critical – focus on critical pedagogy, teachers as transformative intellectuals, the promotion of human dignity and the reduction of oppression in various forms. He warns against schools as sites that simply perpetuate cultural reproduction. For Giroux, a "language of possibility" is the vehicle through which teachers should act as "transformative intellectuals" to raise students' awareness of contested issues (Palmer, 2001:280). In this way, prevailing beliefs, norms and attitudes could be challenged and transformed into new paradigms of development and transformation (Palmer, 2001:281).

The challenge of systemic educational inequalities lies at the core of unpacking the influence of hidden curricula:

Not all pupils achieve the same levels of success within our school system. Too often and for too long, this discrepancy has been largely based upon an individual's background in terms of ethnicity, gender and social class. Should we continue to place the emphasis of change upon the pupil or consider ways in which the system can reflect the culture and background of all pupils more effectively? (Mufti & Peace, 2012:132).

The reproduction of these systemic inequalities lies at the heart of social injustice in education.

2.3 Social justice

In this section, social justice in education is interpreted through the lens of the critical theorist, Nancy Fraser, who proposes an integrative approach to the challenge of meeting economic and cultural demands for social justice. The theories of Paulo Freire on dialogue, praxis and

conscientisation are further discussed as a means of overcoming systemic and internalised educational injustices. The final section interprets race through the lens of Critical Race Theory (CRT) and deals with race and the theories on whiteness and colour-blindness as constructs that present themselves as obstacles to social justice.

2.3.1 Social justice in education

Social justice is described by Bell (2007:1) as simultaneously a process and a goal which implies that all groups fully and equally partake in a society. Social justice envisages individuals being "both self-deterministic (able to develop their full capacities) and interdependent (capable of interacting democratically with others" (Bell, 2007:1). How we function in a society relies on how our actions are shaped by our histories, ideologies and other aspects of the human condition. In South Africa, where apartheid was the central influence in shaping the social, economic and political landscape, education was, after 1994, seen as key to a transformed community. The Department of Education (DoE, 2001) stated this vision as follows: "Education had to play a role to overcome the devastation of apartheid, and provide a system of education that builds democracy, human dignity, equality and social justice".

Contemplating social justice in an educational environment in South Africa confronts us with the everyday reality of societies where conditions of injustice and subtle oppression, sustained by complex power relations, have become the norm. Social conditions of poverty, class, gender and race biases, spatial challenges and unequal educational opportunities are reflected in a very real way in the classroom for the majority of South African learners. As a classroom in South Africa could consist of learners from many different social identity groups, the main constituent of social justice practice will be underpinned by an awareness of the challenges and possibilities brought about by both this identity variety and differences between groups.

According to Apple (1990:11), it has become critical to query the relationship between cultural capital and economic and social control and to analyse which social and economic groups and classes seem to be helped by the way the institutions in our society are organised, and which groups are not. Inquiry of this kind takes into consideration the whole spectrum of values and actions informing the school institution (1990:11). It requires open articulation which commits consciously to a societal mandate that has at its core not the accrual of possessions, profits, and credentials, but the maximisation of economic, social, and educational equality.

All this centres upon a theory of social justice (McLaren, 1998:260). How do we go about addressing these current conditions that have their roots in a history designed by patterns of oppression? Bell (2007:3) argues that an understanding of the pervasive, restrictive, hierarchical and complex nature of oppression will help us "learn from the past and meet current conditions in more effective and imaginative ways". What are possible ways of understanding this complex nature of oppression, which takes, both historically and currently, many overt and covert forms? And what are possible ways of meeting with the challenges it proposes? According to Freire (1970:153), "[a]ll domination involves invasion—at times physical and overt, at times camouflaged, with the invader assuming the role of a helping friend. Invasion is a form of economic and cultural domination".

Referring to these two forms of domination, economic and cultural, the critical theorist, Nancy Fraser (cited in Bozalek, 2012), asserts that claims for social justice should today not only be observed from a cultural and economic perspective, but should include a view of the effect of globalisation. This three dimensional view includes the social justice claims of redistribution, recognition and representation. Firstly, redistribution implies that with regard to current economic injustices, a more just dispersal of resources and goods should be looked for. Examples include claims for redistribution from the opulent to the deprived and from possessors to employees. A second kind of social justice claim is the call for recognition. The goal is here a world where difference is embraced -- a world where integration or interaction with the majority and with the main cultural norms, presuppose equal respect. Examples include claims for the recognition of distinctive cultural, racial, and sexual viewpoints. Fraser (cited in Bozalek, 2012), further refers to a social order of status inequality or misrecognition in which people are prevented from interacting as peers by institutionalised hierarchical orders of cultural worth that deny them equal social standing (Fraser cited in Bozalek, 2012). The third aspect, representation, takes the impact of globalisation on national states into consideration: nationality and the national state can no longer be taken for granted in the age of globalisation. We should, according to Fraser (cited in Bozalek, 2012), consider issues of justice, within an approach that takes into account that our lives are also controlled by transnational corporations and international currency, as well as by International Non-Governmental Organisations (INGOs) and the global mass media and internet. This third aspect calls for a reconsideration of who should be included in distribution and recognition. All three dimensions are reciprocally entangled and will effect and support one another, but none is reducible to the other. Efforts to work towards social justice must thus involve all three of these dimensions. Fraser (cited in

Bozalek, 2012) uses the slogan "No redistribution or recognition without representation" —all three conditions are necessary for a social justice agenda.

Fraser notes that although these perspectives allow for political reflection and critical theorisation, which could help to clarify and illuminate the complexity of challenges facing the endeavour for social justice, it is only within the political struggle, informed by a fruitful relation with theories, that one could hope for change (Bozalek, 2012). Similarly, Freire (1970:34) regards education as a space for political struggle. He considers all pedagogical acts as political acts which should be a "means by which men and women deal critically and creatively with reality and discover how to participate in the transformation of their world". To Freire (1970:178), this participation is a mutual process. He defines this process as praxis which consists of action followed by reflection on the actions. Praxis is defined by pain and hope and is a process in which "knowledge is derived from the interactive process of mediation and dialogue". Freire believes in conscientisation (critical consciousness) which suggests that revealing the socially constructed origins of experienced reality, and understanding its inherent contradictions and traits of inhumanity, is what makes it possible to imagine its transformation. This practice entails reflection on and a distancing from the observed reality through the process of dialogue (Morrow & Torres, 2002:46). By this means, knowledge emerges through constant innovation and renewal, through the "restless, impatient, continuing, hopeful inquiry which human beings pursue in the world, with the world, and with each other" (Freire 1970:72). Durakoğlu (2013) describes equality between all partakers as the key to Freire's process of dialogue, and states humility, hope and courage as the underlying human forces that drive dialogue. For Freire (1970:178), dialogue opens the door to the possibility of social change: "Leaders who do not act dialogically, but insist on imposing their decisions, do not organise the people—they manipulate them. They do not liberate, nor are they liberated: they oppress".

Further assistance for teachers who are addressing social identity issues and dealing with group difference—and simultaneously supporting transitions in the worldview of learners who describe their awareness and understanding of oppression as manifested in their social environment (and also within them)—can, according to Adams (2007:17), be found in the developmental approach of Hardiman and Jackson (cited in Adams, 2007:17). This approach summarises the body of sources and theories on social justice education into the following principles: firstly, harmonising the emotional and cognitive modules of the learning; secondly, recognising the personal experience of learners, as well as illuminating interactions among social groups; thirdly, practising an awareness of interpersonal communications and group dynamics; and finally, utilising "reflection and experience

as tools for student-centred learning and validating personal growth and change as outcomes of the learning process" (Adams, 2007:33). When the practices mentioned above, as proposed by Adams, are taken into consideration, the question arises how the South African school system, as an institution which functions within a bigger global reality, contributes to a socially just opportunity for education for all.

In the section on hidden curricula, it is discussed how education, both via formal and hidden curricula, is used as an economic, mechanistic and socialising filter to process knowledge and people. For example, different groups are taught different sentiments, influenced by economic and social pointers such as class, gender and race which lead to the normalisation of certain groups of people being seen as destined to fill certain roles in society (Apple, 1990:32).

The huge focus on assessments in education allows for little support, and thus few opportunities for learners and teachers to be engaged in the process of dialogue. Furthermore, the standardised test approach monopolises the perception of knowledge and adds to the embrace of a metanarrative of an industrialised, scientific world as the epitome of knowledge. This could be seen as one of the main contributors towards the lack of appreciation for what Lyotard (cited in Griffiths, 2003) refers to as the "little narrative" (individual stories). This unlocking and valuing of the individual and his or her story as a source of possible knowledge during dialogue is a pedagogic approach that can help to create new "symphonies"—a term created by Pink (2005:130) to describe the "ability to see relationships between seemingly unrelated fields; and to invent something new by combining elements nobody else thought to pair". Art education, which focuses on the exploration of the imaginative, the new, the unusual, and the individual, seems to be ideally suited to be used in education to fulfil this goal. Ironically, it is mostly the privileged learner who has the opportunity to be engaged in the arts, and that the majority of South African learners are barred from opportunities of exploration of new ideas and concepts within the arts is further proof of the disparity of opportunities practiced within the margins of the curriculum.

Due to inequality brought about by firstly, colonisation, and lastly, apartheid, education in this country has always been awash with injustices. The call for social justice in education is an attempt to address the social inequalities present in an unequal society. "Social justice in education should retain its ability to disrupt and dismantle the surviving traces of injustice, whether in terms of unequal teaching, learning materials or other resources" (Nkoane, 2012:7).

Although many factors influence the perpetuation of economic and social/cultural ideologies that serve to maintain systemic social injustices, this study emphasises ideologies underlying the racial issue and will specifically discuss the racial issue as a significant factor underpinning the negotiation of power relations in the establishment of the art education programme. The racial issue as a key indicator of the complex nature of addressing social justice in South Africa are discussed in the next section.

2.3.2 Critical race theory

Given the prominent role race has played in the negotiation of power throughout South Africa's past, and the role it still continues to play, this section will explore Critical Race Theory (CRT) in an effort to explain how the increasing pervasiveness of colour-blind ideology makes it difficult to expose the influence of whiteness in the racial discourse (Lewis, 2004:624).

According to Giroux (1997:378), the discourse of race became the most significant social force since the 1980s and came to be both the subject and meaning of social justice. The world of biology has found the concept of race virtually useless. Geneticist Cavalli-Sforza (cited in Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995:49) asserts that,

[H]uman populations are sometimes known as ethnic groups or 'races'...They are hard to define in a way that is both rigorous and useful because human beings group themselves in a bewildering array of sets, some of them overlapping, all of them in a state of flux. Nonetheless, even when the concept of race fails to 'make sense', we continue to employ it.

According to Nobel Laureate Toni Morrison (cited in Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995:49), race has become metaphorical—a way of referring to and disguising forces, events, classes, and expressions of social decay and economic division which are far more threatening to notions of social justice than biological "race" ever was (Ladson-Billings & Tate 1995:49). Although race is thus seen as not real, but as a social construct, its effects are real and endemic. Fair (cited in Lewis, 2004:624) describes the effects of racial caste and the problem of societal colour-blindness as the defining problem of the twenty-first century.

Critical race theory (CRT) has its origin within legal thought, but has since 1995 become an important framework in education to consider the complex nature of racial issues (Dixson, 2007:1). CRT

acknowledges racism as engrained in the fabric and system of racialised⁸ societies, in that it is institutionalised and pervasive in the dominant culture (Dixson, 2007:14). It identifies white privilege and white supremacy as the basis for dominant power structures which perpetuate the marginalisation of people of colour (Dixson, 2007:8).

The basic tenets of CRT are described by Dixson (2007) as the acknowledgement that racism is widespread and prevalent given its historic conception. CRT expresses scepticism towards the dominant legal claims of neutrality and objectivity, and challenges the colour-blind ideology as the refusal to acknowledge race, racial differences and racism. According to Applebaum (2005:279), the discourse of colour-blindness presupposes a world composed of atomistic individuals whose actions are outside of and apart from the social and historical incidents from which they are constructed and, therefore, that race can be ignored. For example, despite the key role white people have played historically in the original construction and the replication of racial categories, they often claim today to be beyond race, to be colour-blind and not to think about race (Ditomaso cited in Applebaum, 2005:283). In a world in which some people are not treated as individuals, either overtly or covertly, to perceive the individual without consideration of one's social group location has the function of hiding systemic oppression. Rather than being the opposite of racism, colour-blindness has become a new form of subtle racism that masquerades as a moral stance (Carr cited in Applebaum, 2005:284), which also acts to obscure the affirmative cultural offerings of race to individual identity and, as argued by Taylor (cited in Applebaum, 2005:283), disregards the likely need for acknowledgement.

CRT observes whiteness as a construct that is key to understanding the role of white people as racial actors. The "invisibility" of whiteness obscures the complicity of whites in sustaining social injustice. CRT further assumes that racism has played a role in current forms of group advantage and disadvantage. Whiteness is seen as a key role-player of the above-mentioned tenets, in that it can be described as having property value—whiteness is seen as the ultimate valuable asset which white people alone can possess. Owning a white skin is like possessing something valuable, it allows rights to the owner that a renter (or a person of colour) can never afford (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995:49). Whiteness as a construct is utilised to deconstruct how whiteness privileges one group, while devaluing and oppressing another group. Furthermore, white people have historically been the proprietors of institutions, education, language, knowledge, citizenship, and literacy. CRT attempts

⁸ An emphasis on race or racial considerations, as in determining policy or interpreting events (Dictionary of the English Language, 2011. Sv. 'racialized').

to disrupt assumptions about the normalisation of whiteness as property (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995:49).

CRT further aims to demystify the meritocracy which describes an education system in which the goal is to 'fit' students constructed as "other", by virtue of their race/ ethnicity, language, or social class, into a hierarchical structure (Applebaum, 2005:285). The discourse of meritocracy functions to marginalise certain groups of people by allowing white people to direct attention away from their own privilege and to ignore larger patterns of racial injustice. The notion that people get ahead as a result of individual effort or merit hides how social, economic and cultural privileges enable the success of some groups of people, but not others (Applebaum, 2005:285). Moreover, it allows the privileged to see themselves as innocent bystanders, rather than participants, in a system that creates, maintains and reproduces social injustice. Finally, "if one believes that everyone's life outcomes are a result of individual merit, then it is easy to conclude that those who fail to achieve have only themselves to blame. In this way, the discourse of meritocracy contributes to and simultaneously legitimises social injustices" (Applebaum, 2005:285).

As an agenda for social justice in education, CRT theorises the possibilities for change in educational policies and practices by proposing that racial issues, driven by whiteness and colour-blindness, are endemic and significant in public schooling. It emphasises that "the curriculum" acts as property and that education is observed to be a property which allows for the intersecting of race and property rights, instead of education practised as a human right (Dixson, 2007).

2.4 Conceptual framework for the study

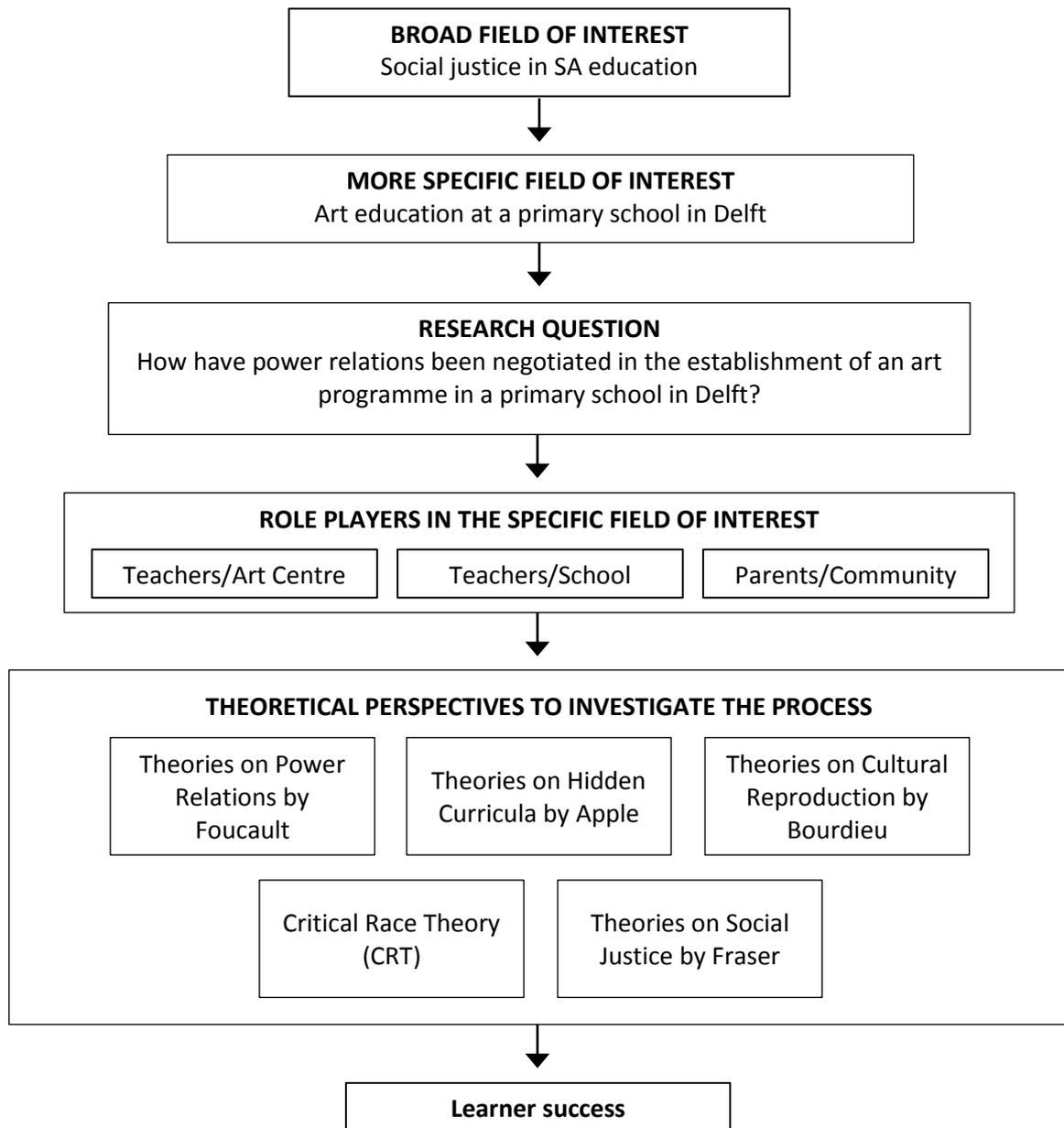
A conceptual framework gives a map of the territory that is studied. It provides an outline of how the research has been conducted for the thesis, while also locating the study within the larger field of research. A conceptual framework is described by Leshem and Trafford (2007:99) as a bridge which traces the connections between theoretical perspectives, research design and fieldwork while explaining the research issue and the practice of investigating that issue.

