

**Architecture and an Aesthetics of Exclusion: Ângela Ferreira's
South Facing.**

SIHLE MOTSA
552762

A Thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements of a degree.

Master of Arts in History of Art (MAHART) Course Work

at the

University of Witwatersrand

Supervisor: Dr Nontobeko Ntombela

Co Supervisor: Dr Mpho Matsipa

2019

Declaration

I _____ (Student number: _____)
am a student registered for the degree of _____ in the
academic year _____.

I hereby declare the following that I am aware that plagiarism is wrong and goes against the Universities code of conduct, I hereby confirm that the work submitted for assessment for the above degree is my own unaided work except where I have explicitly indicated otherwise. The work contained in this thesis is my own original work and that I have not previously, in its entirety or in part, submitted it at any university for a degree. I confirm that I have followed the required conventions in referencing the thoughts and ideas detailed in this thesis.

Signature: _____ Date: _____

Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I would like to thank my supervisor Nontobeko Ntombela whose extended tutelage and guidance has far exceeded my expectation, without which I would not have been able to complete the academic enterprise. I would also like to thank my co-supervisor Dr Mpho Matsipa whose criticism has both challenged me and encouraged me to treat this project with integrity. I wish to thank the artist and curator involved in the exhibition *South Facing*- Ângela Ferreira and Amy Watson for engaging me in the manner in which they did. I am also immensely grateful to the Pamila Gupta whose insight has added a layer of depth my research would not have been able to achieve otherwise. I would like to thank Dillip and Nivedita Menon, Loraina Nunos and Andrew Wilhelm-Solomon, for their literary criticism and guidance offered through theoretical and writing workshops, respectively.

Lastly, I would like to thank my family for their emotional and psychological support throughout my life and during this pursuit of a master's degree. To my mother Anna Sisanna Nxumalo and my Father Musa Ricco Motsa I owe many thanks. My siblings Thobeka Motsa, Ralitsa Motsa, Banzi Motsa and Wenzile Motsa have made the journey lighter in inexorable ways.

Abstract

In this thesis I analyse the work of Ângela Ferreira rendered through the exhibition *South Facing* at the Johannesburg Art Gallery in 2017. The Ângela Ferreira exhibition, *South Facing* is a prime example of the myriad ways that exhibitions dialogue with history, represent a politics, subtly re-enforce notions of access, accessibility and recourse to space and representation. As a researcher spurred by an interest in the inflection of gender and globalisation, I read the exhibition as one that, through a construction of a history conceived through the grand discourses of colonialism and modernism, misses the nuances embedded in the quotidian and lived experiences of black women. I explore the extent to which the artist is responsible for representing nuanced and intricate histories, especially when their work is a self-proclaimed critique of colonialism and its associated aesthetic and spatial practices. Hence, I motivate for a feminist critique of the exhibition and describe the ways in which gender, which is an important conceptual framework, has been ignored. Through an excavation of negated historical accounts, I detail how black women are unaccounted for in Ferreira's project. I argue that although the exhibition allows for a "situated reading of modernist praxis in a colonial context" (Liscombe, 2006), it also reinforces the absence of black women in historical accounts of the apartheid spatial imagining. Ferreira pivots her artistic practice around the mining of colonial archive, often opining that she reads buildings as texts. But because the archive from which she mines for articulations of modernism in Africa is riddled with contradiction and paradox, whereby black women as users of apartheid architectural infrastructure are ignored and their experiences of apartheid spatial imagining elided, the occlusion abides in the artists' endeavour. Through this analysis, I seek to make salient the ways that the scaffold of apartheid constructed black women as "Othered" and as such other users of the city and detail the ways contemporary curatorial practice has been unable to subvert this exclusion.

Table of Contents

Introduction

Ângela Ferreira and the South Facing Exhibition	8
Reasoning and Rationale	11
Chapter Outline	12

Chapter One

1. Introduction	18
1.1. Architecture, Infrastructure, and the Myth of a Western Modernity	18
1.2. Colonialism and Modernism, Inserting Modernist Praxis into the African Imagination	21
1.3. <i>Werdmuller Centre</i> , Looking Back at Modernism from the Postcolonial	25
1.4. <i>Maison Tropicales</i> , Black Women Caught in the Interstices of Modernity and Neoliberalism	28

Chapter Two

2. Introduction	32
2.1. The Johannesburg Art Gallery and <i>South Facing</i> : Speaking Back to History	32
2.2. The Johannesburg Art Gallery Building	33
2.3. The History of the Johannesburg Art Gallery, its Patronage and Roots in Institutionalised Colonialism	35
2.5. A Johannesburg Art Gallery, the Carving of Nationhood, and the Making of Culture	36
2.6. Locating the Johannesburg Art Gallery Within the Gendered Dynamics of the Early Colonial State	41
2.7. <i>South Facing</i> , Speaking to the Gallery but not its Gendered Past	43

Chapter Three

3. Introduction	48
3.1. Setting the Scene - Viewing the Exhibition Through a Feminist Lens	48
3.2. The Colonial Archive and Gender as a Covert Signifier	53
3.3. Reading Gendered Notions of Home and Space Through <i>Sites and Service</i>	56

3.4. <i>Double Sided</i> , The Bifurcation of Space, Art, and the Private/Dichotomy	57
3.5. Tracing the Precarity of Black Women's Existence in Apartheid Spatial Framework Through <i>Sites and Services</i>	64
Conclusion	69
Bibliography	74

Introduction

Ângela Ferreira and the *South Facing* Exhibition

Ângela Ferreira is an artist of Jewish-Portuguese descent. She was born in Mozambique in 1958. In 1975, Ângela Ferreira moved to South Africa, where she pursued and completed a degree in Fine Art at the Michaelis School of Art in Cape Town. She now spends much of her time between South Africa, Mozambique, and Portugal where she is a Lecturer of Fine Art at the University of Lisbon.