This study is underpinned by three theoretical perspectives: firstly, the theories on power as developed by Foucault; secondly, the theory on cultural reproduction by Bourdieu; and thirdly, the theories on hidden curricula as outlined by Apple. The study is placed within the scope of education in a post-apartheid South Africa and will focus on inequality in art education.

Although the transformation process since democracy in 1994 has brought about major changes, specifically at policy and curriculum level, the educational experience for most South African learners did not change significantly overall and also not specifically where the arts are concerned. Art education is articulated at governmental, institutional, policy, and curriculum level, but there seems to be a lack of demand, support and appreciation for the arts in the educational sphere at ground level, where teaching and learning takes place. The main research question of how power relations were negotiated in the establishment of an art education programme is answered by gaining nuanced insight into the variety of power relations at play in the process, as well as gaining insight into these power relations' relation to one another.

The diagrammatically illustrated conceptual framework attempts to give an overview of the theoretical aspects as well as of the real life role players in society discussed in this study. The diagram positions the role players and theories within the larger social justice agenda approach and acknowledge the racialized nature of the South African society by placing it within the framework of Critical Race Theory. The role players are: firstly, the learner who is situated at the end of the diagram; secondly, the art centre teachers, the school teachers and school which represent the educational institution; and thirdly, the parent, family and community are shown. As mentioned earlier, the study utilises power relations, cultural reproduction and hidden curricula as frameworks which acts as 'layers' to inform how a larger education, and the exposure to art education as a small example thereof, can potentially lead to learner success and 'disrupt' the process of cultural reproduction. The diagram positions the theories in between the social justice agenda and the learner which indicate that learner success depends largely on the way education is structured around and deals with issues relevant to the theories. The diagram ideally indicates how learner exposure at school level could possibly thwart the Bourdieusian theory of cultural reproduction by an optimal educational experience.

Figure 2.3: Conceptual framework for the study



CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

The main aim of the study was to gain insight into power relations which played out during the implementation of an art education programme and to inform programme development. The research question was formulated as: How have power relations been negotiated in the establishment of an art education programme in a primary school in Delft, Western Cape? The objectives were (1) to gain nuanced insight into the variety of power relations at play in the process; and (2) to gain insight into the relation of these power relations to one another.

In the next section the art education programme are described, followed by a discussion of the research methodology: The research approach and research design (consisting of the research setting and sample, the data collection, recording and analysis, and strategies employed to ensure quality data), as well as ethical considerations, are outlined.

3.2 Describing the project

The practical project that was conducted for this study entails the establishment of an art education programme in a primary school in Delft, Western Cape. The programme is run and funded by a partnership between a WCED institution, Tygerberg Art Centre (TAC), and a non-profit organisation (NPO), A Reaching Hand, which collaborates with the University of South Africa (UNISA). The idea of the programme was initiated at a meeting between the stakeholders above (TAC, NGO, and UNISA) and a community member in Delft who expressed her need to address the lack of exposure to art experienced by her own children, as well as the community of Delft. This idea is in accordance with the intended function of the art centres initiated by the WCED to provide opportunities for learners not exposed to the visual arts. Prior to beginning the programme, a community meeting was held to consider the community's sentiments regarding initiation of an art education programme. According to Freire, "it is in speaking their word that people, by naming the world, transform it, dialogue imposes itself as the way by which they achieve significance as human beings" (Freire, 2006:88). This dialogue opened up the question of the position that schools and the community take in Delft with regard to the arts, and put the emphasis on local contextualisation as a practical consideration for engagement (Johnson & Morris, 2010:82).

The art centre was introduced to a local primary school by the community member mentioned above and meetings with the principal and school management followed, after which the first art class (fifty learners) took place in February 2014, as an afterschool activity in the school hall (see examples of activities and artwork in Appendix A).

The next phase was initiated when it was proposed by school management that the arts programme should be introduced to grade four learners during school hours. The art classes then commenced on Tuesdays with two hundred grade four learners (five classes). In September, art classes were introduced as a community activity on Saturday mornings, providing art classes to fifty learners. The classes were initially presented at a house which the community member made available for the purpose, but were moved to the school in January 2015 (see examples of activities and artwork in Appendix B). During February 2014 and June 2015, three exhibitions were held which gave parents and learners the opportunity to appreciate artwork done by the learners (see examples of activities and artwork in Appendix C).

To conduct research on how power relations have been negotiated in the establishment of the art education programme, the following role players were requested to participate in the research: forty learners and parents, the grade four teachers, the deputy and principal of the primary school, as well as two collaborators (NGO and UNISA) and volunteers of the programme. Participants were requested to comment, reflect and give anecdotes on experiences related to how power relations have been negotiated in the establishment of the programme.

3.3 Design of the study

3.3.1 Research approach

This research can be described as qualitative, which implies an interpretive lens. Qualitative research is often called "interpretive" research because the researcher, a teacher from the art centre in this case, studies things in their natural settings, the school environment in Delft, with the intention of making sense of (or interpreting) it in terms of the meaning the participants of the study bring to them (Denzin & Lincoln cited in Creswell, 2007:44). Qualitative research begins with assumptions which are then scrutinised through the interpretive lens of theoretical frameworks (Creswell, 2007:44). In this case the assumptions made due to the observation of limited opportunity for learners to engage in art education activities, led to an interpretive lens. At the same time, the aim

was to come to a better understanding of participants' specific historical and cultural contexts, therefore it was necessary to focus on the environments in which teachers, learners and parents conduct their daily lives. Furthermore, using a social justice interpretive framework suggests a sensitivity to conditions such as social hierarchies, accepted social norms, racism, sexism, imbalanced power relations, inequalities – conditions where individuals or cultures are excluded and disadvantaged (Creswell, 2007:34). Likewise, the researcher should be positioned in such a way as to recognise and acknowledge that their personal backgrounds as well as historical and cultural experiences shape all their interpretations (Creswell, 2007:25). Most of all, in using qualitative research and an interpretative lens, it is hoped that participants will be "empowered to share their stories, hear their voices, and minimize the power relationships that often exist between a researcher and the participants" (Creswell, 2007:48). According to Rogers (cited in Cooper & White, 2007:42) we are "always looking through a social, historical and relational ethic that informs our own lens of identification". From this perspective, it is essential that the researcher appreciate the complexity of the researcher-participant relationship and the impact it may have on the entire research project (Cooper & White, 2007:8). In recognition of the subjectivity of interpretations and acknowledgment of the powerful position that the researcher has in the research, an ethical stance is expected from the researcher. This implies that neither the researcher nor participant owns the collected information; rather the interpretation that emerges from the co-creation between researcher and participant becomes the ultimate owner (Creswell, 2007:34).

3.3.2 Research design

This study employed a case study design for empirical purposes. Creswell (2007:100) asserts a case study approach as appropriate when the case has clear identifiable boundaries and the researcher seeks a comprehensive understanding of a contemporary phenomenon. The case study design was chosen because research for this study involved the exploration of a specific issue (negotiation of power relations) using a single case (establishment of an art education programme) for the purpose of "maintaining the holistic and meaningful characteristics of the real-life events" (Yin, 1984:2) encountered in the research. The case study also allows for developing an in-depth understanding of the "individual, group, social, political, and related phenomena" of this study (Yin, 1984:2). The intent in this case study was not to "generalize the information, but to explain the particular and specifics" (Creswell, 2007:99) of the case. Creswell (2007:101) further proposes that good case study research involves a description of the case, as well as disentangling key issues or themes for

investigation in order to appreciate the complex nature of the case. The case study design is thus well suited to the specific case of this research.

3.3.3 Sample selection and data collection

Non-probability sampling methods and qualitative data collection techniques were employed in this study. Judgement sampling, where “[t]he researcher actively selects the most productive sample to answer the research question” (Marshall, 1996:523), played a part since possible participants necessarily had to actively be involved in the establishment of the specific art education programme in question. It was decided by the school management of the primary school in Delft that grade four learners would take part in the art education programme (which by definition implied the parents, as well as teachers, who eventually participated in the study). Children (age group 5-13) and parents from the Saturday classes that became part of the study voluntarily joined the art programme in September 2014. Although, in total, two hundred and fifty learners are involved in the art programme, for practical purposes only the 20 parents who attended the exhibition and their children (20) who partook in the art programme were conveniently selected⁹ and asked to become participants in the study. All the other participants were selected because of their initial involvement in the establishment of the art programme which, as mentioned in the introduction, is a joint project of TAC (Tygerberg Art Centre), an NGO (A Reaching Hand), and UNISA (University of South Africa).

Qualitative data were collected from February 2014 to September 2015. This included semi-structured interviews with the principal, deputy, teachers, a parent and two collaborators on the programme by means of an interview guide and feedback forms (see Appendices D, E and F). Art classes and art exhibitions also allowed opportunities for observation by me, a teacher from TAC and a volunteer (psychology student from UNISA). “Qualitative researchers often collect the data in the field at the site where participants experience the issue under study, they collect the data by up-close information, talking directly to people and seeing them behave and act within their context” (Creswell 2007:45). Artwork produced was not analysed, but provided opportunity to invite dialogue on issues related to the study. I conducted all interviews, apart from one group discussion conducted with parents by a TAC teacher, a volunteer (psychology student) and me. This was supplemented by data from group discussions, as well as written reflections by learners and a volunteer who were involved in the programme. The data also includes reflections on my own experiences in the establishment of the art programme.

⁹ Convenience sampling refers to “the selection of the most accessible subjects” (Marshall, 1996:523).

The methods used for the data collection were thus individual interviews, as well as group discussions, feedback forms, reflective writings and informal observations done during events connected to the art programme. The data from the individual interviews made up approximately 80% of the data, while information from the feedback forms amounted to only a small percentage of the total data collected. Questions were subjectively interpreted and answered according to participants' personal views and experience. Participants could answer questions in English or Afrikaans. Afrikaans transcriptions are accompanied by English translations.

Table 3.1 provides a summary of the techniques, the time of occurrence and the duration of the interviews and observations. It further provides information on the identity coding used for participants. All identity codes begin with a reference to race, i.e. B (black), C (coloured), W (white). The racial identifier is followed by a reference to the type of participant, i.e. SP (teacher participant), VP (volunteer participant), PP (parent participant) and LP (learner participant). The number that follows in each case refers to each participant's uniquely assigned number that stayed constant throughout the research process. Further detail regarding the coding can be found in Appendix K.

Table 3.1 Data collection techniques, participants, time and duration and ID coding.

	Technique	Participants	Time slot	Duration	ID Coding
1	4 Individual interviews	2 black teachers, 1 coloured teacher and 1 coloured parent	June-August 2015	4 sessions of 45 minutes-2 hours	Teacher BSP1(black teacher/school participant number 1) Teacher BSP2 Teacher CSP7 Parent CPP2
2	3 Group interviews Group 1: Group 2: Group 3:	Group 1: 1 volunteer and 2 collaborators Group 2: 3 grade 4 teachers Group 3: 13 parents	June-August 2015	1 hour-1.5 hour	Group 1: CVP1(coloured collaborator participant number 1), WVP2 WVP3 Group 2: BSP4, BSP5 BSP6 Group 3: CPP1 – CPP13(coloured parent participant numbers 1 – 13)

3	Feedback form	Grade 4 learners and Saturday class learners	June 2015	30 minutes	CLP1-CLP13(coloured learner participant numbers 1 – 13)
4	Feedback form	13 Parents	June 2015		CPP1-CPP13(coloured parent participant numbers 1 – 13)
5	Written reflections	1 Volunteer (Psychology student)	March 2014-September 2015.		WVP3(white volunteer participant number 3)

3.3.4 Capturing data and ethical considerations

All interviews and group discussions were electronically recorded. Electronic voice recordings, feedback forms, consent forms and reflections in hard copy and electronic format were kept confidential and stored in a locked drawer in my classroom. Participants could request to look at the feedback forms, reflections or listen to the voice recordings at any stage. The study was approved by the WCED Directorate of Research, as well as by the Departmental Ethics Screening Committee (DESC) of the Visual Arts Department of the University of Stellenbosch. The information will be deleted five years after the submission date of the study.

Interviews and observations took place in the office, staffroom or classrooms at the primary school in Delft. All participants were briefed and their participation was voluntary. Consent forms were completed and signed by all participants (Appendix H and I). No names were used in order to keep participants' identities confidential.

3.3.5 Data analysis

A characteristic of qualitative research is the ability to do complex reasoning through inductive logic: "Patterns, categories, and themes (derived from data) are built from the 'bottom up', by organising the data inductively into increasingly more abstract units of information" (Creswell, 2007:45). In this study, the process of inductive qualitative content analysis was followed: after initial reading, each line or segment was colour coded to "avoid imposing a forced framework" (Charmaz cited in Creswell, 2007:196). The colour coded data were then sorted into sub-themes. Often the sub-themes overlapped and drew in aspects of other themes – hence the rationale for a further narrowing down of sub-themes into three main themes which gave expression to the "communality of voices across participants" (Anderson, 2007:1). Theoretical perspectives (Chapter 2) also informed

the selection of the main themes (Creswell, 2007:238). Although the categorisation and naming of themes required some interpretation, this was kept to a minimum, as in-depth interpretation took place in the discussion section of the study.

3.3.6 Validity and trustworthiness

According to Lincoln and Guba (1985:294-301), objectivity and trustworthiness of qualitative data should be guided by four criteria, namely credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability. I will shortly discuss how these criteria relate to the study.

The data was collected from different sources: learners, parents and teachers. The triangulation of data enhances credibility. The study was conducted over a time period of 18 months and the prolonged engagement could have encouraged credibility of data. Consent was obtained for all recorded interviews. Transferability was achieved by thick description (Geertz cited in Pontorotto, 2006:539). Extensive interviews and discussions with various participants allowed for data where the voices, emotions, activities, and interpretations of participants could be heard and where the relation to social structures and history became visible (Denzin cited in Pintorotto, 2006:540).

Dependability was realised by the use of various sources of data, namely learners, parents and teachers. Individual interviews and a group interview were used together with observations and reflections from participants. A reader could trace the data collection process as presented in Table 3.1, which indicates the technique, participants, time and duration of interviews/observations. I am, however, aware that being white while conducting cross-cultural research in South Africa could be a limitation to the confirmability of the data.

3.4 Conclusion

The methodology used for this study has been discussed in this chapter. The chapter contains a discussion of the art education programme, the approach and design of the research study, the ethical issues that were considered, the capturing of the data, and the data analysis process that was followed. The study was done within a qualitative, interpretive framework and an inductive content analysis seemed appropriate to the analytical procedure of the study. The next chapter presents the data gathered from interviews, reflections and observations from February 2014 to September 2015.

CHAPTER 4: PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION OF THE EMPIRICAL INVESTIGATION

4.1 Introduction

This section presents the main themes identified during the data collection process with the learners, teachers, parents, collaborators and volunteers that were part of the establishment of the art education programme. The data was examined and revised for the purpose of answering the following question: How have power relations been negotiated in the establishment of an art education programme in a primary school in Delft, Western Cape? The objectives of the study were aimed at gaining nuanced insight into the variety of power relations at play as well as gaining insight into how these power relations relate to one another. The findings of the study are presented by way of specific themes followed by a supplementary discussion. Some of the themes interlinked and are discussed from various viewpoints to involve as many variables as possible. Aspects that caused unease during data collection were entertained and reflected on at length.

The data were collected in the course of the establishment of the art education programme over a time period of 18 months from the onset of the art education programme in March 2014 to September 2015. An inductive content analysis was used to organise data into key themes. The key themes were related to the theoretical perspectives as discussed in chapter 2 in an attempt to provide another 'layer' of meaning and to broaden interpretation. During the collection of data I became increasingly aware of the role of the researcher as an obstacle to the process of unbiased interpretation. This unease and uncertainty is discussed throughout and reflected on in an epilogue to the data analysis.

4.2 Presentation and discussion of data

In efforts to determine the key themes emerging from the data racial issues featured strongly. I was faced with the dilemma of all the key themes seeming to interlink with the central issue of race. In trying to make meaning of the experience of the racial issue as being simultaneously overwhelming, elusive, ignored, accepted, overvalued and undervalued, the image of the proverbial elephant in the room spontaneously came to mind. The elephant became an apt way of thinking about the racial issue: imagining an elephant in a room is to realise how its presence will fill the whole space, how the contrived space will contribute to immobility, and how view and movement will be completely blocked. Because of close-up proximity it will also become nearly impossible to view the obstacle from a single point of view – only detail observations of the obstacle will be possible. The data-

analysis in this study became a way of putting together all the 'close-up' observations in the hope of finding a 'bigger picture' from which to make meaning.

What surfaced gradually in the process of data-analysis was that governmental institutions like schools, as well as its written intentions, policies and curriculums provide a neutral¹⁰ platform where attempts to diffuse the barriers can be made. It so to speak becomes the spaces in and around the obstacle which made movement around the obstacle possible. The theoretical perspectives of power relations, cultural reproductions and hidden curricula provided a next 'layer' or paradigm from which to explore the data. Although the seeming unsurmountable obstacle of race is ever present, within a post-apartheid framework governmental institutions and policies provide the neutral platform from which learners could be introduced to new experiences and activities which could extend into parent and community awareness. The conceptual framework (Fig 2.3) shows diagrammatically the Bourdieusian theory of how cultural reproduction can be thwarted by a process of learner exposure at school level which could in time influence parental and community awareness. Olneck (2000:317) argues that students' agency could transform the social reproduction process by impacting on their school-based cultural capital and that teachers could promote both dominant and minority cultural capital in a non-conflictual manner (Monkman, 2005:5). Teachers are particularly well situated to "produce ... moments of contestation, challenge, and social inclusion" (Lareau & Horvat cited in Monkman, 2005:5).

As I attempt to show in this study how there could be the possibility for interruption of the process of cultural reproduction I am reminded of an incident at the onset of democracy in the years just before 1994 when I had to fill in a questionnaire as to how willing I was as a white teacher to teach in black township schools. I remember the fear and unwillingness that I experienced then as a white middle class woman. In committing myself to this programme and becoming entrenched in the process of relationship building while collecting data and doing self-reflection, I am aware of how I am simultaneously interrupting my own cultural reproduction concerning perceptions on race, class and culture.

The following structure is used for the purpose of presenting and discussing the data: The theme is firstly introduced as well as the sub-themes related to that theme. Secondly, the evidence relating to

¹⁰ I am aware of how the concept of neutrality is a very contested one in the face of a school system which is organised and driven by a predominantly western approach and thus only use the word in the sense that role players in the field of education can use the school institution as starting point in taking up the challenge of change and transformation.

that theme is provided. Thirdly, the themes and insights on negotiating power relations in the establishment of the art education programme is presented and these insights are related to the broader context of cultural reproduction and inequality in art education. The three main themes are (1) *Race* with the subheading, *Race: A Black and White story*, (2) *Inequality and exclusion* with four subheadings, *Economic disadvantage: human and material resources*; *Art, emotional expression and self-esteem*; *Learning barriers*, and *Language barriers*, and (3) *Neutral Territory* with the subheading, *School as platform, teacher as agent*.

The coding provided in Table 3.1 will contextualise detail regarding data collection and analysis. Quotes are presented in their original form and only corrected to ensure clarity of meaning or fluency of sentences.

4.2.1 Race

Adolph Reed writes:

"Race" is purely a social construction; it has no core reality outside a specific social and historical context. That is not to say that it doesn't exist or that it is therefore meaningless, but its material force derives from state power, not some ahistorical "nature" or any sort of primordial group affinities (1996:22).

In the same vein Giroux & Goldberg (2006:61) refers to 'race' as a term which is "too empty and too full". He describes it as "filled by something that's not itself, so to speak. It's filled by sets of social conditions, it's filled by other modalities, and it's filled by its articulations with class and gender and other ethnic forms and cultural forms of expression" (2006:61). In the ongoing debate on defining concepts of race and racism there is at one level "agreement that racism is an ideology of racial domination based on beliefs that a designated racial group is either biologically or culturally inferior and the use of such beliefs to rationalise or prescribe the racial group's treatment in society, as well as to explain its social position and accomplishment" (Collins & Solomos, 2010:3).

The issue of race still dominates, directly or indirectly, conversations that deal with change and transformation in education. South Africans continue to be severely separated along racial identities, cultural and social terms, as well as extremely unequal in terms of the dispersal of earnings and prospects. Only slight racial assimilation took place in suburban areas, and minor integration in some middle-class schools which is open for mixed-race interaction (Seekings, 2008:1). This section's data and discussion is an attempt to make meaning of the complex ways in which participants'

experiences and perceptions of race and racism and the power it implicates ties into the themes of inequality and exclusion, and school and teachers as neutral agents. It further explores how the intersection of the themes influenced the negotiation of power relations in the establishment of the arts programme.

It is when we acknowledge how power has been bestowed on us by our roles, the colour of our skin, and the accident of our births and families that we can possibly extend ourselves and are able to understand somebody else's oppression. Then, we own our responsibility to end the oppression and advocate for equity, respect, and justice (Tuason, 2005:45).

4.2.1.1 Race: A black and white story?

The oversimplification of complex issues into two extremes became a way of considering reality and is deeply embedded into the western mind. Binary thinking suggests that extreme opposites are inherently conflicting: right and wrong; good and evil; light and darkness; black and white. Elbow (1993:53) proposes that "when we encounter something that is difficult or complicated, or something that tangles people into endless debate, we are often in the presence of an opposition that needs to be made more explicit – and left unreconciled".

In negotiating power relations in the establishment of the programme, issues of race, class, language, privilege and power seem to conflict and entangle in such a complex way that it invites Elbow's (1993:74) idea that "[w]e can't decide whether X or Not-X is right, but ... X and Not-X might well both be right. At the same time confirming the nonresolution of opposed ideas can improve our thinking and our rhetoric". Teaching in a post-apartheid South Africa, the dilemma of black versus white within the context of white social constructs against black social constructs is often observed in a binary way as described by Elbow above. Attaching a right or wrong judgment at any time limits the possibility of what Krog (2015) refers to as "complex thinking". Attempting to give singular solutions to questions raised during the negotiations of power relations prove to uncover arrogance and ignorance for the complexity that lies at the core of the intersection of race, class, privilege and power.

The first sub-theme under the main theme of race was participants' use of the word 'white' and how their reference to "whiteness"¹¹ relates to the perception of white as superior and black as inferior. Race and the binary way of thinking about white and black as simplistically connected to either inferior or superior seem to serve as a framework from which all the related issues could be observed. It also recalls the image of the elephant that obstructed the view of the room regardless from which perspective it is observed. Participant BSP2 remarked:

From a general perspective, sorry to put it bland like this, white people are great, children have that idea... that white people give good... once you mingle... that you are in a white school or in a white area – that you are better off – that is the perception, that may be wrong, that may be right, but that is the perception. That is why our children feel ... I am sure that they are even telling the neighbouring schools that we have white teachers teaching us art because they have the perception that they are getting a good thing from white teachers.

(Interviewer: How does that perception impact you as teachers in reference to this art programme?)

It comes to that critical point again, you know, that white was so privileged then, getting all the things ... we are so disadvantaged ... that's why they are so good, that is a justification of that.

Participant CSP7 also referred to perceptions of parents where white is regarded as better as opposed to the perception of people of colour as trapped in the cycle of disadvantage:

... hulle [die ouers] weet dit [die kunsklasse] is net die beste wat hulle kinders kry want die 'so-called' witmense doen mos nou maar die beste en die anderskleuriges sal mos nou maar bly soos wat hulle daar is.¹²

(Interviewer: Dit is juis as gevolg van dit wat jy nou genoem het dat ek wonder of dit nie vir die onderwysers, vir julle, baie sleg is dat ons in julle klasse kuns aanbied nie?)¹³

To which the same participant remarked: *Nogals nie vir my nie.*¹⁴ References to 'white' were throughout the data linked to notions of better, good and great. Learner reference to white as superior and black as inferior seem to be a stereotypical response. Participant CLP1's description of the Art centre teachers emphasised the skin colour: "[M]ooi, vriendelike wit mense"¹⁵, instead of referring to their status as art teachers which emphasised the race connection. As indicated in the

¹¹ "Whiteness" is a term coined within critical race theory and could best be thought of as a "form of legal or cultural property (Harris, 1995:284). "Whiteness" provides "material and symbolic privilege to whites, those passing as white, and sometimes honorary whites (Harris, 1995:284). Examples of material privilege would include better access to higher education or a choice of safe neighbourhoods in which to live; symbolic white privilege includes conceptions of beauty or intelligence that not only are tied to "whiteness" but that "implicitly exclude blackness or brownness" (Harris, 1995: 284).

¹² ...them [the parents] know that this [the art classes] are just the best what they receive because the so-called white people are typically the best and the people of colour will typically stay as they are.

¹³ Interviewer: It is exactly because of this that you just mentioned that I wonder if it is not very bad for the teachers, for you, that we teach art in your classes?

¹⁴ Actually, not to me.

¹⁵ Pretty, friendly white people.

data above, adults on the other hand refer to the perception of white as good/great in a critical way: "[T]hat may be wrong, that may be right, but that is the perception".

The power implicated by 'white as good/great' and the way the art centre unjustly benefits from its association with "whiteness" is an example of why unease and discomfort was experienced by role players. Because of our Apartheid-past, the feelings of guilt I experienced as well as the fear of rejection I expected because of my association with "whiteness" could be understood within what Foucault (cited in Bălan n.d.) refers to as the relations of power. Power is, according to him, a system, a network of relations encompassing the whole society. Could the discomfort caused when interactions across cultural barriers took place be one of the main reasons why separation is still prevalent in education twenty years after democracy? To stay within the comfort zone of the status quo is preferred to the possibility of unease and conflict implicated by interaction across dividing barriers.

In critical observance of the above-mentioned evidence the question arises if exposure to white teachers within the social framework of this art programme actually becomes a perpetuation of the stereotypical "white as good"-notion? Is the price being paid for easing one problem – no art education – by perpetuating another – perception of white superiority – worth the while? In this regard participant CPP7 mentioned: "*Maar daar is nie iemand wat dit (kunsonderrig) kan doen nie; daar is nie iemand wat nog probeer het om dit te doen nie; so ons sê dankie vir iemand wat inkom om iets nuuts te kom doen*".¹⁶ Could these moments of intervention be justified as "conflict-moments"¹⁷ which present opportunities for addressing issues of social injustice?

Participant BSP2 said:

(On) the question of building relationships across cultural and racial borders - by coming here you are closing the gap between racial differences. So if we are working together we are beginning to understand someone's cultural background, and being tolerant.

For Bourdieu there is a political aspect to what sociology should do in current society. "Acts of research, no matter how seemingly mundane are acts of struggle, conquest, and victory over taken-for-granted assumptions about social life: scientific research is a struggle against all forms of

¹⁶ *But there is not someone who can do it (art education); there is not someone who has tried to do it; so we say thank you to someone who comes in to do something new.*

¹⁷ Apple (1990:83) describes the benefits of conflict within education as the "development of positive perspectives toward conflict and change, ones that will enable engagement with complex and often repressive political realities and dynamics of power in society".

symbolic domination. By exposing arbitrary mechanisms that maintain power relations through research, the social scientist is able to challenge the legitimacy of the status quo" (Swartz, 1997:260). In this regard participant WVP3's comments on reasons for partaking in the programme highlights some of the complexities that had to be faced during the negotiation of power relations in the establishment of the programme:

Another reason why I specifically wanted to be involved in a project with a community different from my own is to start bridging the gap between culture, language and skin colour. This idea of separation is as much a psychological one as it is physical, geographical and emotional. I am interested in understanding my own assumptions about separation, and all the ways in which I am responsible for perceiving differences rather than common ground. To me this project is as much about exposing myself to the separation and difference as well as building relationships in our society as it is about teaching art and having fun.

Building relationships were central to the establishment of the programme and due to huge perceived cultural, racial and economic differences I had strong resistance against discussions about and asking questions on racial-related matters. Because of feelings of guilt and fear of infringement I had to become desperate to gain courage to open conversation about race-related issues. Although it gradually became easier, I still had the feeling that teachers and parents mostly avoided talking about issues of racial and other differences.

Participant BSP2 said:

We teachers, we do not feel any embarrassment, anything, but instead we are so proud to have you and your team in our school teaching art. Especially I, I do not see you as different from me, you know that.

Critical consideration of the concepts of "embarrassment" and being "proud" (BSP2) leaves one with a vague unease. It seems to exemplify the underpinned conditions of inequality as far as human and material resources are concerned within the outplay of the arts programme while focussing on colour-blindness¹⁸: "I do not see you as different from me" (BSP2).

¹⁸ According to Applebaum (2005:282) the underlying assumption of "colour-blindness" is that individuals will not be judged by the colour of their skin but by the content of their character. Ideally, race should not be a disparaging factor in the way people are treated. Each person should be treated as an individual. Ignoring colour, thus, is like ignoring bias and from this perspective colour-blindness is a moral stance because people of colour are not treated differently. In fact, from this perspective, colour-consciousness becomes a manifestation of racism and taboo".

4.2.1.2 Colour-blind versus colour-conscious

Although data expressed the desire to move beyond racial issues, the tendency towards colour-blindness seems to contribute to the way race became the 'elephant in the room'. It obscured the actual issues of racial stereotyping, inequality, exclusion and feelings of inadequacy which is the actual difficult and sensitive issues that seem to be avoided. Considering the notion of white and black as 'the same' means to Giroux (1997:381) that we specifically undermine what has become, via the notion of "reverse racism", "a major prop underpinning the popular refusal among whites to face both racism and themselves". Giroux & Goldberg (2006:16) warns against half-hearted acknowledgement of diversity that is easily brought about by either colour-blind assertion or broad-minded accommodation instead of accepting responsibility for the allowance of the once marginal through what he calls the "incorporation" of difference.

Instead of emphasising a common humanity and challenging versions of racial hierarchy, data showed a tendency towards colour-blindness which contributes to complacency by all race groups towards the way "whiteness" has become the invisible norm by which others are marginalised. Participant CPP2 said: *Dit maak nie vir my saak watter kleur u is nie, of u wit, of donker of bruin is. Vir my is ons net een.*¹⁹ And Participant BSP4 said: *Because we work in these diverse surroundings – nothing clicked in my head when you mention the colour thing, nothing came up, nothing negative.* A persistent colour-blind attitude overlooks the present-day social reality of racism and disguises not only the race of the sufferers of racism, but also dispenses with the need to question "whiteness" as the unseen norm by which others are disregarded (Applebaum, 2005:284).

Does the fact that all participants – black, white and coloured – responded within the colour-blind approach show that systemic "whiteness" lies very deep and has become embedded in middle-class thought? It seems that opinions and feelings that, in some way, present as opposites are in fact revealed as existing simultaneously as embodied paradoxes. The sensitivity on issues of racial difference could be seen in a comment made by a participant (and which was wholeheartedly affirmed by the group of participants) regarding issues of racial disregard and racial stereotyping. Participant CPP9 said: *Maar wat ek wil weet ... waar pas ons as coloureds in? Als is net wit en swart. Coloureds word met geweld geassosieer – die coloureds word eensydig uitgebeeld.*²⁰

¹⁹ *It doesn't matter to me what colour you are, whether you are white or dark or brown. To me we are just one.*

²⁰ *But what I want to know ... where do we as coloureds fit in? Everything is just black and white. Coloureds are associated with violence – the coloureds are represented in a one-sided way.*

Goldberg (cited in Collins & Solomos, 2010:3) claims that a "society which denied or did not formally acknowledge the existence of different racial groups would not necessarily rid itself of racism. Indeed the recent literature on racial and ethnic classification shows that the identification of members of a society in terms of the racial, ethnic or national origin may be a prerequisite to taking action to counteract racism". Could this be the reason why the racial issue seems to be overwhelmingly present on the one hand, but at the same time regarded by some participants as insignificant? Whatever the perception, it remained the 'elephant in the room' that everybody politely and mostly uncomfortably tip-toed around. In the process of considering my own reactions to notions of "whiteness" it became clear to me how "being white means rarely or never having to think about it" (Applebaum, 2005:284), and in retrospect I realise that a possible reason for the variety and ambiguity of responses to the issue of race could be due to the way privilege, race and class interrelates with "whiteness" as the core issue.

That skin colour is only one aspect of "whiteness" becomes clear in Goldberg's (2002:159) many descriptions thereof: Those in control or benefitting from patriarchal "whiteness"; Maintenance of class distinction in the name of "whiteness"; Mechanisms that uphold systemic inequalities; The costly technologies of social stratification; Those competing for the benefits, privileges, and profits of "whiteness". Seen against the backdrop of social injustice and questions of democratic and critical engagement with education, how has the way we go about these imbalances of power while establishing the art programme been an example of serving up 'easy answers' that don't either involve taking risks or taking complexities in education politics as seriously as deserved? These questions mark the complexity of the South African situation, the colonial binary of black versus white ever present and irreversibly connected to "whiteness" and the power it implicates.