Although Ângela Ferreira has an extensive oeuvre, having staged her debut as a professional artist in 1992 as part of a group show hosted by the National Gallery in Cape Town, Ferreira's work is notable for its concern with modernist architectural form and its intersection with locale, particularly South Africa and Mozambique (Rossouw, 2015). Ângela Ferreira's artistic practice is centred around buildings and the various meanings, sentiments, and feelings they embody in different contexts and time zones. Her process has been described by the likes of curators such as Philipa Oliveira as research-based (Oliviera, 2014). In an interview with ARTTHROB_ magazine facilitated by Chad Rossouw (2015), Ferreira mentioned that her practice stems from a decision to utilize three-dimensional media as her visual language. She states that her practice is about critically reading buildings and drawing from them forms that can reveal the criticality of architectures (Rossouw, 2015)

Although in the interview with Rossouw Ferreira privileges her relationship with three-dimensional form, which has often been rendered through the creation of conceptual sculpture, her opus includes the use of a variety of mediums including photography, video, and audio installation. All of which she uses to make commentary on the shared colonial histories of South Africa and other African countries such as Congo, Niger, and Mozambique (Costa and Mouzinho, 2018).

I first encountered Ângela Ferreira's work at the Johannesburg Art Gallery, through the exhibition *South Facing*. The exhibition which opened in May of 2017 featured new commissions such as the *Meyer Pienaar* work as well as works such as the *Remining* series,

Werdmuller Centre (2007), *Independence Cha*, *Sites and Services* (1992), *Stone free* (2012), *Tendency to Forget*, *Entre dans le Mine*, *Maison Tropicales* (2007) and *Double Sided* (1996-1997) which had been exhibited at different art museums and galleries prior to forming part of the *South Facing* exhibition. These works form part of Ferreira's expansive oeuvre, and within the context of the *South Facing* exhibition, they form a critique of architectural modernism. In *South facing*, each work serves as a node in a narrative that critiques capitalist exploitation, colonialism, and apartheid.

The exhibition *South Facing* utilises these various art mediums to make a pointed critique of the articulations of modernism in Africa, as well as the colonial and apartheid infrastructures that coincided with such articulations. In 2012, Ferreira met the would-be curator of the *South Facing* exhibition in Port Elizabeth to discuss Ferreira's intellectual project. *South Facing* is a consequence of these dialogues and exchanges between curator Amy Watson and artist Ângela Ferreira spanning five years and prompted by their initial engagement in 2012.

Ferreira first became interested in the Johannesburg Art Gallery as a place of contested history, whose relevance in a post-apartheid dispensation was being questioned, in 2014 when she was conducting research for her doctoral thesis. Consultations with then-independent curator Amy Watson not only inspired the commissioning of the *Meyer and Pienaar* work, but these consultations also set the foundation for engagement with the Johannesburg Art Gallery. These consultations initiated an inquiry with the structure as an architecture out of joint and time with its surrounds, suspended between collapse and restoration (Watson, 2018). It is thus, that *South Facing* came to speak to the tensions between the past and present, the source community and the desired public in poignant and pointed ways. To simulate the texture and visual narrative created by Ferreira through *South Facing*, A brief description of each work and its placement within the Johannesburg Art Gallery is warranted.

The Phillips Gallery of the Johannesburg Art Gallery featured the works *Meyer Pienaar* as well as a series of three conceptual sculptures titled *Remining*. In the series *Remining (Drill Tower)*, each sculptural rendering has a surface architecture and a subsurface structure, providing a cross-section of the JAG Extension (Watson, 2018). One of the conceptual sculptures which were assembled on sight consists of wooden frames raised like a stage with a spiralled copper coil that pivots around a steel pole (Figure 1A). These abstract renditions jut out like monuments in themselves. According to Watson (2018), the concrete pillars and supported

platform read as a stage whilst the microphones signalling latent potential for the staging of a performance. The stage-like presence of the raised platform and microphones may very well allude to the many rallies and public speeches delivered by pro-liberation statesmen on the dawn of African independence, whilst the presence of the copper stands is diametrically opposed to any notions of freedom, foreboding the mineral exploitation of Africa that was to continue indefinitely.

Copper also forms part of the tenuous infrastructure of the Johannesburg art gallery - having been incorporated into the building's framework through vaults of the roof of the northern façade by architects Meyer and Pienaar in 1986. The sculptures represent a densely layered project, a complicated matrix wherein each detail links the building to its colonial precedents and positions its post-apartheid existence within an entangled network of mining and capitalist exploitation.