Bourdieu (Swarz, 1997:260) contends that "even though sociology can weaken power relations by unveiling them, sociology can be accommodated and recuperated by dominant groups for their own interests". In unmasking the hidden mechanisms of power, science may assist dominant groups in providing alternatives for sophisticated ways of manipulation and social control. The availability of resources offers further prospects to find unconventional sources of rendering the privileged status legal.

Blum (2008:315) confirms how "whiteness" considered only in racial terms acts as pretence to disguise the real problem of social injustice:

I think it is basically profoundly misleading, to discuss race privileges without also talking about class. It shows a lack of engagement with the actual structures and processes of racial inequality and privilege. There is an important educational lesson here. One of the capacities we wish to build in our students is that of social analysis, tied to a moral vision or principle.

As in the case of the art programme in Delft and in the negotiating of power relations the question arised whether white engagement in non-white environments is by definition doomed because of its racial connotations of domination and superiority. Peter McLaren argues that "[w]hite identity serves implicitly as the positive mirror image to the explicit negative identities imposed upon non-whites" (1999:43). Likewise Applebaum (2005:287) comments:

It is important for social justice educators to acknowledge that what one thinks is morally good might be what keeps one from seeing systemic injustice and one's role in sustaining it. This is not to imply that whites should not want to be good, but rather that they must know that the ways they think are morally good may be working to obscure systemic injustice.

How the current educational system perpetuates power and privilege which inadvertently leads to the problem of inferiority/superiority becomes clear in participant BSP2's reference:

Also going to other schools... that kind of exposure learn our children lessons on school environment. I tell the learners that we must be disciplined. I tell them when we go to other schools that we could also look like that – referring to neat school environment. That kind of exposure is how they will learn.

While the data above indicates appreciation and willingness to learn from others which is generally speaking of positive human behaviour, it also raises the question of why so many schools in under-serviced areas which were previously excluded and marginalised are still struggling to overcome issues of "neat school environment" and "discipline" (BSP2). Krog (2015) raised the question as to what was considered the biggest challenge at the onset of democracy. Was it establishing racial equality and then attending poverty? Or a drive to reduce poverty through various mechanisms of which a crucial one was race? It seems that the focus was deflected from what matters most – social reform – to racial equality. In this regard Giroux (1997:383) notes that the emphasis on racial equality can become a vehicle for soothing white anxiety while masking privilege and power. Krog (2015) further refers to the fact that whatever was negotiated and understood, misunderstood or

taken for granted in 1994, it was inconceivable that the country would materially stay as it was with all the resources remaining in specific areas and classes.

Considering the data against the backdrop of above-mentioned innuendos of getting stuck in the race debate when at closer investigation it is clear that the racial issue has to a certain extent become superficial, asked for new interpretations of concerns and/or appreciations made by participants.

Participant CPP1 said:

*Dinge het nou verander: Klasse is nou multiracial. Kinders raak nie nou groot in die tyd wat ons gewees [grootgeword] het nie. Destyds was dit mos nou ek op my plekkie. Vandag is ons mos almal gelyk ... ons strewen nog daarna om almal te wees... waar ons wil wees ... dit gaan nog tyd neem...*²¹

Positive reference to multiracialism in schools is made, but the aspiration for equality becomes silences in between phrases of longing. The emphasis on racial equality in comparison to an apartheid past obscures the issue of social inequality twenty years after democracy. "*Destyds was dit mos nou ek op my plekkie. Vandag is ons mos almal gelyk*"²² (CPP1). This quote by CPP1 is an example of how racial equality masquerades as equality on all levels, which is most probably, in a practical sense, a lie for most South-Africans.

In this regard Participant BSP2 mentioned:

On the day of the exhibition, I see two boys from former model C schools in their school uniforms ... I have them on a photo with learners from Delft, and I said to myself, this is what I would want to see more, children should be getting used to other racial groups, instead of that when they see them, they won't be [labelled as 'other'] labelling otherwise.

The participant's mention of how "getting used to other racial groups" can provide moments of working against "labelling" and "othering" (BSP2) reinforces that striving to work for appreciation of diversity is not negotiable.

In reflection on how the issue of race was negotiated by role players the notions of discomfort and avoidance as well as a strong indication of disowning/downplaying the issue of race with a 'colour-

²¹ *Things have now changed: Classes are now multiracial. Children are not growing up in the time when we grew up. In the past it was [mos] me in my place. Today we are [mos] all equal ... we are still striving towards all being ... where we want to be ... it will still take time.*

²² *Today we are [mos] all equal.*

blind' approach were dominant. First of all I had to recognise how - as an embodiment of "whiteness" and privilege - my feelings of unease and guilt was brought about by the disparate distribution of power in the establishment of the arts programme. I felt that my intrusion highlighted neglect of an integral part of the curriculum, which gave me an undeserved (and historically typical) power base to work from. Thus establishing the arts programme in an area where the arts were historically and currently marginalised emphasised "whiteness" and privilege. This can be seen in participant CPP9's comment: "*Kuns is 'n wit ding*"²³. This position and sentiment exposed and maybe explained not just the discomfort experienced by all role players to engage in dialogue about issues of race, but also highlights how closely related and interlinked notions of race are to participants' accounts of inequality, exclusion and disadvantage and the accompanying feeling of disempowerment as related in participant CPP2's mention of some parents in the community that said: *Die witmense moet nou nie dink dat hulle kan kom oorneem nie.*²⁴

Although data expressed the desire to move beyond racial issues, the tendency towards colour-blindness seems to contribute to the way race became the 'elephant in the room'. It obscured the issues of racial stereotyping, inequality, exclusion and feelings of inadequacy which is the actual challenging and sensitive issues that seem to be avoided.

The next theme discusses data that is evidence of how power relations were negotiated in the establishment of the art education programme within the constraints brought about by participants' account of inequality, exclusion and disadvantage.

4.2.2 Inequality and exclusion

"We talk equality but we implement differentiation, so in reality we have a two-tiered school system" (Prew 2009:2)²⁵. Whereas references to "white" and the discourse on "whiteness" deconstructs how "whiteness" privileges one group while devaluing and oppressing other groups, the theme of inequality and exclusion from privileges emerged from the data as the lived and felt disadvantages and exclusions experienced by participants. This section examines how the reference to race and "whiteness" in the previous section is inextricably linked to issues of inequality and exclusion from economic as well as cultural resources, and further suggests how the issue of race

²³ *Art is a white thing.*

²⁴ *The white people should not think that they can come and take over ...*

²⁵ Martin Prew: Recently appointed director of CEPD (Centre for Education and Policy Development) and former director and acting chief director for the National Department of Education, Management and Governance.

could be linked to language and learning challenges. Current hegemonic structures perpetuate white privilege without the acknowledgement that this continued existence of institutionalized privilege bars the historically marginalised from integration into the system. 'Blindness' for the way issues of race and class are entangled with systemic inequality acts to perpetuate disadvantages featured in the lack of human and material resources available to educators and learners and in the way language and learning challenges acts as barriers to optimal educational experience.

Power relations that had to be negotiated during the establishment of the programme manifested firstly around the symbolic cultural capital associated with arts as well as secondly by the economic power inherited by the art centre. In the apartheid era art centres provided a service to predominantly white privileged communities which suggest that art educational services provided by the art centres were historically not well articulated and promoted throughout all communities in the Western Cape. The role of school management and teachers further suggest institutional power as does educational policies and curriculums. Although this picture of 'arts only for the privileged' has been rendered significantly since the beginning of democracy (1994) – especially with regards to policies and curriculums – it remains a considerable challenge to promote the benefits of the arts for all learners at the level of teacher and parent buy-in. The following section investigates the data that informs how role players had to negotiate power relations in the exercise of cultural, economic and institutional power.

4.2.2.1 Economic disadvantage: Human and material resources

Looking at government expenditures on education, the post-apartheid government has successfully managed to equalize government expenditures across provinces and has adopted a pro-poor public spending approach. It would be remiss not to mention that educational expenditures are only one side of the coin. Additional resources are mediated by provinces and schools, both of which vary widely in their capacity to manage financial and human resources. Not all provinces or schools are equally capable of converting additional resources into better outcomes (Spaull, CDE Report, 2013).

The financial constraints experienced by underserved schools are connected to challenges of shortage of teachers, underqualified teachers, shortage of learner-teaching materials, learner developmental levels and other socio-economic barriers. How race, power and privilege intersect in the establishment of the arts programme and how white privilege and the power it implicates added to moments of discomfort became clear in participants' account of inequality concerning human and economic resources. The lack of access to art class facilities and materials, as well as teachers that felt ill-equipped to teach art, were frequently mentioned: In this regard participant BSP6 mentioned:

But I think if the art materials were available... sometimes in the creative arts book, material like charcoal and other things is needed and if you ask the office – they do not have. So at least if we could have some material it would help.

Participant CSP7 further said: "*[D]it is so met technology ook – as ons 'n projek wil doen moet ons alles uit ons sak doen*"²⁶. Simultaneously the lack of human resources is also mentioned by participant CSP7: "*Maar daar is nie iemand wat dit kan doen nie en daar is nie iemand wat nog probeer het om dit te doen nie so ons se dankie vir iemand wat inkom om iets nuuts te kom doen*"²⁷. A feeling of being ill-equipped to teach art also featured in participant BSP5 words: "*I am not creative*". Participant CSP7 mentioned: "*Die onderwyser wat creative arts doen laat hulle iets by die huis doen – party het iets gemaak en party het nie...dis al manier hoe die probleem van creative arts aangespreek kan word*"²⁸.

Participant BSP1 refers to the personal experience of lack of attention and time given to the arts during teacher training: "*I was reminded about my experience of art during training. We had to do clay cups and I wanted to learn more but not a lot of attention was given to it.*" And the same participant (BSP1) commented on governmental disregard of the arts:

So I ask the question: Why is there only two hours allocated for creative arts [which includes Life orientation] in the curriculum as opposed to eight hours for maths and languages? Why is there so little time allocated? Look at the new twenty first century plans for the new school against the wall, no art class, no music class; it has been approved by the government without giving attention to the arts.

And in reference to how creative arts are practised in school, participant CSP7 said: "*Dit [kuns] word afgeskeep*"²⁹. Although educational policies and curriculums provide clear indicators and suggestions as to creative arts education, the lack thereof in many schools could be an example of how the system covertly sanction hegemonic power structures in that it ignores the real-life issues of a divided South-Africa where the greater part of learners are exposed to an education system that lacks acknowledgment of their cultural, language and resource challenges. In reference to policies such as the White Paper on Arts and Culture (2013), Martin Prew (2009:2) said on the

²⁶ *It is also so with technology – if we want to do a project we have to do everything out of our own pocket.*

²⁷ *But there is no one that can do it and there is no one that has tried to do it so we say thank you to someone who comes in to do something new.*

²⁸ *The teacher that does creative arts lets them do something at home – some made something and some did not... this is the only way that the problem of creative arts can be solved.*

²⁹ *It [art] is being neglected.*

implementation of policies at school level: "Policies are also seen as irrelevant. Those on language and religion, for instance, are largely ignored. This in turn defeats and degrades the concept of policy. A more genuinely de-centralised system (of policy-making) would promote much greater community involvement and school level accountability."

In this regard the question that comes to mind relates to how we as teachers and parents objectify equality and social justice in education by placing the problem outside ourselves and the system we are part of. How are we as educators critically involved in transforming the system from inside out instead of expecting the system to impose equality and social justice on us? What are the implications hereof for the negotiation of power relations in the arts programme? Does the arts programme and the power implicated by the services and resources we share across the cultural and economic barriers invite a critical stance as to the role we as educators play in transforming education from its hegemonic impediments or are we perpetuating practices that encourage division and discrimination? These questions negate easy answers and expose how inequality and social injustices persist inside the complex intersection of race, class, power and economic disadvantage.

By critically examining the structures of power (Freire, 1970) underlying the negotiations of power between role players in the establishment of the programme it became clear that ideologies and structures operate within the system to keep suppressive factors in place. The creative arts were not historically regarded as a much-needed and appreciated aspect of child development (the inclusion of wood and or metalwork and other handcrafts in the curriculum during the apartheid era had as intent not the creative development of learners, but instead were seen as disciplines which were applicable to the development of a labour force). This was evident in the feedback on parents' exposure to the arts at school level which refers to either sewing or woodwork classes as the only means of engaging in imaginative or creative processes at school. Very little reference is made to the visual arts. This historical idea about the arts as an educational tool of little importance resulted in the down play of art related activities and subjects. Eisner (2002:xi) relates this phenomenon as follows:

[S]chools that sees it as their mission, at least in part as promoting the development of the intellect. 'Hard' subjects such as mathematics and science are regarded as primary resources for that development. The processes of reading, writing, and computing are believed to be the best means for cultivating the mind. Tough curriculums whose effects are visible in higher test scores are valued. At best the arts are considered a minor part of this project.

The arts were seen as secondary to the basic skill disciplines (languages, maths and science). Meritocratic assessment systems further diminishes the role of learning areas difficult to measure by objective means. It also culminated in a disregard of the arts as a tool and opportunity to creative and holistic wellbeing of learners. According to Deasy (2008:sp):

[V]arious factors have contributed to the low priority and marginal role of the arts in public education. Lack of financial resources is usually blamed first, but the major factor is the lack of clear understanding of the nature of the learning that occurs in the arts and the power and relevance of that learning in addressing our personal, societal, cultural and economic needs. None of those needs will be fully met – and certainly we will not empower every young person with 21st century skills – until and unless the arts are fully and robustly present in the curriculum and life of our schools.

This lack of understanding of the role of the arts ties in with the sentiment which favours disciplines seen as directly adding to a capitalist worldview of attaining knowledge for the benefit of becoming part of economic power structures. In this regard Apple (1990:41) refers to the phenomenon which allows schools to contribute to inequality in that they are secretly organised to differentially distribute specific kinds of knowledge. They teach a hidden curriculum that seems exclusively focused on maintaining the social status order of the most powerful classes in society.

How this phenomenon intersects with race issues in a post-democratic South Africa adds to the complex nature of the role of arts in schools. That art is seen as elitist and act as a showcase for "whiteness" is confirmed by participant CPP9'S mention of art as a 'white' activity: "*Kuns is 'n wit ding*"³⁰. Historically, white people have been the proprietors of intelligence, respectability, trustworthiness and ingenuity, and the institutions, education, language and knowledge it involved translated into cultural collateral which presupposes privileges (Nkoane, 2012). The arts are very much seen as such a collateral privilege and in view of that any programme initiated and associated with "whiteness" immediately presumes imbalance of power.

Attempting to "put myself in their shoes" (Nussbaum, 2002:299) allowed for the realisation that we are all political, social, economic and ethnic constructs, and that scientific objectivity is impossible. Although the issue of race remained the 'elephant in the room' the upfront dialogues about resource scarcity and lack of perceived artistic abilities by participants opened up the possibility of meaningful relationships with colleagues and helped to gain insight into how we perpetuate

³⁰ *Art is a white thing.*

systemic and personal limitations by turning a blind eye and sustaining the status quo with regard to education in the arts (Spaull, Report Commissioned by CDE: 2013).

"It is unfortunate but true that the current educational system lacks the ability to educate most of the youth in South Africa. It is not effective. It is not efficient. It is not fair. Until such a time as the education system in South Africa can provide a quality education to all learners, not only the wealthy, we will be stuck with the current patterns of poverty and privilege"

Seen against the overwhelming problems facing South African education, art education seems to be a small aspect which is by most regarded as 'the least of our problems'. Contrariwise many scholars, including Eisner (2002), have explored the contribution of the arts in education, especially in that art education allows for self-expression which has the potential to build self-esteem. Data in the next section explore the way art activities in class impact learners emotionally and psychologically.

4.2.2.2 Art, emotional expression and self-esteem

There is clear understanding of the influence of disadvantage and exclusion in education when learning areas like maths and science are considered. Disadvantage in the development of cognitive ability is thus clearly acknowledged. What is less emphasised, is the role that exclusion from emotional enrichment can play. In this regard Eisner (2002:232) notes that expression, which is encouraged in art education, refers to an emotional release through visual materials. Painting is, for example, a "process that is often regarded as emotionally therapeutic because it presents learners with opportunities to release what is pent up inside" (Eisner, 2002:232). He states further that the arts effect enactment in various fields, including self-esteem, locus of control and creative thinking. By acknowledging the importance of emotions, the methodologies of studying emotions in education should, according to Zembylas (cited in Costandius and Bitzer, 2015:63) also receive attention: "Emotions have individual, sociocultural as well as interactional and performative implications which suggest that the ways in which we understand, experience, perform and talk about emotions are highly related to our sense of body". Eisner also refers to the impact of the arts in that it improves attitudes along with willingness to experiment, and gives students skills with which they can "explore uncertainty" (2002:10). This allows students to "invent and reinvent themselves" (Eisner, 2002:240).

It is possible that the major role player in the negotiations of power did not lie within the human interactions that took place, but rather in the silent power of art when used as a tool not for external

goals, but as a means for internal meaning making. Participant BPP2 said in this regard: "*Sometimes you find they are depressed without knowing what is going on and once they do art ... sometimes you see the type of drawing, the thing they draw ... it gives what is going on*". The following data shows awareness that feelings and emotions are integral to students' well-being and self-worth, and that the arts can be a language that can communicate that which the dominant 'school languages' of reading and writing possibly neglects. In this regard participant BPP2 said: *Art as a subject is a very potent tool for children to express the way they feel.*

In the same vein participant CSP7 said:

*As mens sien die vrugte, die results wat die kuns afwerp dan kan jy nie anders as om trots te wees nie en bly te wees en bevoorreg te wees nie. Die mooi goed wat die kinders doen, hoe die kinders presteer, uit hulle dop uit kom, wat die kinders kan doen, veral die wat nie kan skryf nie, hulle kan teken, hulle voel goed oor hulleself, want alles is mooi, veral as daar kleur by is.*³¹

Participant CPP2 also said:

*Dit [kuns] wys die kinders se gevoelens [en] gee hulle geleentheid om emosies te deel. Somtye kon ek nie gepraat het nie dan het ek met kuns my emosies gedeel.*³²

The arts are by many (principals, teachers, parents) perceived as not vital to the educational process. It is evident that although school management initially welcomed the art activities, they thought of it only as entertainment and relaxation for learners. Perceptions gradually changed to some degree in the course of eighteen months of art classes and three exhibitions that showcased learners' art publicly. As mentioned earlier it is possible that the most powerful tool in the negotiation of power relations could possibly be the subtle, convincing and pervasive power of the art experience and images itself (Appendix C). The way the learners benefit from these creative expressions was summed up by a key role player (BSPP1) in the expression: "*Art speaks*". In written feedback by learners as to the benefit of art activities for them, words like "*lekker*"³³ (CLP3), "*happy*" (CLP7), "*gelukkig*"³⁴ (CLP8), "*laat my meer voel*"³⁵ (CLP12), "*[e]k kan eendag 'n artist wees*"³⁶ (CLP9), are some expressions used by them to describe their experiences during art activities.

³¹ *If one sees the fruits, the results that the art has reaped then you can only be proud and happy and fortunate. The beautiful things that the children did, how the children achieved, came out of their shells, what the children can do, especially those who cannot write, they can draw, they feel good about themselves, because everything is beautiful, especially if there is colour added.*

³² *It [art] shows the children's feelings [and] gives them the opportunity to share emotions. Sometimes I could not speak then I shared by emotions with art.*

³³ *Nice.*

³⁴ *Happy.*

³⁵ *Makes me feel more.*

³⁶ *I can be an artist one day.*

Although there is recognition of art as an expressive tool for emotional well-being, the sentiment is still with the idea of the arts as something 'nice' or 'extra'. It seems that doing art is considered a 'soft skill' and not part of Academy with a capital A. Participant CSP7 said:

Kuns laat kinders ontspan; laat hulle beter voel oor hulleself. Ook as daar musiek by skool aangebied kan word, dit sal [sal dit] kinders 'n blaaskans van akademie af gee. Uiteindelik sal hulle net so goed vaar in ander vakke want dan het hulle iets gedoen wat vir hulle lekker is [en] wat hulle 'n liefde voor het.³⁷

Eisner (2002:10) dismisses the persistent policy-making notion that regards the arts "as nice but not necessary". He argues that complex and subtle forms of thinking takes place when learners have the opportunity to engage in meaningful image making, and that "the arts imply freedom from the strictures of literal description. This freedom is a way to liberate their emotions and their imagination" (Eisner, 2002:89). Apart from the arts perceived as a 'nice to have' activity, as seen in participant BSP2 comment: "*Once they see you, they know, yes, we are going to do something nice now, because they know what they can do*", there is a strong inclination that the arts are seen as a solution for learners unable to cope with academic expectations.

The data that revealed growing awareness of the role of the emotional in the educational process also revealed that there is a disregard of the arts as an integral aspect of cognitive development of the learner. Eisner (2002:xi) refers to this sentiment as a perception of the arts as an intellectually undemanding action "done by the hand somehow unattached to the head".

The next section will comment on how the exposure to art influences perceptions on learning and teaching processes that were often referenced in connection with learning barriers. It will also extend on how the dominant authoritarian, disciplinary and meritocratic approach to education influenced the way power relations were negotiated in the establishment of the art programme.

4.2.2.3 Learning barriers and the arts

"The arts give students a chance to reveal their individuality, their knowledge, their competence, their feelings, their beliefs, and their potential" (Stone et al., 2013:161). Exclusion from art education omits opportunities for the development of symbolic and cultural capital, as well as barring learners and teachers from finding meaningful ways of accommodating learners of all intelligence types. The

³⁷ *Art makes children relax; makes them feel better about themselves. Also when music is offered at school, it will give children a break from academics. Ultimately they will fare just as well in other subjects because then they did something that they enjoy [and] that they have a love for.*

arts are ideally situated to reveal barriers and bridges to learning (Stone et al., 2013:161). The revelations in artworks "give teachers insights and understanding to inform their teaching, to better foster the full exercise of students' imagination and creativity, and to give students confirmation that their aspirations are achievable. Those attitudes can bring about a transformation in the entire school" (Deasy, 2008:sp). Likewise Gardner is cited by Efland (2004:75) who steadfastly advocated that schools dedicate more time to those intelligences typically neglected in public schools, including the arts. He states that "[s]chools favour the cultivation of logical-mathematical and linguistic competence at the expense of the other intelligences". Participant CSP1 also refers to the negligence of the arts: "*There is only attention to these subjects [maths, science, language]. The balance is really not there*".

That the art classes provided new perceptions on teaching and learning processes became apparent in participant BSP4's comment:

I mentioned to you in the art class once that I have noticed things about learners in the art class that I could not pick up about them when they do schoolwork. Those learners that have barriers to learning, when I find out that you have chosen some of them for the expo... I was so excited to see it was them that you have chosen.

Participant BSP2 also said:

Learners who are not having a good background of courage, they are doing well in art, once they see you, they know, yes, we are going to do something nice now, because they know what they can do. So those teachers are feeling the programme is doing very well for the kids. That is why they always open their doors so that you can come in and do art.

Eisner believed that arts brought about a deeper understanding of the world and that the arts move learning beyond what is written or read.

Likewise participant BSP2 said:

[L]earners who are struggling in their schoolwork in my class... when it is time for art... they excel... that is what I noticed in my class, they excel, for most of them... they cannot write, but now when it comes to drawing or painting – they give full attention to it – they listen – they focus very well and do it perfect.

What meaning can we make from the comments above by participants on learners who are "not having a good background of courage" (BSP2) and "struggling in their schoolwork" (BSP2) and the information available to us on the role of the hidden curriculum in school achievement? Apple (1993:33) says in this regard that, like poverty, poor achievement is not an abnormality, but instead is "naturally produced": "Both poverty and curricular problems such as low achievement are integral products of the organisation of economic, cultural, and social life as we know it" (Apple 1993:33).

How does this tie in with the lack of attention given to art education and the role it can play in learner achievement and development?

The lack of art education is clearly felt by some, as can be seen in participant CPP2's remark:

At the time that you introduce us to the art programme, I said thanks God, because our learners, they have that skill, some of them they do not want to write, you notice that they are always busy drawing, drawing little mans [men], always doing their own thing, they have that skill, and when you came, I know that those that have that skill, those learners will benefit.

Participant BSP4 also said:

So for me it [the art programme] is really a good initiation for the kids because it really helps those kids that, like [refers to participant BSP6] said, can't read or write. If I could mention one of the learners, [learner name], she is not getting it in terms of writing or reading, but when it comes to art or handwork, she is the best. So I think it can also help them to choose their careers right.

And participant CPP2 concluded:

Somtyds is hulle nie goed in hulle skoolwerk nie, maar dan is hulle goed met hulle hande. Ek dink dit [die kunsprogram] is 'n baie groot ding, want as hulle sien hulle gaan dit nie maak daar by die skool nie – met die akademie nie – dan kan hulle fokus op dit wat hulle met hulle hande kan doen en daardeur kan dit hulle werk raak eendag. Party van my kinders is goed in die akademie, ander is nou weer nie goed nie, soos [leerder naam] hy is baie excited vir die kuns want hy sukkel op skool. Hy sit heeltdag en teken, hy kan nie wag dat dit sy beurt [vir kuns] is op 'n Saterdag nie.³⁸

It's not revelatory to say that the arts can engage kids. But that engagement can also be leveraged to boost academic growth and improve discipline seems like a secret that really needs to be revealed. When you see how the kids embrace these lessons, hear them tell how art helps them remember concepts better, and learn about the improvements teachers have noted in student understanding and retention, it makes you wonder why more schools aren't integrating the arts in every class (Edutopia, 2012:1).

Participant WVP3 remarked in this regard:

I sometimes ask the older children what something means to them – a picture of an animal they chose or a word or a combination of colours – often they're surprised by the question and have to think before they answer. When they say what this particular thing means to them there's a sense of recognition and pride.

³⁸ *Sometimes they are not good in their school work, but then they are good with their hands. I think it [the art programme] is a very big thing, because if they see they are not going to make it there at the school – with the academics – then they can focus on that which they can do with their hands and through that it can become their work one day. Some of my children are good with academics, others are not good, like [learner's name], he is very excited for the art because he is struggling at school. He sits and draws all day, he can't wait that it is his turn [for art] on a Saturday.*

I don't know if this is something they necessarily carry with them, but in that moment of saying it out loud I see something in their faces light up. I can't always tell if the children are really 'having fun' or expressing boundless joy when they come to class. I do notice periods of absolute quiet and concentration. In a world full of constant noise and little privacy and space, these quiet moments might be just as valuable.

Teachers also refer to the art classes in relation to class discipline. Participant BSP6 said:

The art classes – they also help with the discipline of our learners, because in this area, our learners are not disciplined at all, but now as you came into our classes the discipline has improved because if they do not want to listen in class, I tell them the art teachers are coming – at least – you must behave, otherwise if you are not behaving, I will send you to the next class, and that they do not want, they do not want to miss the art class.

And participant BSP2 also said: "*Those teachers, by being there [at Delft], they are feeling you are doing so good, because it also contributes to discipline*".

What meaning could be made of teachers' reference to discipline and the art classes? Making use of the art classes as leverage for class discipline could be indicative that teachers find the authoritarian approach to teaching as relevant and necessary in the specific area where they teach. But at the same time it could also speak of the 'natural' way in which art activities induce discipline in class.

Research on arts involvement in public schools in the United States (cited in *A white paper based on The Arts and Human Development: Learning across the Lifespan*, 2011:8) shows that "student behaviour, measured by numbers of suspensions and discipline referrals, improved in schools involved in an arts integration initiative, as did student attendance. Student academic achievement also improved: seventh-grade students in treatment schools significantly outperformed control-group students on state standardized tests in reading and math".

As positive as these references to discipline are on face value, it contributed to the imbalance of power relations in that the art classes revealed and emphasised the problems and difficulties experienced by teachers in low-income and underserved areas and gave the art programme as an 'outsider' initiative an undeserved benefit.

How did acknowledgement of the way art influences teaching and learning experiences influence the negotiating of power relations? Exposure to the arts invited the growing awareness by teachers that learners are deprived of the opportunity to experience, develop and know possible aptitudes and skills posed by the arts. Tied into this is the aspect of resource availability which further complicates the issue if it is seen as an excuse or smoke screen that covers up, legalise and naturalize the phenomenon of emphasis on meritocracy and neglect of creative and difficult to

measure activities. As mentioned earlier, this neglect of the arts is described by Apple (1990:37) as: "The relationship between economic structure and high status knowledge (which) might also explain some of the large disparities we see in levels of funding for curricular innovations in technical areas and, say, the arts".

Exposing this phenomenon could be read as an intrusion and overstepping of boundaries in an environment/space where we (art teachers from the art centre) are the outsiders. This could potentially lead to teachers feeling criticized. Does this potential conflict situation further promote "whiteness" that perpetuate inequality and social injustices, especially as issues of race and class further adds to the complexity in that it emphasises the arts as a 'privileged' activity connected to all the privileges associated with "whiteness" and the uneven distribution of power it implicates? Acknowledging my role as the 'other' in an environment alien to me on social, economic, cultural, and specifically language level, often made me ask the question as to how I would have done anything different in the same teaching environment. How is the power structures underlying my cultural upbringing and thought patterns instilled by it (as is the case in all social constructed environments) prohibiting me from emphatically engaging and understanding this teaching environment?

The next section deals with the issue of language which could possibly be one of the key barriers to optimal learning. "For students who speak little or no English, and who may face other barriers to fully engaging in the life of the school, the arts are the 'languages' that reveal their abilities and potential to teachers - the crucial connection that motivates them to learn" (Deasy, 2008:sp). "When they connect with what they're learning, it's magical," Hinojosa says. "I believe it is important ... to make that magical connection for every child, every day" (cited in Deasy, 2008:sp).

4.2.2.4 Language barriers

A post-apartheid agenda in South Africa would ideally imply democratic and social just involvement with language. But the educational reality for the majority of learners in South Africa implicates conversion from their home language to English as language of instruction at grade four level (age ten). This means that most learners – sometimes also socio-economically challenged – experience language as an almost unsurmountable barrier to a successful educational experience. This section

discusses the influence of language and how language-uses in a multilingual³⁹ school invites imbalances in power. This implicated the art programme where teaching art in mostly English and some Afrikaans in a school which consists of approximately 60% Xhosa and 40% Afrikaans speaking learners immediately emphasise the imbalance of power.

The imbalance of power became clear when grade four learners had to fill in a feedback form to gain some information from them about their experience of the art classes. Learners had difficulty expressing themselves in sentences about their art experience. On the question of how they feel when doing art they mainly used general descriptive words like good and happy. On the question of how good they understand us, all of them ticked the very good or good icon – whereas we know from teaching in class that communication and comprehension was most definitely a common problem. In retrospect the feedback form (refer to Appendix G) was definitely too difficult for them to answer and not an age appropriate tool to use for data gathering.

According to Alexander (2012:2) "language derives its power from two fundamental sources: the ability of individuals or groups to realise their intentions (will) by means of language (empowerment) or, conversely, the ability of individuals or groups to impose their agendas on others" (disempowerment of the latter). He refers to how language use succumbs in late capitalist societies to conform to market production needs and how the relation between language policy, class and power underlies the perpetuation of inequalities in society. Tollefson cited in Alexander (2012:2) says that "[language] is built into the economic and social structure of society so deeply that its fundamental importance seems only natural". The right to be able to be educated in the language that provides the best opportunity for expression, appreciation and understanding of any situation lies at the core of equality in education and holds immense implications for social justice in a post-apartheid South Africa.

The role that language plays in the learning experience is commented on by participant BSP2:

Sometimes in class you think that they are resisting you but in the end it is that they do not understand you. So yes language plays 'n big role.

³⁹ "Multilingual Education typically refers to "first-language-first" education, that is, schooling which begins in the mother tongue and transitions to additional languages" (Wikipedia 2015. Sv 'Multilingual Education'). "Multilingualism is thus the use of two or more languages, either by an individual speaker or by a community of speakers" (Wikipedia 2015. Sv 'multilingualism').

And participant CSP7 said in this regard:

*Ek kan sien dat veral die Xhosa kinders in die klas baie sukkel om opdragte te verstaan wat in Engels vir hulle gegee word. Hulle verstaan/weet niks ... nou 'imagine' om nog te skryf ...*⁴⁰

How this barrier to the comprehension of tasks bars learners from any further optimum learning experiences becomes clear in Alexander's (2012:3) reference to "[t]he self-esteem, self-confidence, potential creativity and spontaneity that come with being able to use the language that has shaped one from early childhood" (one's mother tongue). He refers to the right to be educated and work in one's mother tongue as "the foundation of all democratic polities and institutions. To be denied the use of this language is the very meaning of oppression". Alexander (2012:4) further cites Lenin in this regard:

... (a) democratic state is bound to grant complete freedom for the native languages and annul all privileges for any one language. A democratic state will not permit the oppression or the overriding of any one nationality by another, either in any particular region or in any branch of public affairs.

"To put it differently, if one does not command the language(s) of production, one is automatically excluded and disempowered" (Alexander 2012:4). How the language problem in a post-democratic South Africa ties in with the inherited problems produced by Apartheid is seen in participant CSP7's comment:

*Die probleem is dat daar te min onderwysers is wat goed genoeg Engels kan praat om die Engelse stroom aan te bied. Soos wat ons dit nou doen – dat hulle oorsakel in graad vier [van huistaal-onderrig na Engels as medium van onderrig] werk nie.*⁴¹

"For reasons connected with the colonial history of southern Africa, the language of power in post-apartheid South Africa is undoubtedly English" (Alexander, 2012:4). As such language is a tool used by society to normalise and perpetuate the cycle of inequality which sustains hegemonic actions of privilege and power bestowed on white people. This is evident in the dilemma schools and parents face in their effort to rectify disadvantages caused by language barriers (Goke-Pariola, 1993). On the question posed to parents in a group discussion on their opinion about school management's

⁴⁰ *I can see that especially the Xhosa children in the class struggle a lot to understand assignments given to them in English. They understand/know nothing ... now imagine to have to write ...*

⁴¹ *The problem is that there are too little teachers that can speak good enough English to offer classes in the English division. Like we are doing it now – that they switch over in grade four [from home language teaching to English as medium of instruction] doesn't work.*

consideration to change to English as medium of instruction from grade R⁴², the consensus as expressed by participant CSP7 was that, "[i]n graad vier 'struggle' [sukkel] hulle te veel as [hulle] moet oorgaan in Engels-skoolgaan⁴³", and participant CSP7 mentioned in this regard that, "die kinders is so 'confused' [deurmekaar] hulle weet nie hoe om 'is' en 'are' te gebruik nie. [Hulle skryf] 'I' met 'n kleinlettertjie, hulle is heel 'confused' (deurmekaar)⁴⁴".