In the eastern wing of the Phillips Gallery is situated the works *Stone Free* (Figure 2). *Stone Free* was first commissioned in 2012 for the Marlborough Contemporary in London. It represents Ferreira's ongoing investigation into colonial-era mining in South Africa and the Democratic Republic of Congo (#FRIENDSOFJAG, 2017). Named for Jimi Hendrix's hit song 'Stone Free,' the work projects light from a miniature mine shaft onto an image of the musician displayed on the wall. In an interview for the online publication *The Conversation*, Ferreira details how *Stone Free* links two locations- the Cullinan Mine in Kimberly which is the source of the largest diamonds ever unearthed and the Chislehurst Caves in London, which are a warren of mines and tunnels that became a site of counterculture in the 1960s (Ferreira, 2017). The work explores the tensions between Africa and Europe through an interrogation of mining and diaspora. It illuminates the interconnectedness of Africa and Europe in a manner that has a profundity to it, given that Ferreira herself details how her personhood has been split between South Africa where she first sought an art career and Lisbon Portugal where she now spends most of her time.

The tensions that abide between Africa and Europe are further extrapolated in the work *Tendency to Forget* (Figure 3). In this video montage, the viewer is confronted by scenes set against a colonial Mozambique. Each shot produces a bifurcated Mozambique where the comforts afforded by a Lusophone subjectivity are juxtaposed against the native, who served as the quintessential ethnographic object. The artwork *Tendency to Forget* details the ways

anthropology and colonialism are thus intertwined (Gupta, 2018). Speaking on the curatorial project *All your Faves are Problematic*, Chief Curator of the Johannesburg Art Gallery, Khwezi Gule mentions that with histories of colonialism in Africa, the tendency has been to either forget or look back with a misplaced nostalgia. Whilst Khwezi Gule posits these acts as either or, I believe they are often intertwined in inexplicable ways. *Tendency to Forget* details these entanglements of forgetfulness and nostalgia. The opening scenes of Ferreira's 19-minute-long film show white settlers strolling on wide promenades, sunbathing on beaches, or frolicking in the ocean. Shots of revellers, all white, follow. The bars, hotels, nightlife - the good life all - belong to the white settlers. These scenes of comfort and leisure are juxtaposed with video footage of native Mozambicans in traditional dress, filmed as part of anthropologists Margot and Jorge Dias ethnological study of native Mozambicans people. It is in this way that Ferreira interrogates the failure of the Portuguese nation to reconcile with their colonial past (Gupta, 2018). Through this audio-visual archive, Ferreira tells of the colonialist's tendency to forget the violence meted out on native peoples, what black critical studies scholar Saidiya Hartman (2008) has referred to as the "underbelly of colonialism". Ferreira notes the tendency to look back on the past with a nostalgia that dis-remembers the suffering of the colonised.

These are only some of the works that formed part of the South Facing exhibition whose scope though both vast and critical was not completely exhaustive. The other works included *Werdmuller Centre*, and *Maison Tropical* both situated in the West wing of the Phillips Gallery, *Double Sided* situated in the western flank of the Meyer Pienaar extension and *Sites and Services*, housed in the eastern-most side of the Meyer Pienaar extension. The gravitas of these works' forms part of my argument such that they will be discussed in detail in the chapters that follow.

Reasoning/ Rationale

Going through the exhibition, I was struck by the attention to detail, the beauty of the conceptual sculptures and the criticality of the works themselves. However, I wondered whether the metaphor of architecture and modernist praxis were enough to interrogate the vagaries of the colonial endeavour in Africa? I immediately recognised Ferreira's process to be archival, and that this particular exhibition was an exhumation of the imperial archive that reinforced the authority of such an archive. I noted that there was something missing but was unsure as to how to begin to articulate it.

In her critical work 'Exhibitionary Affect,' Jennifer Fisher (2006), suggests that exhibitions have the potential to influence the audiences' affective and cognitive capacities. Fisher posits that exhibitions impact upon the body and perception in ways that intensify the body and environment upon cognition beyond signification and ways that make invisible elements explicit (Fisher, 2006, p. 27). Fischer's work is pertinent to my reading of the *South Facing* exhibition since the notion of the transmission of affect through the staging of an exhibition allows me to address my misgivings about the exhibition - what I have identified as the exhibition's inability to critique contemporary curatorial practices that obscure black female subjectivity.

Hence, in this thesis I motivate for a feminist critique of the *South Facing* exhibition and describe the ways in which gender, as an important conceptual framework, has been ignored. Part of colonialism's legacy is the institutionalisation of patriarchy and the conscription of black women to the margins. Aesthetic practices have not been immune to the political framings of colonialism. The obfuscation of black women is thus embedded in the architectural, cultural and spatial manifestations of colonialism. Any critique of colonialism and its aesthetic sensibilities must account for such an occlusion. Artistic interventions are no exception. This position is guided by Bhekizizwe Peterson (2019), who avers that "Not only does the notion of the political unconscious emphasise that the arts and historical experience are inextricably interlinked, but it also suggests that there are occasions when art exercises an influential role in setting the limits and possibilities of political and socio-economic imaginaries and interventions". Peterson rightly argues that artists are not burdened with the weight of representation but that their interventions have the potential to make incisive political and social commentary.