On the issue of parents' choice for language of instruction for their children Prew (2013:n.d.) refers to a rural school-community in Eastern Cape: "The logic that the community used to argue for English as the medium of instruction was that their children were attending interviews but were not getting the jobs because they were not confident in spoken English". According to Desai (2001:330), those who opposed the language policy of the National Party (NP) government shared the view that the policy not only had negative consequences, but would also lead to the economic and educational disempowerment of black people". Desai (cited in De Wet & Wolhuter, 2001:330) stated that "the use of African languages ... was often perceived as an attempt to ghettoize African learners and deny them access to the mainstream of South African life". Furthermore, the policy placed a ceiling on opportunities for development, because it was expected of black people to acquire academic skills in two 'foreign' languages (Chick cited in De Wet & Wolhuter, 2009:366).

Participant CSP7's reaction to the same issue emphasises the complexity of the language issue:

[Dit] is moeilike probleme ... daai goed [basic language tenses, etc.] was gedril by ons... Ek dink dit [English as medium of instruction from grade R] is 'n probleem. Die ideaal is dat kinders in een taalstroom, Afrikaans, Engels of Xhosa moet kan skoolgaan tot op hoërskoolvlak – om dan oor te skakel is makliker vir hulle.⁴⁵

Goke-Pariola (1993:219) refers to Bourdieu's position on language as not only "a means of communication, but also a medium of power". There is thus a clear link between employment opportunities and language use. The language of production, which is English in South Africa, provides a power base for the users thereof which consequently exclude and disadvantage all those not fluent in English. The ways the use of language is shaped by the social environment symbolically reproduce unbalanced power relationships and social differences. Excluding the social conditions

⁴² Grade R: According to *A parent's guide to schooling – SouthAfrica.info*, Grade R (also known as grade 0) refers to the reception year for school admission at the age of four turning five by 30 June in the year of admission. (www.southafrica.info/services/education/edufacts.htm).

⁴³ [i]n grade four they struggle too much when they have to switch over to English-schooling.

⁴⁴ The children are so confused they don't know how to use 'is' and 'are'. They write 'I' with a lower case letter, they are very confused.

⁴⁵ [It] is difficult problems ... those things [basic language tenses, etc.] were drilled into us. I think it [English as medium of instruction from grade R] is a problem. The ideal is that children are schooled in one language, Afrikaans, English or Xhosa up to high school level – to switch over then is easier for them.

from the speech act means that "we have lost a crucial percentage of the meaning of the relevant linguistic exchange" (1993:220). This highlights the need for educators to understand the multiple ways in which language use are linked to who we are and the environment in which we exist).

Alexander (2012:5) further expands on the influence of the social and political environment in his reference to the tendency of most Black people continuing to associate mother tongue based education with the damages of Bantu education during the Apartheid regime. "He predicts that this inclination will continue to undermine South Africa's ability to expand and consolidate democracy and at the same time represents a built-in constraint on economic development" (Alexander 2012:5). This is reflected in how the language medium functions as a central cause of success or failure in the national exit exam. "African language speaking learners in the Western Cape tend to do badly in the matriculation examination largely because the medium of instruction and assessment is not the mother tongue, but a second or third language development" (Alexander 2012:5).

"Significantly, the only 'learning area' in which all the matriculation candidates performed at comparable levels was the First Language (Higher Grade) subject (i.e. English, Afrikaans and isiXhosa). For the Xhosa first language speakers, this subject is the only one in which they were taught and assessed in their mother tongue" (Goke-Pariola, 1993:225). This phenomenon stresses the avoidable continuity between apartheid and post-apartheid education, and reflects not just the continuation of the ideology of colonial capitalism and its internalised denigration of all things indigenous, but also shows how education has become the handmaiden of economic and political power (Goke-Pariola, 1993:225).

The power base implied by the fact that English is the main language of use in the implementation of the art programme further complicates the issue of how to balance the potential 'positive' effects with the potential 'negative' effects of the art programme. By establishing this art programme, do we work in the direction of social justice or are we perpetuating a system which covertly favours "whiteness" and perpetuate inequality in subversive ways? How does the programme (even if only in a small way) interrupt cultural reproduction and allow for a more humane and social just system concerning art education? How does it allow for the construction of equitable and fair distribution of power within society? The next section address these questions within the framework of the

possibility of schools seen as spaces where controversy on power, inequality and social justice can be addressed within the Freirean understanding of dialogue, praxis and conscientization⁴⁶.

4.2.3 Neutral territory

4.2.3.1 School as platform, teacher as agent

Mandela (1994:194) famously said that "[e]ducation is the great engine of personal development. It is through education that the daughter of a peasant can become a doctor, that the son of a mineworker can become the head of the mine, that a child of farm-workers can become the president". As mentioned earlier, schools and education can barely be seen as 'neutral' ground taking into consideration the many ways education is molded into straitjackets shaped by global power structures. This points to the necessity of recognising that the education system, as a body for social justice after democracy, allowed for segregation to continue as before. Policies and curriculums did not meet material expectations and there has been very little contribution to dialogue and ground level interaction between schools and teachers across social, economic and cultural barriers. Likewise Lewis (2003:5) states that although schools are in many ways still far from functioning as the "great equaliser" towards social just education, they do serve as a sorting mechanism, providing different students with access to different kinds of experiences, opportunities, and knowledge, which then shape their future opportunities. This relationship is particularly true for disfranchised and poor students, who are likely to have access to important tools, informations, and skills only in school (Lewis, 2003:5).

Participant BSP2 said with regard to the role of schools:

Schools and governmental institutions are platforms from which could be worked in the community, even and although we are from different areas in life. The school and the principal are agents from which to do this [start initiatives like the art programme].

And the same participant also said:

Yes, and even if you want to address the community, and get the support from the parents, the principal can arrange that, but it is best go directly to the principal of a school.

⁴⁶ Dialogue, Praxis and Conscientization: "Paulo Freire was concerned with praxis – action that is informed (and linked to certain values). Dialogue wasn't just about deepening understanding – but was part of making a difference in the world. Dialogue in itself is a co-operative activity involving respect. The process is important and can be seen as enhancing community and building social capital and to leading us to act in ways that make for justice and human flourishing. An important element of this was his concern with conscientization – developing consciousness, but consciousness that is understood to have the power to transform reality" (Taylor 1993: 52).

And in reference to the art exhibitions participant BSP1 replied:

It [art exhibitions] brings the community together and encourage parents to become involved in their children's schooling. The school also benefit from it because the parents are now encouraged to become involved with the school in other aspects as well.

Participant BSP4 remarked on the role of schools in creating awareness with parents and learners of possible future careers:

So I think it can also help them to choose their careers right. So for me it [the art programme] is really a good initiation for the kids because it really helps those kids that, like [refers to participant BSP6] said, can't read or write.

On the question of the extent of parent buy-in for the arts programme and the possibility for choosing visual arts or design as choice subject in high school Participant BSP2 commented:

Definitely, notice that some parents know, as I mentioned earlier, that their children are not doing well in the academic subjects, they would never [previously]... but with the exposure that they have seen ... what their children can do ... then, definitely they will choose art as a subject, because they can see their children are doing very well in art. At the end of the day those children can make a living out of it.

"Social justice in education as a discourse is supportive and sensitive to the plight of all human beings, especially those who have been oppressed, excluded and marginalised" (cited by Nkoane, 2012:6). McLaren (cited by Nkoane, 2012:6) argues that "social justice in education is a way of thinking about, negotiating and transforming the relationships within classroom teaching, the production of knowledge, institutional structures of the school, as well as the social and material relations of the wider community. Educators as instruments of change could eliminate inequalities on the basis of awareness of and addressing forms of social, economic and cultural hegemony" (Nkoane, 2012:6).

In the case of the art programme, addressing the dilemma of how to negotiate the imbalances of power as discussed in previous sections, Foucault (cited in Rabinow 1991:75) presents the challenge of power "not as a means of seeking some 'absolute truth' (which is in any case a socially produced power), but of detaching the power of truth from the forms of hegemony, social, economic, and cultural, within which it operates at the present time". Can we, the role players in the art programme, school management, teachers and parents, detach from the symbolic forms of meaning that constitute our histories, our social constructions, beliefs, viewpoints and preferences, and find a meaningful and 'truthful' way to work towards social justice?

Working across cultural, economic and class barriers meant that dealing with the imbalance of power often meant moving out of physical, mental and social comfort zones. When, at the beginning of the art programme, due to misunderstandings, we started the first classes unannounced, all participants had to move beyond their comfort zones. The way teachers dealt with the unease was evidence of the goodwill, understanding and willingness to move beyond the personal into 'what is best for the learners' – these words were often repeated by the class teachers. Explanations given by one of the class teachers are testimony to why schools could act as neutral spaces where changes in cultural reproduction could become possible. Participant BSP6 said:

I did not have a problem with you, the only problem that I have is that the office did not tell me that you were coming and then I was just told that you are here now and then I was confused but I know I had to allow my children to go into it and the first time they were there they enjoyed it.

The conflicts, tension and unease brought about by dealing with power relations as experienced in the establishment of this programme brought the realisation that although schools in South Africa in a post-apartheid framework should ideally be neutral spaces from which new possibilities and opportunities for learners could arise which could present the possibility of disruption of cultural reproduction, the reality is that, for change to be possible, these spaces will have to be filled with action based upon a fundamental Freirian premise: *education is a political act* and its neutrality is a myth (Vittoria, 2007:97). It is precisely in the contested and conflictual nature thereof that the unimaginable could become the possible. Greene (1995:3) calls for imagination that is the one cognitive capacity that permits us to give credence to alternative realities. It allows us to break with the taken for granted, to set aside familiar distinctions and definitions and above all it makes empathy possible.

4.3 Concluding remarks

How power relations were negotiated in the establishment of the art programme and data-collection thereof took place over a time period of 18 months. I am left with the realisation that for meaningful dialogue to take place and for the attainment of knowledge and understanding of the way power relations shape our expectations and experiences in the teaching environment, much more time and effort will have to be allocated to bridging the many barriers that divide the South African education system. Further conclusions, as well potential implications of these findings, are discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter includes the factual as well as the conceptual conclusions and implications of this research. I will share thoughts on the contribution of this research to the field of art education, specifically in South Africa, and reflect on the critique regarding the research. Some possibilities for further research will then be discussed. The concluding thoughts will refer to the three themes discussed in the data-analysis. Each theme will introduce a question which is dealt with as implications for the study in the section where the initial conceptual framework is revised.

This study originated out of the need for basic art education in a school and community where a lack thereof is experienced. The neglect of art education in the majority of schools in South Africa points to the ongoing status quo (business as usual) regarding art education, despite governmental curriculums' and policies' advocacy of the opposite. Although the art education programme referred to in this study is facilitated by a WCED art centre which functions within the same governmental and institutional framework as all governmental schools, engagement in programmes across cultural, class and economic barriers proves to be challenging. The topic for this study thus emerged from the realisation that power relations were at the core of the challenges to establish the art programme. In this regard Gore (1995:65) contends that "the apparent continuity in pedagogical practice, across sites and over time, has to do with subtle but pervasive exercises of power relations, in educational institutions and processes that remain untouched by the majority of curriculum and other reforms".

The research question was formulated as follows: How have power relations been negotiated in the establishment of an art education programme in a primary school in Delft, Western Cape? According to Bourdieu research has a political dimension in that it is a fight against all forms of symbolic repression. "By exposing through research arbitrary mechanisms that maintain power relations, the social scientist is able to challenge the legitimacy of the status quo" (Swartz 1997:260). This was an important part of the aim of this research. After the experiences of the establishment of the specific art education programme were explored and the data collection processes were completed by means of interaction with the learners, teachers, parents, collaborators and a volunteer that formed part of it, it was found that issues revolving around 1) race, 2) inequality and exclusion, and 3) neutral territory were prominent role players in the negotiation of power throughout the process.

Each of these three themes brought a range of related issues to light. The conclusions drawn from these findings, as well as their implications, will now be summarised in an effort to answer the research question.

5.2 Conclusions drawn from the findings and implications

5.2.1 Factual conclusions

Conclusions related to race, inequality and exclusion and neutral territory are discussed in the following sections.

5.2.1.1 Race

Data revealed that even though it is twenty years since the beginning of democracy, thought patterns on racial issues regarding white and black had undergone very little change. Thinking about race in a binary way is still very much embedded in the mind of the participants that took part in the research. Learners and adults mostly referenced notions of race within the framework of white as superior and black and coloured as inferior. This mind-set automatically favours institutions, teachers and concepts related to whiteness and create imbalances in power relations. The metaphor of the elephant in the room indicates how all aspects of inequality are perceived through or obscured by the race issue. According to Gore (1995:186) power relations have a marked impact on how learners and teachers experience education, especially in terms of social dynamics related to social position: class, gender, race, sexuality and age. In this study, it led to the following findings:

To deal with the unease and discomfort of racial issues, participants mostly employed a colour-blind approach. The fact that the art programme is facilitated by white teachers, contributes to the complexity of negotiating power relations across cultural barriers. Although participants' sensitivity to the racial issue seem to be opposing to the colour-blind approach, these two concepts which present itself as opposites, are in fact revealed as existing simultaneously as embodied paradoxes. Whiteness as a concept is described by Goldberg (2002:231) as much more than just implicating skin colour: It refers to those in control or benefitting from patriarchal 'whiteness', to those competing for the benefits, privileges, and profits of whiteness and to mechanisms that uphold systemic inequalities. The question could be asked if the discomfort and unease experienced by participants are really about race. Do we not actually refer to aspects of domination, oppression and privilege

that were exposed by the negotiation of power relations? Blum (2008) refers to how contemporary understandings of race have become so intersected with class undertones that it is profoundly misleading to discuss race privileges without also considering class. In this regard Fraser's (1996:18) reference to race as a construct compounded by social status hierarchies and economic class becomes meaningful. Racial concepts and meanings are simultaneously shaped by cultural hierarchies as well as by the economic structure of a capitalist society. In taking race and class issues in consideration a social justice agenda would entail that an education system seriously contest the normalisation of processes which benefit some learners while disowning others. The neglect of art education is an example thereof. The majority of South African learners are not exposed to art education, in spite of policies' and curriculums' demand thereof. Art education is perceived as a 'nice to have' activity which is not seen as crucial to learner development.

Data also refers to historically and culturally produced sentiments about art, which is rooted in an apartheid education system that establishes art education as a white privileged activity. In the light of this Barnett and Coate (2008) refer to a hidden curricula or a curriculum within a curriculum, where what is said on paper and in policy documents does not always correspond with what is happening in actual educational interactions. Kentli (2009:86) also refers to Henry Giroux whose views on a hidden curricula as opposed to the formal curriculum in schools explain how dominant perceptions can covertly be imposed by "unstated norms, values, and beliefs embedded in and transmitted to students through underlying rules that structure the routines and social relationships in school and classroom".

To come back to the research question, providing art education as white teachers within the framework of prevailing ideas on art education as a white privilege activity was key to negotiating power relations. The power implicated by 'white as good/great' and the way the art centre unjustly benefits from its association with 'whiteness' are examples of reasons why unease and discomfort were experienced by role players. It opened a metaphorical tin of worms exposing all the aspects of an education system that is still not capable of delivering the high standard of education demanded by both curriculum and policy to the majority of learners in South Africa. It brought to light the fact that art education is considered to be a status symbol that is affordable only to the privileged and associated with whiteness. The key question that emerged from the data concerning power relations and the racial issue is whether exposure to white teachers within the social framework of this art programme actually becomes a perpetuation of the stereotypical 'white as good'-notion? Do the

advantages of alleviating the problem of poor art education outweigh the drawbacks of perpetuating perceptions of white superiority?

It could therefore be meaningful for teachers to become knowledgeable in the functioning of the hidden curricula which subverts educational practice and encourages teachers to become caught up in the micro-management of everyday schooling to such an extent that little attention is given to how we have become instrumental to the outplay of systemic injustices.

5.2.1.2 Conclusions related to inequality and exclusion

Ignorance to the way issues of race and class are entangled with systemic injustices acts to uphold disadvantages resulting from the scarcity of human and material resources available to learners, educators, and parents. In post-Apartheid South Africa this complex intersection of class and race, which is reflected in educational inequality, is explained by Whitehead (2013:7) as a simultaneous "continuity and discontinuity of the racial economic order that operated under apartheid, as significant changes have occurred with respect to the substantial emerging black middle class, while poverty, wealth and inequality remain significantly racialized". Terreblanche, Seekings & Natrass (cited in Whitehead 2013:7) further refer to the race-class intersection in that black people, making up almost 70 percent of the population, experience the same level of exclusion and exploitation as under apartheid, resulting in an escalation of inequality. Louw (cited in Whitehead 2013:7) uses the phrase "blurred racial capitalism" to describe how racial inequality is now less obvious, yet the apartheid-era racial divide continues in many ways.

Data revealed that various aspects were identified as lived and felt inequalities which manifested as exclusions from economic, cultural and social resources. Participants regard the lack of art material resources as key to the ensuing downplay of art education. They mention the lack of attention given to teacher art education education/training which results in teachers experiencing little confidence in their abilities to foster creative aspects of learners, as well as a low degree of knowledge of the role of art education in child development. Inequality and exclusion from cultural capital were further experienced as a result of the seeming lack of administrative and governmental support and demand for art education. In this regard Prew (cited in DoE 2009:3) said on the implementation of policies at school: "Policies are seen as irrelevant. Those on language and religion, for instance, are largely ignored. This in turn defeats and degrades the concept of policy".

The lack of understanding of the role of the arts in child development ties in with the sentiment which favours disciplines that encourage a capitalist worldview of attaining knowledge that will facilitate integration into economic power structures. Art is mostly disregarded by participants and seen as a discipline not in demand in terms of career opportunities. Apple (1990) refers to the way in which schools are contributing to inequality through the implicit structures that encourage the sharing of certain types of information. "They teach a hidden curriculum that seems uniquely suited to maintain the ideological hegemony of the most powerful classes in this society" (Apple 1990:43).

Although there is recognition and enthusiastic appreciation among participants of art as an expressive tool for emotional well-being, the arts are still regarded as something 'nice' or 'extra'. It seems that doing art is considered a 'soft skill' and not part of academy with a capital A. Gardner (cited in Efland 2004:75) refers to schools that favour the cultivation of logical, mathematical and linguistic competence, in spite of new theories in education like the multiple intelligence theory (referred to earlier in this study) that advocate the arts as cognitive areas. Likewise Eisner (2002: xi) refers to this perception where art is regarded as an intellectually undemanding action "done by the hand somehow unattached to the head". The educational potential of the "liberation of emotions and imagination" (Eisner 2002:10) by means of the arts is elucidated by Greene (1995:129) when she talks of the power of art to "engage the imagination in such ways as to resist the forces that press people into passivity and bland consent and to become aware of the ways in which certain dominant social practices enclose us in moulds or frames". It seems that the hidden curricula provide such a vehicle by which learners and teachers are moulded and framed to perpetuate systems of inequality.

Further data extended on the way art seem to be a neutralising factor when learning and language barriers are considered. Participants acknowledge that most learners not only enjoy but thrive on art and specifically mention how learners with learning difficulties in other subjects often seem to do well in their art activities. Both art teachers from the art centre and teachers from the school observed how the language barrier causes lack of comprehension which deprives learners from any further optimal creative experiences, especially because lack of understanding of tasks due to language barriers promotes imitation and conform to peer and teacher examples. Alexander's (2012:3) reference supports this observation when he talks about "the self-esteem, self-confidence, potential creativity and spontaneity that come with being able to use the language that has shaped one from early childhood" (one's mother tongue). To be prohibited from using one's mother tongue represents the very essence of exclusion and disempowerment. The above-mentioned aspects of exclusion from material and human resources, lack of opportunities for emotional expression

through art and learning and language barriers contribute to participants' experience of inequality and exclusion.

In light of the research question the following query arises: How did the abovementioned findings of acknowledgement of the way the art classes impact teaching and learning experiences influence the negotiation of power relations? Exposure to the arts led to a growing awareness that learners are deprived of the opportunity to discover and develop possible aptitudes for and skills in the arts. Tied into this is the issue of resource availability which further complicates power relations, especially if the lack of resources is used as an excuse or smoke screen to cover up, legalise and naturalise the phenomenon of neglecting creative and difficult-to-measure activities in favour of assessment and test-orientated activities.

In negotiating power relations, awareness of not overstepping boundaries as outsiders which could be considered as criticism, became crucial. Does this potential conflict situation further promote 'whiteness' that perpetuates inequality and social injustices? Acknowledging my role as the 'other' in an environment alien to me on social, economic, cultural and specifically language level often prompted me to wonder what I could have done differently in the same teaching environment. How are the power structures underlying my cultural upbringing and the thought patterns it instilled in me (as is the case in all social constructed environments) prohibiting me from empathetically engaging and understanding this teaching environment? "We talk equality but we implement differentiation, so in reality we have a two-tiered school system" (Prew cited in DoE, 2009:3). In a sense the art programme is an example of a modest effort to bridge the gap between the poor and the privileged as far as educational opportunities goes. For a better understanding of the complex South African educational landscape, could sensitization to the agendas of the hidden curricula promote the ability to hold the opposites of poverty and privilege in simultaneous observation and could such a view on education cultivate within teachers more understanding of how the opposites of poor and privileged intersects with class and race and power to shape the outplay thereof in education?

I am reminded of a reflection I wrote during the months of research in which I state how rewarding the process of entering into dialogue with teachers were, even though we all knew that immediate change and solutions to educational difficulties would not magically arrive from the discussions or the interventions and research. But acknowledgement of feelings, complaints, desires and dreams from all parties involved, made the moments of sharing during the dialogue processes immensely

meaningful. The Freirian process of engaging in critical dialogue presupposes people's right to knowledge and culture and their right to change attitudes, perceptions or beliefs consciously by means of engaging in critical dialogue. Freire believed that "awakening in people a critical conscience which enables them not only to know what needs changing but 'be fully human,' which is the right of every person and not only of the privileged few" (Yeasmin & Rahman 2012:14). Yeasmin and Rahman (2012:14) note that it is this awareness that serves as the catalyst for people to desire and fight for social change.

To stay within the discomfort⁴⁷ (Zembylas and McGlynn 2012) of these potential conflict situations seems for the moment the only way to go forward. The question that featured prominently from the data on inequality and exclusion is how to best make use of these moments of discomfort - which are potentially loaded with guilt, shame, resentment and the shadow of oppression - to create opportunities and change for learners from all strata of the South African society.

5.2.1.3 Conclusions related to neutral territory

The art centre and the school where the art programme were established are government institutions. However, negotiating power relations across cultural, economic and language barriers, proved to be complex. The art programme was initiated as a community project and art classes on Saturdays were originally taught from a private house belonging to a community resident. Incidents occurred which problematised the continuation of the programme and as a result all art classes were relocated to the school. In reflection on the establishment of the programme in the community, participants felt that utilising schools as spaces to encourage community involvement contributed positively to the school and community at large. The specific benefits of the art programme for the school were its contribution to parent participation in children's school activities and its encouragement of mutual parent-learner appreciation - all which boost cooperation between parents and school. This brought some awareness that schools could possibly be neutral platforms which could provide symbolic and physical ideal spaces where contested issues can be dealt with.

⁴⁷ "A pedagogy of discomfort, as an educational approach, emphasises the need for educators and students alike to move outside their 'comfort zones'. Pedagogically, this approach assumes that discomforting emotions play a constitutive role in challenging dominant beliefs, social habits and normative practices that sustain social inequities and in creating possibilities for individual and social transformation "(Zembylas and McGlynn 2012:41).

In reference to the way the hidden curricula sustains ways in which power relations are played out, Giroux and Apple's (cited in Margolis 2001:17) view of schools, not just as places of domination but also of contestation, becomes important. Because of the variable nature of hidden curricula, open spaces are created which make resistance against social control mechanisms possible. Furthermore, teachers and learners actively take part in the system that attempts to socialise them, they are not merely indifferent receivers. The school and hidden curricula should be understood as a "symbolic, material, and human environment" that is continuously being recreated (Apple 1993:144). In the case of the art programme, addressing the dilemma of how to negotiate the imbalances of power as discussed in previous sections, Foucault (in Rabinow 1991:75) further presents the challenge of power "not as a means of seeking some 'absolute truth' (which is in any case a socially produced power), but of detaching the power of truth from the forms of hegemony, social, economic, and cultural, within which it operates at the present time".

The key question that emerged from the data concerning power relations and neutral territory was whether we, the role players in the art programme, school management, teachers and parents, can detach from the symbolic forms of meaning that constitute our histories, our social constructions, beliefs, viewpoints and preferences, and find a meaningful and 'truthful' way to work towards social justice.

5.2.2 Adjusted conceptual framework and implications

After analysis and interpretation of the data, the conceptual framework (Figure 2.3) had to be adjusted to incorporate the findings of this research. It now shows how the race issue (indicated by a dashed line) obscures unbiased observation of the learner in the education process. As discussed earlier in the data-analysis and in the factual conclusion sections, the themes of resource scarcity as well as the theme of language and learning barriers all intersect with the issue of race in such a complex way that a 'first glance' could lead to oversimplification of the problem of inequality in education by emphasising the racial issue. This oversimplification masquerades as inaccurate understandings and could act as a disguise that serves to prevent investigation into some of the real issues underlying inequality in education.

As argued earlier, a social justice agenda implicates the role of education as crucial in the Bourdieusian sense (as discussed in theoretical perspectives) of shifting modes of cultural inclinations in upward mobility by providing equal educational opportunities to all learners. The above mentioned barriers to learner success which were exposed by means of negotiating power relations, positions the teacher at the heart of addressing educational problems. Contrary to popular thought, research (Spaull, Report Commissioned by CDE: 2013) has shown that resource scarcity might not be the key problem, but that the focus should be on teacher education approach. In light of this, the question arises whether it will be meaningful for teachers to become knowledgeable in the functioning of the hidden curricula which subverts educational practice and cause teachers to unwittingly become caught up in the micro-management of everyday schooling to such an extent that little attention is paid to the 'how and why' of teaching, implicating that teachers unintentionally become instrumental to the playing out of systemic injustices. Learning difficulties, language barriers and resource scarcity could be addressed by means of focussing on teacher education processes that has been designed with an understanding of the specific South African educational reality and with a focus on social justice (see module on hidden curricula for teacher education in adjusted conceptual framework, figure 5.2.2).

The emphasis on teacher education is in accordance with the questions asked in the factual conclusion on the themes of race, inequality and exclusion, and school as neutral territory. Concerning power relations and race, the first theme poses the question whether the advantages of alleviating the problem of poor art education outweigh the drawbacks of perpetuating perceptions of white superiority. Likewise, the question concerning power relations that featured prominently from the data on the second theme, inequality and exclusion, is how teachers could best find a way to make use of the moments of discomfort and potential conflict in attempt to narrow the divide that separate the poor from the privileged. The third theme, concerning power relations and neutral territory, also implicate teachers directly by posing the question of how we, the role players in the art programme (i.e. the teachers from the art centre), school management, teachers and parents can detach from the symbolic forms of meaning that constitute our histories, our social constructions, beliefs, viewpoints and preferences, and find a meaningful and 'truthful' way to work towards social justice.

The questions above implicate the possibility that oblivious adherence by teachers to values and beliefs covertly instilled by hidden curricula can lead to the perpetuation of imbalanced power relations as well as to obscured interpretations of barriers to optimal learning experiences.

Knowledge about the deep and far-reaching impact of hidden curricula is crucial for recognising the subtle ways in which power relations underlie values, principles and practices of teacher and learner every day experiences. What further distorts the teaching and learning processes is the emphasis on exam-oriented education that favours a technocratic approach instead of placing reflection and open-endedness at the centre of knowledge attainment and practical schooling. A possible strategy for ensuring higher levels of knowledge about the hidden curricula, its practical implications for education, and its role in working towards social justice, could be the introduction of a module on hidden curricula at higher education level as part of the current teacher training education curriculum. It could include a theoretical and practical component. To include current teacher input and ensure awareness of the phenomenon on a wider and deeper level, the practical component could be included in the supervised field work module of student teachers. Workshops on the phenomenon of hidden curricula under the umbrella of social justice could be offered as in-service training sessions for current teachers.

Apple concluded that curriculum should resist hegemonic assumptions which ignore the actual working of power in cultural and social life and which points to a knowledge which is divorced from the real human actors who created it. He believed the key to uncover the influence of hidden curricula, is conflict (1993:83). Likewise, data from this study revealed that in negotiating power relations, potential conflict situations that caused discomfort could be dealt with within a Freirian (as discussed in the theoretical perspective section) approach to dialogue. The way the hidden curricula allows for the 'normalisation' of the neglect of art education could potentially be dealt with taking a right or wrong position, but it became clear during the dialogue process that the different ways of dealing with and interpreting curriculums and policies cannot be judged by the same standard. Freire's system of conscientisation (critical consciousness) created a space of deep connection and empathy where knowledge and 'little narratives' of each individual teacher and parent could be respected and considered as fully legitimate and valuable (Griffiths, 2003). The dialogue process opened such moments of "truths" (Foucault in Rabinow 1991:75) which could be explored and which were not only crucial to the negotiating of power relations in the establishment of the programme, but were key to the continuing of the programme. Although all the teachers participating in the programme are part of an institutionalised system, what made the difference in the end was how each role player was able to detach from the symbolic forms of meaning that constitute his/her histories, social constructions, beliefs, viewpoints and preferences. What became clear was that to be able to move past ingrained and set ideas implicates emotional maturity and presupposes a process of ongoing personal transformation.

Opportunities for teachers to become part of a community of teachers (from across culture, class and economic barriers) where dialogue and reflection on teaching practices and enquiry into educational philosophy can take place in a safe, non-competitive environment could firstly help teachers to make the change from teaching within a pragmatic and technocratic approach to a teaching approach embedded in reflection, educational philosophy, personal transformation and social justice, and could secondly help to demystify the paralysing role of hidden curricula in the perpetuation of educational inequality.

The study revealed that the influence of hidden curricula is distinctively stronger than actual policy instructions and that prevailing perceptions on art as a subject crucial to learner development should be addressed. It further implicates that an awareness of the hidden curricula should be created on school and community level and implicates the aspects of dialogue, conflict and personal transformation as the driving forces for a more inclusive and socially just education system. This study therefore contributed to the research field of art education in a post-Apartheid South African context.

5.3 Further research and critique of the research

I am fully aware of the impossibility of objectivity in any research that entails cross cultural interaction and a critique of the study could point out that to observe power relations that deal with intercultural relations from a single point of view could possibly bring partial knowledge to the field of study. It would therefore be advantageous if this kind of field study could be dually performed by researchers that represent the multicultural society of South Africa.

In light of the underutilising of schools as symbolic and physical spaces for thwarting cultural reproduction (as discussed in the section on theoretical perspectives), and seen from the perspective that something that is hidden has great power, a possible area for further study could be to explore how processes that encourage parents and teachers to lay bare and unpack the influences of hidden curricula could contribute to a demystifying of ideologies that uphold power relations and the paralysing perceptions on race and class.

5.4 Concluding thoughts

This study explored how power relations were negotiated in the establishment of an art education programme in a school in Delft. The themes of race, inequality and exclusion as well as schools utilised as neutral spaces were central to the negotiation of power relations and implicated key concepts of dialogue, conflict and personal transformation. Without exposing the hidden structures that underlies the education system, it could be assumed that we will perpetuate a two-tiered system which will uphold imbalanced power relations and perpetuate inequality, exclusivity, and segregation. Although change in deeply rooted systems is slow, awareness and understanding thereof, as well as a willingness to allow a continuing process of personal transformation driven by dialogue and empathy could be the driving force for a more socially just education system.

The introduction to the study introduces Maxine Greene's call for the need to make some amendment in this troubled time by utilising art – and specifically the imagination – as a means for social change. Greene states that one of the reasons why the imagination is a key means for direction is that the "imagination is what, above all, makes empathy possible" (Greene 1995:3). "It is what enables us to cross the empty spaces between ourselves and those we call the 'other'. Imagination is the one cognitive capacity that permits us to give credence to alternative realities. If those 'other' are willing to give us clues, we can look in some manner through strangers' eyes and hear through their ears to enable us to set aside the taken for granted and set definitions and distinctions. It is on the day that we can conceive of a different state of affairs that a new light fall on our troubles and our suffering and that we decide that these are unbearable" (Greene 1995:5).

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and transformative possibilities. *British Educational Research Journal*, 38(1): 41-59.

APPENDICES

Appendix A

Meeting in the community hall. Introduction, presentation and discussion of art classes in community. February 2014



Simphiwe Ndzube, an up-and-coming South African artist studying Fine Art at UCT speaks to the residents about the value of art in his life.