Through an excavation of negated historical accounts, I detail how black women are unaccounted for in Ferreira's project. I argue that although the exhibition allows for a "situated reading of modernist praxis in a colonial context" (Liscombe, 2006), it also reinforces the absence of black women in historical accounts of apartheid's spatial imagining. Ferreira centres her artistic practice around the mining of colonial archives, often opining that she reads buildings as texts. But because the archive from which she mines for articulations of modernism in Africa is riddled with contradiction and paradox, whereby black women as users of apartheid architectural infrastructure are ignored and their experiences of apartheid spatial imagining elided, the occlusion abides in the artist's endeavour. Indeed, Annibal Quijano

(2000), makes clear that part of the work of colonialism was not only to configure gendered relations in the non-western world, but to institutionalise patriarchy. The aesthetic realm was not an exception but bears traces of the colonial configurations of gender- configurations that relegated black women to the aesthetic and spatial margins.

Thus, my research questions are: How do contemporary artistic and exhibitionary practices of architectural modernism re-inscribe the erasure of black women that was instigated by apartheid's spatial imagining? It is founded on the belief that critiquing the colonial modernism requires a concerted effort. Specifically, how does Ângela Ferreira's recourse to the public arena of the Johannesburg Art gallery signal a rupture between black and white female subjectivities, such that her staging an exhibition at a public institution whose history is marred by colonialism and its future a contested one signifies a tactic that allows of an articulation of white women's experiences with architecture whereas black women are offered no such recourse? As a secondary question, I ask how black women were erased from apartheid's spatial imaging and what has been the result of this phenomenon, which I have chosen to term an 'abnormal absence'?¹

Chapter Outline

The first chapter of the thesis is dedicated to articulating the confluences of modernity, globalisation, and colonialism, reading the tempo-spatial qualities, embedded therein. By situating Johannesburg as a colonial city, whose history and spatial imaginary represent a fraught politics of capitalist endeavour, it lends itself to the project of enunciating the palimpsest of meaning embodied in the *South Facing* exhibition. In this chapter, I interrogate the language of Ferreira's project, why her practice orbits around modernism as a discipline and paradigmatic framework and what the implications are thereof. Through the work titled simply *Werdmuller Centre* and the other *Maison Tropicales* – a project inspired by Manthia Diawara - I analyse how Ferreira positions modernism in relation to the postcolonial. Concentrating on Ferreira's preoccupation with form and her use of form to tether architecture to her art practice, I argue that centering modernism as an architectural discipline constructs the built environment as set apart from the lived experiences of the people who did not inhabit

¹ This term emerges as an attempt to name the precarious positioning black women's precarious position with apartheid's spatial domain and by extension history. It is an attempt to account for the subjectivity that oscillated between invisibility and hypervisibility and its existence in a society that required black women to be available without being seen and without speaking.

those space but and interacted with them such that black women's experiences may be occluded from accounts of modernist praxis in Africa.

In Chapter two, I provide a history of the political conditions that necessitated the establishment of the Johannesburg Art Gallery. I detail how the *South Facing* exhibition speaks back to the building and how the *Meyer Pienaar* work references the ways in which the gallery was embroiled in a nationalist apartheid discourse.

The dialogue between the exhibition is important as the building was purposefully selected for the exhibition space by the curator, Amy Watson, and artist Ângela Ferreira. It evokes the development of architecture and the built environment as bound to the history of colonialism. On the emergence of institutionalised colonialism, Art Historian, Nessa Leibhammer writing in her seminal essay 'Negotiating a South African inheritance: nineteenth- and early twentieth century: Traditional collections' at the Johannesburg Art Gallery (2016), states that the Johannesburg Art Gallery began its life as a colonial institution devoted to what was then modern European art.

Hence, in this chapter, I trace the Johannesburg Art Gallery's genealogy and critique the designing of the building according to European design standards. I do so as a perfunctory attempt to understand the logic of placing the exhibition *South Facing* within the confines of the gallery and extract the symbolic motivation behind the situating of the exhibition within the building, which was built to be south facing. The initial gallery structure was designed by architect Sir Edward Lutyens, who modelled the south façade in the image of The St Pauls Cathedral of Italy, where he derived much of his inspiration (Marybeth McTeague, 1984). My aim is to reveal the underlying meanings inherent in the symbolic act of placing a project that uses architecture and buildings to make sense of fraught histories and major political moments in a building that is itself burdened by its history.

British academic and theorist Hilary Robinson, in her article titled 'Feminism meets the big exhibition: Museum survey shows since 2005', suggests that art made by women has recently become the focus of many exhibitions in major museums (Robinson, 2016). Although this statement was meant to address the development of women's art in the Americas and Europe, it rings true for artists in Africa and the Global South. This shift in the focus of major museums provides an impetus for a feminist critique of pre and existing exhibitions and foregrounds my

excavation into the way art practice has often neglected gendered histories. In this chapter, I use feminist methodologies that privilege informal archives such as anecdotes and memory to address the absences in formal archives. I argue that the absences in *South Facing* are a consequence of the exhibition being a translation of the colonial archive wherein the occlusion finds its genesis.

I take up the task of articulating these absences of black women in apartheid's spatial imagining realised through the use, in the words of Mpho Matsipa, "of modernist architecture as a bureaucratic tool" (Matsipa, 2014, p. 23). This endeavour necessitates that an excavation of the archives expressing black women's lived experiences under apartheid be conducted prompting consideration of anecdotal evidence sourced from publications such as *Drum*, *Staff Rider* and *Bantu World* that were concerned with black social life under apartheid.

Considering Fisher's (2006) argument that considering exhibitions as events requires a methodology other than critical discourse analysis or even theories of representation to bring out the nonrepresentational and extra-discursive qualities of the exhibition. Thus, I utilise a feminist lens to interrogate the absence of gender and racial sensitivities in a manner that takes into the account the intersecting nature of racial, gender and class oppression in Ângela Ferreira's work and detail the implication of this on today's feminist discourse within the contemporary visual arts terrain.



Figure 1A: *Remining, Mine Building*, Ângela Ferreira, *South Facing*, Johannesburg Art Gallery, (2017).



Figure 1C: *Remining, Vault Table*, Ângela Ferreira, *South Facing*, Johannesburg Art Gallery, (2017).



Figure 1: *Remining, Mine Building*, Ângela Ferreira, *South Facing*, Johannesburg Art Gallery, (2017).



Figure 2: *Stone Free*, Ângela Ferreira, *South Facing*, Johannesburg Art Gallery, (2017).



Figure 3: *Tendency to Forget*, Ângela Ferreira, *South Facing*, Johannesburg Art Gallery, (2017).

Chapter One

Introduction

This first chapter is dedicated to articulating the confluences of modernity, globalization, and colonialism, reading the tempo-spatial qualities, embedded therein. By situating Johannesburg as a colonial city, whose history and spatial imaginary represents a troubled politics of capitalist endeavour, this chapter unpacks the densely layered palimpsest of meaning embodied in the Ângela Ferreira exhibition.

Here, I interrogate the language of Ferreira's project. I ask why her practice orbits around modernism as a discipline and paradigmatic framework, and what are the implications of using this scaffold? Through the work titled simply *Werdmuller Centre* and the other *Maison Tropicales*— a project inspired by Manthia Diawara - I analyse how Ferreira positions modernism in relation to the postcolonial. Concentrating on Ferreira's preoccupation with form, and her use of form to tether architecture to her art practice, I argue that centering modernism as an architectural discipline constructs the built environment as set apart from the lived experiences of the people who not only inhabited those spaces but interacted with them. I maintain that using modernism as a means of interrogating the imperial archive does not do justice to black women's experiences and that it has the converse effect of occluding black women from accounts of modernist praxis in Africa.

1.1. Architecture, Infrastructure, and the Myth of a Western Modernity

In April 2018, Helen Zille, the leader of the political party -the Democratic Alliance, and former Mayor of the City of Cape was the subject of intense debate after declaring unrepentantly that although colonialism was bad it had several positive effects. Zille, to the furore of many South Africans, insisted that modern medicine, formal education, building infrastructure would not have been achieved had it not been for the presence of a colonial hand in Africa. Zille's uncompromising position is premised on an assumption that colonialism ushered in a modernity that Africa had no chance of achieving independently. Many white South Africans came to her defence, arguing that there was much credence to her views. This gives the indication that Zille's account that modernity is a universal concept, whose value is recognised across a geographical spectrum, is a largely held assumption.

I bring up the curious case of Helen Zille to introduce modernity, of which modernism and colonialism are tethered to in inexorable ways. The view taken by Zille has bearing on Ferreira's project since even though Ferreira does not make commentary on the impact of colonialism, she is of the opinion that modernism is European international language and further notes that its internationalism was what linked it to twentieth-century colonialism (Perryer, 2010). Hence, I situate Ferreira's project within this triad and unpack what I consider to be the implications of using modernism as a paradigmatic framework, particularly in relation to Africa.

For instance, in the introductory chapter of *Desire Lines, Space, Memory and Identity in the Post-Apartheid City* architect and researcher at the Wits Institute for Socio-Economic Research, Noelene Murray (2007) states that critiques of modernism need to be positioned in relation to processes characterised by modernity more broadly so as to encompass those practices of increased industrialization, imperialism, colonialism, racial exclusion, and societal ordering. This is simply to say that modernism cannot be discussed without referencing modernity. It is for this reason that I firstly delineate how modernity is defined more broadly, its various permutations, what role it has played in the creation of both Europe and Africa and how these notions of modernity influence Ferreira's project, either allowing her to illumine her gendered subjectivity or eliding it all together.

In the introduction of *Modernity, postcolonialism and the sociological imagination*, Professor of postcolonial and decolonial studies, Gurminder Bhambra (2007), whilst calling to question the validity of modernity as a theoretical concept notes that modernity, as it has been broadly conceived, refers to the social, political, cultural and economic changes that occurred in Western Europe from the mid-sixteenth century onwards. Bhambra offers this description not to validate a Eurocentric version of modernity, but to make salient how this is the definition that has been appropriated more broadly.

In the essay *Modernism without Borders*, Historian Ian Mclean (2014) explains how modernity came to be perceived as both Western in origin and universal. Mclean (2014) states that modernity took shape as European states became world powers allowing them to traverse the globe and change the world order, but that it was only metaphysics, - the popular philosophy of the enlightenment period, promulgated most vigorously by Immanuel Kant - that made modernity a figure of the universal. There are two underlying assumptions pertaining to

modernity held by Mclean in this contention -the first one being that modernity is European in origin and secondly that it came to be perceived as universal by mere coincidence - have been discounted in numerous ways.