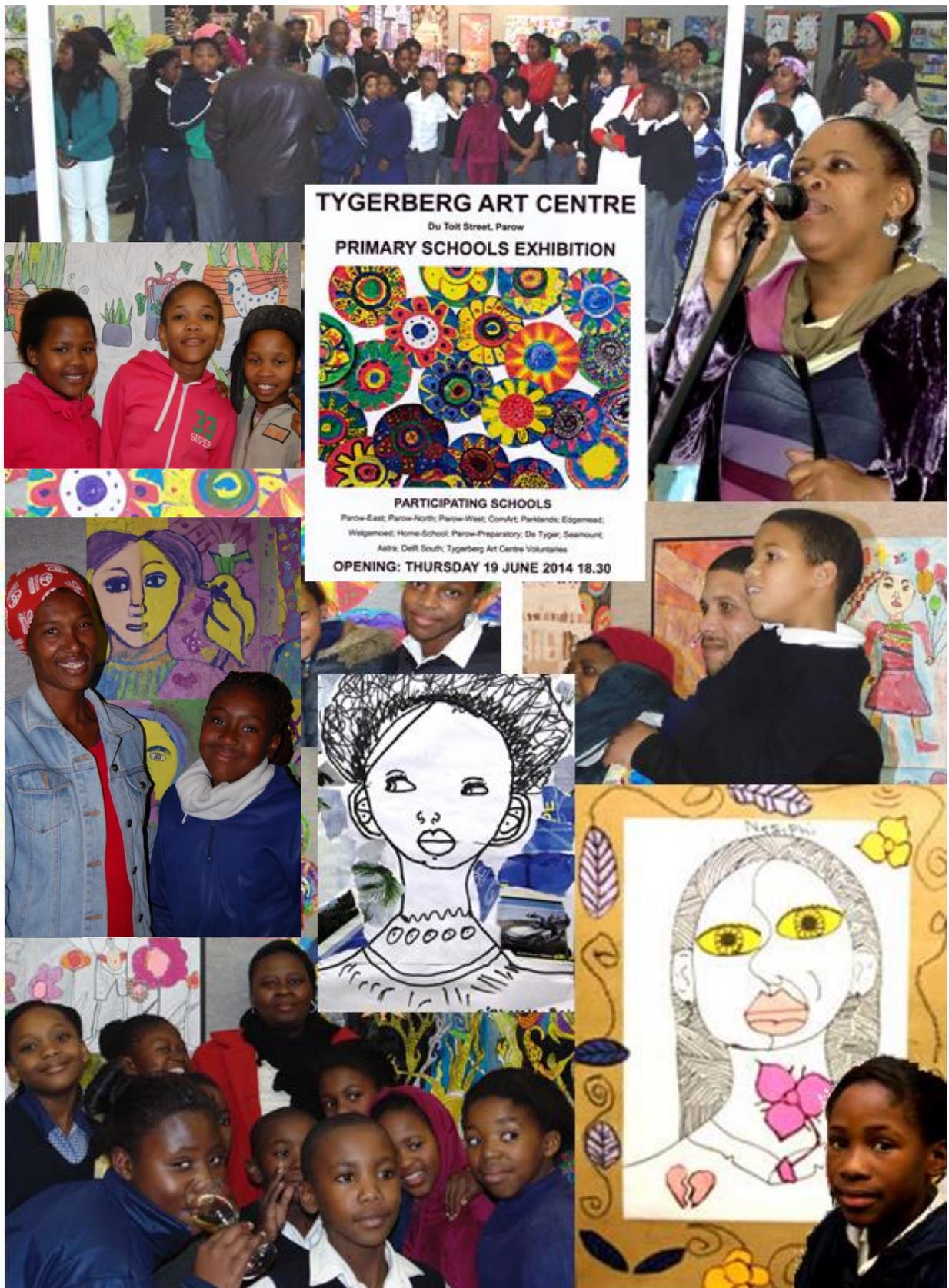
First art class: February 2014



Delft
Children's
Art
Programme
2014/2015

Appendix C

Art Exhibitions



Appendix D

Art classes at Delft South Primary



Self-portraits: Delft South Primary Gr. 4 learners



Appendix E

Interview guide

Interview questions

MA Visual Arts (Art Education)

University of Stellenbosch

K Meiring

Research Title:

Negotiating power relations in the establishment of an art education programme in a primary school in Delft, Western Cape

Interview questions for principal / deputies / teachers:

Question 1-6: General perceptions regarding creative arts and visual arts education.

- 1 In your experience how is the creative arts (specific visual arts) as a tool for child development perceived by the:
 - teachers
 - community (parents etc.)
 - governmental/district advisors
- 2 What are the prevailing ideas about art and its value in the community, its economic/career/recreational/developmental, etc. implications?
- 3 How can we improve the connection between the programme and the creative arts curriculum?
- 4 What do you think learners take from the programme?
- 5 Please elaborate on the aspects that are influential to the teaching of creative art (specific visual arts) in your classroom and school environment.
- 6 How did the art processes in class (art activities and art products) stimulate your observations of learners?

Question 7 – 16: Perceptions regarding the relationship between the art centre and the school

- 7 How do you perceive the art centre?
- 8 How do you perceive the role of the art centre in providing a service to schools in art education?
- 9 What are your feelings regarding how the art centre teachers initiated and established the art programme at your school? Why do you feel this way? Did you maybe experience intrusion - stepping on your toes, why?

Appendix F

Feedback Form - Parents



1. Were you exposed to art classes as a child/learner?
 Yes No

If yes, where were you exposed to art?
 School
 Home
 After school activity / Church / Community hall
 Other

2. If you answered yes to question 1, how did you express yourself creatively as a child/learner?
 Drawing
 Painting
 Pottery
 Beadwork
 Sewing
 Wood/metalwork
 Other (please name the activity)

3. How does your child experience the art classes? Can you see value therein for him/her? If so, what kind of value?

4. What about the fact that we are women, from a different cultural, socioeconomic, etc. background? How do you think this influences the learning of the children? Why?

5. How do you regard the quality of the art education programme that we have developed for your child/en? What makes it good/bad quality? Why do you feel this way?

6. What suggestions do you have for the art classes?

Appendix G

Feedback Form - Learners

ART
Delft Art Classes
Feedback Form: Learners

1. How do you feel when you do art?
2. What did you learn from the art classes that you did not know before?
3. What have you learned about yourself from the art classes?
4. Would it be different if the art teachers would have been from your own community/school? How so? And why?
5. How do you think can art classes help you in the future?
6. Do you understand what the art teachers are saying in class? Make a (✓) next to your answer.
Very good
Good
Not good
Bad
7. What can we do better, (differently) in the art classes?

Appendix H

Consent - Parents



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jou kennisvenoot • your knowledge partner

STELLENBOSCH UNIVERSITY
CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

Consent form for principals, deputies, teachers, volunteers, parents and collaborators participating in research for MA Visual Arts (Art Education)

Title of study: Negotiating power relations in the establishment of an art education programme in a school in Delft, Western Cape

You are asked to participate in a research study conducted by Kobie Meiring, for a MA in Visual Arts (Education) at the Visual Arts Department at Stellenbosch University.

1. PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

To gain insight into power relations that played out during the implementation of an art programme and to inform future interactions between different role players.

2. PROCEDURES

If you volunteer to participate in this study, we would ask you to do one or more of the following things:

Participate in completing a questionnaire as well as a possible individual interview or group discussion about your experience of the art education programme and the expectations and perceptions of power relations you experience in teaching, learning and the curriculum within the project.

Questionnaire completion and individual interviews will take 15 – 30 minutes. There might be a follow-up session for discussions or interviews, which will take about 30 minutes. Observations during implementation of the programme and during art classes will only take place if all partakers agree to participate.

Agree that informal observations made throughout the implementation of the art education programme to be used as research.

Interviews and group discussions will take place in a lecture room on the Unisa Campus in Parow, in the conference room at the Tygerberg Art Centre, in the classrooms of teachers as well as in the staffroom and offices of the principal and deputies of the Delft South Primary School.

3. POTENTIAL RISKS AND DISCOMFORTS

I do not foresee any concrete risks to participants but it is true that the researcher is in a power position that may be influenced by what participants say in interviews. This is something that I will be very aware of, and I will try my best not to be influenced by the responses from participants that may influence their relationships to the programme. The power position and relation of the teacher (researcher) and learner as well as researcher and other participants of the study will also be an aspect that I will address as a critical issue.

4. POTENTIAL BENEFITS TO SUBJECTS AND/OR TO SOCIETY

Participants will not benefit from the participation. Because of this study insight into power relations could be gained and resources could be shared in order for more learners to benefit from art education.

5. PAYMENT FOR PARTICIPATION

Participants will not receive payment for participating.

6. CONFIDENTIALITY

Any information that is obtained in connection with this study and that can be identified with you as participant will remain confidential and will be disclosed only with your permission or as required by law. Confidentiality will be maintained by means of keeping all written notes and voice recordings safe in a locked drawer in my classroom. I am the only person who has access to the keys for the drawer. Any participant may request to look at the notes or listen to the voice recordings of their individual contributions at any stage. Participants may review or edit any information mentioned in interviews or observation sessions.

Results will be reported in the MA study, but any learner, student or lecturer may decide to edit or review their comments at any time before it is published. The publishing date will be made available to all participants and a suitable time frame will be allowed for responses. Information will be erased when the MA study is published.

The participants who contribute to the research will be briefed, and their participation is voluntary. To protect the identities of participants, I will not reveal any names. All information provided by participants will be kept confidential. Information about participants will not be shared with other participants.

7. PARTICIPATION AND WITHDRAWAL

You may choose whether to participate in this study or not. If you volunteer to be a part of this study, you may withdraw at any time without consequences of any kind. You may also refuse to answer any questions you don't want to answer and still remain part of the study. The investigator may withdraw you from this research if circumstances arise which warrant doing so.

8. IDENTIFICATION OF INVESTIGATORS

If you have any questions or concerns about the research, please feel free to contact the researcher, Kobie Meiring, at 0834570182 or at work 021 9399293, Tygerberg Art Centre, Du Toit Street, Parow; or the supervisors, Elmarie Constandius and Karolien Perold, at 021 8083053 at the Visual Arts Department office 2023, Victoria Street, Stellenbosch.

9. RIGHTS OF RESEARCH SUBJECTS

You may withdraw your consent at any time and discontinue participation without penalty. You are not waiving any legal claims, rights or remedies because of your participation in this research study. If you have questions regarding your rights as a research subject, contact Ms Maléne Fouché [mfouche@sun.ac.za; 021 808 4622] at the Division for Research Development.

SIGNATURE OF RESEARCH SUBJECT OR LEGAL REPRESENTATIVE

Participants

The information above was described to me by Kobie Meiring in English and Afrikaans and I am in command of these languages. I was given the opportunity to ask questions and these questions were answered to my satisfaction.

I hereby consent voluntarily to participate in this study.

I have been given a copy of this form.

Name of Participant

Name of Parent / Legal Representative (if applicable)

Signature of Participant / Parent or Legal Representative

Date

SIGNATURE OF INVESTIGATOR

I declare that I explained the information given in this document to _____

_____ [name of the participant] and/or [his/her]

representative Kobie Meiring [name of the representative]. [He/she] was encouraged and given ample time to ask me any questions. This conversation was conducted in English and Afrikaans and no translator was used.

Signature of Investigator

Date

Appendix I

Consent - Learner



UNIVERSITEIT • STELLENBOSCH • UNIVERSITY
jou kennisvennoot • your knowledge partner

STELLENBOSCH UNIVERSITY
CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

Consent form for a group of learners from a community in Delft taking part in community art classes. Age 5-13. Volunteers and collaborators are also participating in this study.

You are asked to participate in a research study conducted by Kobie Meiring, for a MA in Visual Arts (Art Education) at the Visual Arts Department at Stellenbosch University.

Title of study: Negotiating power relations in the establishment of an art education programme in a school in Delft, Western Cape

1. PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

To gain insight into power relations that played out during the implementation of an art programme and to inform future interactions between different role players.

2. PROCEDURES

If you volunteer to participate in this study, we would ask you to do one or more of the following things:

Participate in completing a questionnaire as well as a possible individual interview or group discussion about your experience of the art education programme and the expectations and perceptions of power relations you experience in teaching, learning and the curriculum within the project.

Questionnaire completion and individual interviews will take 15 – 30 minutes. There might be a follow-up session for discussions or interviews, which will take about 30 minutes. Observations during implementation of the programme and during art classes will only take place if all partakers agree to participate.

Agree that informal observations made throughout the implementation of the art education programme can be used as research.

Interviews and group discussions will take place in a lecture room on the Unisa Campus in Parow, in the conference room at the Tygerberg Art Centre, in the classrooms of teachers as well as in the staffroom and offices of the principal and deputies of the Delft South Primary School.

3. POTENTIAL RISKS AND DISCOMFORTS

I do not foresee any concrete risks to participants.

4. POTENTIAL BENEFITS TO SUBJECTS AND/OR TO SOCIETY

Participants will not benefit from the participation.

5. PAYMENT FOR PARTICIPATION

Participants will not receive payment for participating.

6. CONFIDENTIALITY

Any information that is obtained in connection with this study and that can be identified with you as participant will remain confidential and will be disclosed only with your permission or as required by law. Confidentiality will be maintained by means of keeping all written notes and voice recordings safe in a locked drawer in my classroom. I am the only person who has access to the keys for the drawer. Any participant may request to look at the notes or listen to the voice recordings of their individual contributions at any stage. Participants may review or edit any information mentioned in interviews or observation sessions.

Results will be reported in the MA study, but any learner, student or lecturer may decide to edit or review their comments at any time before it is published. The publishing date will be made available to all participants and a suitable time frame will be allowed for responses. Information will be erased when the MA study is published.

The learners will be briefed, and their participation is voluntary. All volunteers will be informed of the action and be free to withdraw without any consequences regarding their relationships with the Tygerberg Art Centre, NGO or other collaborators.

To protect the identities of participants, I will not reveal any names. The information provided by learners will be kept confidential.

7. PARTICIPATION AND WITHDRAWAL

You may choose whether to participate in this study or not. If you volunteer to be a part of this study, you may withdraw at any time without consequences of any kind. You may also refuse to answer any questions you don't want to answer and still remain part of the study. The investigator may withdraw you from this research if circumstances arise which warrant doing so.

8. IDENTIFICATION OF INVESTIGATORS

If you have any questions or concerns about the research, please feel free to contact the researcher, Kobie Meiring, at 0834570182 or at work 021 9399293, Tygerberg Art Centre, Du Toit Street, Parow; or the supervisors, Elmarie Constandius and Karolien Perold, at 021 8083053 at the Visual Arts Department office 2023, Victoria Street, Stellenbosch.

9. RIGHTS OF RESEARCH SUBJECTS

You may withdraw your consent at any time and discontinue participation without penalty. You are not waiving any legal claims, rights or remedies because of your participation in this research study. If you have questions regarding your rights as a research subject, contact Maryke Hunter-Hüsselmann (mh3@sun.ac.za; 021 808 4623) at the Division for Research Development.

Appendix J

CAPS – Intermediate Phase, Creative Arts

LIFE SKILLS GRADES 4-6

Creative Arts

Creative Arts provides exposure to and study of a range of art forms including dance, drama, music, and visual arts. The purpose of Creative Arts is to develop learners as creative, imaginative individuals, with an appreciation of the arts. It also provides basic knowledge and skills to be able to participate in creative activities. A safe and supportive environment is created for learners to explore, experience and express thoughts, ideas and concepts within an atmosphere of openness and acceptance. Creative Arts provides opportunities for learners to give expression to their feelings and understandings, individually and in collaboration with others. It creates a foundation for balanced creative, cognitive, emotional and social development. Creative Arts education, when successfully applied, has been proven to improve literacy and to reduce education dropout levels. By the end of the Intermediate Phase Creative Arts, learners should have a basic knowledge and appreciation of all four art forms, and should be able to make an informed choice about the two art forms they would like to focus on during the Senior Phase.

Creative Arts will be studied in two parallel and complementary streams – Visual Arts and Performing Arts (Dance, Drama, Music).

Visual Arts provides the learner with an opportunity to discover through play, while building on the skills and techniques that were mastered in the Foundation Phase. Visual Arts encourages an awareness of art elements and design principles found in the natural and the built environment, and enriches the learner's personal experience of the world. Opportunities are provided for social, emotional and intellectual development, and through non-verbal expression and the process of creating art, the learner comes to understand symbolic language. Visual Arts in the intermediate phase provides the learner with the opportunity to explore, and to make decisions about the choice of this discipline in the senior phase.

The three topics for Visual Arts are:

- 1) Visual literacy
- 2) Create in 2D
- 3) Create in 3D

While Performing Arts recognises that in African arts practice, integration is fundamental, it also notes the need for the learning of skills separately in dance, drama and music. There are many complementary and overlapping areas of practice in these arts forms and the focus is on the inclusive nature of the arts. Since the nature of integrated arts practice is such that it may be difficult to develop specialised skills in the classroom within the allocated time, it is suggested that learners wanting to specialise in a particular musical instrument or in a particular dance form, take extra-mural classes for this purpose.

The four topics for Performing Arts are:

- 1) Warm up and play – preparing the body and voice, and using games as tools for learning skills;
- 2) Improvise and create – using arts' skills spontaneously to demonstrate learning, individually and collaboratively;
- 3) Read, interpret and perform – learning the language of the art form, and interpreting and performing artistic products in the classroom;
- 4) Appreciate and reflect – demonstrating understanding and appreciation of own and others' artistic processes and/or products.

Appendix K

ID Coding

Participants: Teachers

NAME	CODE
Teacher: School Participant	(SP)
Teacher 1	BSP1
Teacher 2	BSP2
Teacher 3	BSP3
Teacher 4	BSP4
Teacher 5	BSP5
Teacher 6	BSP6
Teacher 7	CSP7

Participants: Volunteer and Collaborators

NAME	CODE
Volunteer and Collaborator Participant 1	(VP)
Volunteer and Collaborator Participant 2	CVP1
Volunteer and Collaborator Participant 3	WVP2
Volunteer and Collaborator Participant 4	WVP3

Participants: Parents

NAME	CODE
Parent Participant	(PP)
Parent 1	CPP1
Parent 2	CPP2
Parent 3	CPP3
Parent 4	CPP4
Parent 5	CPP5
Parent 6	CPP6
Parent 7	CPP7
Parent 8	CPP8
Parent 9	CPP9
Parent 10	CPP10
Parent 11	CPP11
Parent 12	CPP12
Parent 13	CPP13

Participants: Learners

NAME	CODE
Learner Participant	(LP)
Learner 1	CLP1
Learner 2	CLP2
Learner 3	CLP3
Learner 4	CLP4
Learner 5	CLP5
Learner 6	CLP6
Learner 7	CLP7
Learner 8	CLP8
Learner 9	CLP9
Learner 10	CLP10
Learner 11	CLP11
Learner 12	CLP12
Learner 13	CLP13