With regards to the universality of modernism, Mclean desists from speaking of a colonial conquest, and how ‘travelling the globe’ was part of European capitalist exploitation and later the civilising mission. Critical decolonial aesthetics scholar Walter Mignolo is more brutal in his linking of modernity and colonialism. In the politically astute work, *the Darker Side of Modernity, Global Futures, Decolonial Options*, Mignolo makes the point that:

“Modernity” is a complex narrative whose point of origination was Europe; a narrative that builds Western Civilization by celebrating its achievement while hiding at the same time its darker side, “coloniality, in other words, is constitutive of modernity- there is no modernity without coloniality² (Mignolo, 201, pp. 21).

Modernity is inextricably linked to colonialism. The colonisation of vast parts of the modern world allowed for the capitalist expansion, and industrialisation which is an integral part of European modernity. Colonisation was not only founded on capitalist exploitation but also on the suppression of colonised people’s arts and cultures.

Historian Anita Seppa, in the critical essay, ‘*Globalisation and the Arts: The Rise of New Democracy, or Just Another Pretty Suit for the Old Emperor?*’ (2010) notes that modernist aesthetic theory was not, in fact, pure or universally valid, but rather it participated in the supporting of and reproduction of colonialist ideology by prioritising the Western ideas of universally valid disinterested contemplation and pleasure and suppressing the value of all other views. This modernity not only encompasses capitalist exploitation it includes the construction of what Okwui Enwezor has termed the “fantasy of white supremacy” (Enwezor, 2011). In the catalogue for the 2010 exhibition Werdmuller Centre held at the Stevenson Gallery in Cape Town, Ferreira herself contends that modernism is the European international

² The concept and accompanying term coloniality were introduced by Peruvian Sociologist Anibal Quijano and was developed and popularised by Walter Mignolo in his seminal work *The darker side of modernity, global futures, decolonial options*. According to Mignolo, Coloniality names the underlying logic of the foundation and unfolding of Western civilisation from the Renaissance to today, of which historical colonialisms have been a constitutive, although downplayed dimension (Mignolo, 2011). He maintains that coloniality is an integral part of the decolonial project in that it is a response to globalisation and global linear thinking that occur within the histories and sensibilities of the Global South.

language, and its internationalism was inextricably linked to the 20th-century colonial expansion (Perryer, 2010).

In the illuminating essay *In the Heart of Darkness*, artist, and curator Olu Oguibe counters this narrative by depicting the contradictions inherent in this depiction of modernity. Oguibe (1993) claims that modernity involved the appropriation and assimilation of novel elements, and that culture too was not peculiar to any society or people, nor was there a contest between the past and the present. Thus, Europe cannot lay claim to modernity as it is not a unique concept.

Ferreira is concerned with architectural modernisms in Africa. Ferreira states that modernism is used to articulate a belief in a 'new' and better language (Perryer, 2010). The notion of an experiment is based on a belief that the language of modernism was absent in the colonised lands, such as on the African continent, and that there was tension around whether it could effectively be recreated in these geographic locations. Oguibe complicates our interaction with Ferreira's self-authorship by insisting that we cannot discuss an African modernity or modernism without agreeing first on either the fictiveness of "Africanity" or the imperative of a plurality of "modernisms in Africa" (Oguibe, 1993).

1.2. Colonialism and Modernism Inserting Modernist Praxis into the African Imagination

Architects Sarah Williams Goldhagen, Eric Mumford and Cor Wagenaar, in the preface of the debut of their co-edited Journal *Positions* (2008) note how modernism is inextricably linked to the constantly fluctuating process of modernisation and modernity, whether it be in literature, film, art, photography or in philosophy and art criticism (2008, p1). Yet another view that argues that modernism is tethered to modernity in inexorable ways is that of Architect Heynen Hilden (1999) who in the insightful work *Architecture and modernity: A critique* states that modernism in its broadest sense can be described as a generic term for those theoretical and artistic ideas about modernity that enable individuals to assume control over the changes that are taking place in a world that by which they too are being changed. Such a view holds that any discussion of modernism as a conceptual framework either by necessity or inadvertently, brings the notion of modernity to the fore.

In an interview between South African writer and art enthusiast Chad Rossouw and Ângela Ferreira, Ferreira details her preoccupation with form and modernism, and details how her use

of architecture as a subject matter allows her to pursue her love of form whilst interrogating colonial infrastructure (Rossouw, 2017).

Ângela Ferreira, in another conversation, with Manthia Diawara unpacks the density of her project. She uses the language of modernism to describe her engagement with European architectures in Africa. Her preoccupation with what she has termed “the modernist experiment in Africa”³ motivates for an exploration into the interconnected concepts of modernity and modernism.

Arjun Appadurai’s (1996) initiating chapter of *Modernity at large: Cultural dimensions of globalisation* insert the notion of the imagination into my conceptualisations of modernism and the creation of a new set of discourses dedicated to articulating the etching of modernism into the African tempo-spatial terrain. Appadurai (1996) argues that the imagination as a specific cognitive function has broken out of the special expressive space of art, myth, and ritual and has become central to the quotidian mental framework of ordinary individuals.

Whereas the imagination was formerly thought to be the preserve of specially endowed individuals who often injected the imagination where it did not belong, it has since entered the logic of ordinary life from which it had been sequestered for so long (Appadurai, 1996). Appadurai’s prioritising of the imagination is pertinent to conversations around the Ângela Ferreira exhibition because the artist maps out the possibilities imagined by European colonisers. Even though the notion of modernism as a precursor to globalisation is not made salient in the work of Ângela Ferreira, it nonetheless allows for a historical reading of the colonial force and how a particular understanding of modernism, one which included the imposition of cultural practices, values, and beliefs culminated into a complex urbanity.

Architect and art historian David Herwits’ (1998) notion of the centre and periphery is enunciated in a chapter of the prolific book *Blank_Architecture, Apartheid and After* is critical to conversations about modernism. As a scholar of area studies and globalisation, Appadurai concedes to the existence of geopolitical frameworks that reify the centre and periphery logic expounded by Herwits. Herwits (1998) argues that the cultures of modernism are divided into

³ For more, see Diawara, M., 2008. Architecture as Colonial Discourse: Ângela Ferreira's Maisons Tropicales. Nka Journal of Contemporary African Art, pp. 20-27.

margin and centre only because modern art and architecture that arose in the cosmopolitan centres of Europe and America did so in the context of robust art worlds, whereas the art and architecture of the margins did not. Ângela Ferreira through the allusion to a modernist experiment in Africa, references an understanding of modernism which in the words of Okwui Enwezor is a “modernism dispatched by some colonial envoy and assimilated by Africans” (Enwezor, 2001, p.2).

Political analyst and scholar of black critical studies, Achille Mbembe (1996), in his explication of world time and globalisation in *At the Edge of the World: Boundaries, Territoriality, and Sovereignty in Africa*, notes this bifurcation. Mbembe (1996) argues that in specific forms of domestication and mobilisation of space and resources, there are several regions that have been wrongly considered to be on the margins of the world.

Okwui Enwezor, in his seminal work *The short Century: Independence and Liberation Movements in Africa, 1945 – 1994* contests the centre and periphery logic, arguing instead that there are multiple centres, and that modernism as an expression of modernity is subject to and influenced by the cultural, artistic, intellectual practices that abound in a particular society. According to Enwezor (2001), the notion of a modernism whose existence is exclusively western in origin is false. Rather Enwezor’s modernism is not “founded on the recognition or assimilation of an autonomous European modernism or in the continuity of artistic territorializing achieved and consecrated by the colonial project” (2001, p. 12).

Reading modernism as a function of the imaginary as suggested by Appadurai (1996), I argue that through the work of the imagination, modernism is inserted into the periphery and through the imagination of apartheid as an apparatus of colonial domination is created and controlled. V. Y Mudimbe (1988) in the initiating chapter of his seminal treatise, *The Invention of Africa, Gnosis, Philosophy, and The Order of Knowledge* uses the etymology of the words “colonialism” and “colonisation” to define the Euro-American logic of exploiting territory. He suggests, “colonialists have tended to organise and transform non-European areas into fundamentally European constructs” (Mudimbe, 1998, p. 1).

Ferreira has recognized that architecture is one way in which the proponents of colonialism sought to pacify and dominate the landscapes, peoples, and cultures of the territories. Hers is a view in line with Mudimbe's assertion that “the domination of physical space, the reformation

of native's minds and the integration of local economic histories into the western perspective" (1988, p.2) were central to the emergence of the colonial structure. Ferreira's project reinforces Mudimbe's (1998) notion that the colonial structure is responsible for the dichotomising system through its creation of paradigmatic oppositions such as traditional versus modern. She does this through historicising many of the buildings that she reads as texts and negating the complex ways that African subjects relate to them in the present.

Given the complex way modernism has been conceptualised, I am wont to ask why Ferreira chooses to speak in the language of modernism? I am intrigued by what speaking in the language of a modernist praxis does for the representation of a black female subjectivity and its recourse to artistic expression. I wonder why the artist reverts to the language of modernism as opposed to that of imperialism and contemporaneity⁴.

Ângela Ferreira mobilises language in her work and the explanation of the motivation behind her practice. For instance, Ferreira has been captured as mentioning that she is interested in the textuality of buildings- this ability of architecture to render a legible narrative through its function as an archive. Ferreira is spurred by a belief that buildings can be used to make political commentary on the histories of the societies that are situated in. This mobilisation of language assumes that the histories she references- histories of colonialism, apartheid, and capitalist exploitation of the mineral complex in Africa – because they are collectively shared histories, are not subjectively understood.

Curator Jürgen Bock makes an interesting observation with regards to Ferreira's oeuvre. In his catalogue essay *Letter from the Southwest*, Bock (2018) comments on the shortcomings of language and therefore the difficulties of deploying language as a metaphor. He cites philosopher Zygmunt Bauman as mentioning that "ambivalence which is the possibility of assigning an object or an event to more than one category, is a language-specific disorder: a failure of the naming (segregating) function that language is meant to perform" (Bock, 2018, pp. 22).

⁴ Simon Njami argues that contemporaneity is the only means by which to address the multitudinous dimensions of "an obscure territory through transparency." Such a position implies that the language of the contemporary is an important lens from which to enunciate the ways in which the histories of colonialism and modernism dialogue in an age of globalisation. Further I argue that such a position which is negated in the work of Ângela Ferreira is critical to unpacking the previously poorly articulated notion of gender and modernist expression. See Njami, S., 2008. *The city in the Blue Day*. Marrakech, Higher Atlas- The Marrakech Biennale.

Bock continues, questioning whether the apartheid architectures Ferreira draws our attention toward are not an attempt at resisting ambivalence. He asks, “was apartheid possibly deeply rooted in a fear of ambivalence?” (Bock, 2018, pp. 22). I am intrigued by the notion of ambivalence, more so than which the specific object Bock has identified as ambivalent. I find Ferreira’s artistic objects to be ambivalent. They paint grand narratives of colonialism and modernism but fail to exhume the specificities and nuance. This is not necessarily an indictment on Ferreira’s project but a reflection on the difficulties inherent in deploying language as a conceptual tool. Post-structuralist Paul Ricoeur, in his dense analysis *Discourse and the Surplus of Meaning* (1976), argues that language always offers the opportunity for varying interpretation but also for misinterpretation. I believe that the strategies deployed- that of anchoring modernism as a conceptual framework- allow for apartheid architectures to be misinterpreted and for the experiences of black women in apartheid’s spatial domain to be elided as a result.

1.3. *Werdmuller Centre, Looking Back at Modernism from the Postcolonial*

Maiken Umbach, a theorist concerned with the built environment in municipal, regional and particularist- identity politics, in the article *What Architecture does Historically Speaking* (2006), demonstrates how architecture functions in discourses concerned with history and the making of particular histories. She states that architecture offers glimpses into thought processes normally hidden from historical view (2006, p14), indicating that architecture may be used to understand the underlying political and historical contexts that prioritise the existence of certain architectural forms. This understanding of architecture’s innate ability to provide social commentary is eloquently expressed by Ângela Ferreira who maintains that buildings may be read as texts.

Architecture then, when read as an expression of modernism, such that it is first and foremost, something we see as is illustrated by Umbach (2006), embodies a modernism that is not only accessible to the visual but a modernism that serves a myriad of political and historical functions that insinuate themselves into urban spatial terrains. This visibility of architecture imbues it with a semiotic quality, such that buildings may be interpreted as sociocultural objects and architecture may be understood as an artifact of social, cultural, economic, and political phenomena that mirror societies at certain points in time (Anthony and Gurel, 2006).

Murray (2007) narrates her interests as being spurred by the double meaning born of reading architectural modernism. The first, she claims, lies in the persistent presence of modernism in South African urban space with its diversity of manifestations and application in the post-apartheid milieu. The second one emerges from the realization that architectural modernism draws attention to the politicized nature of South African space, a space where according to Murray, “modernist design has been deployed variously as a form of asserting spatialized racial control, or in the service of Afrikaner, and more recently African, cultural identity” (2007, p. 46)

The Werdmuller Centre designed by architect Roelof Uytenbogaardt is a major site of contestation for many Cape Town citizens particularly those in the suburb of Claremont where it currently stands. Erected in 1975, the building has been critiqued for its lack of functionality and it being difficult to navigate. In the seminal work *Absorbing the influences of Le Corbusier: Roelof Uytenbogaardt and the architecture of the Werdmuller Centre, Claremont, Cape Town, 1969-1973* academic and architect, Walter Peters (2005) contests the devaluing of the Werdmuller centre based on its functional impotence. He argues that the value of the Werdmuller building lies in its undergirding of design master Le Corbusier's design principles making it a “one of South Africa’s finest buildings” (Peters, p. 44).

Ferreira’s interest with the *Werdmuller Centre* was first explored in an exhibition of the same name exhibited at the Stevenson Gallery in Cape Town. This exhibition was her first solo exhibition in South Africa. It featured an array of conceptual sculptures of the Werdmuller Centre and accompanying architectural plans, sketches, and notes from the architect’s records and from Ferreira’s own engagement with the building. She was intrigued by how the building whose history crosses the political upheavals of the end of the apartheid system, had been poised to be emblematic of the country’s future (Perryer, 2010).

Of pertinence is the subtle reference to colonial endeavours that allow European modernism to be superimposed onto the African geo-spatial terrain. Ângela Ferreira traces this fraught relationship with the building, articulating questions of functionality and architectural design. Ferreira uses a series of pivoting sculptures of the Werdmuller Centre that allow for a visual exposition of the cracks and interstices of the architectural endeavour, (Figure 3).

Heralded as the epitome of avant-gardist architecture in South Africa for its manipulation of space and its complexity of form, of the building Roelof Uytenbogaardt maintained that he wanted to create a building representative of the democratic order of the day (Perryer, 2010). In the notes exhibited as part of the exhibition at the Michael Stevenson Gallery in Cape Town, *Notes for WC (Oct 2009)*, Ferreira describes the Werdmuller Centre as being too complicated and too busy- from a design perspective (Ferreira, 2009). More importantly in a reflection on the commercial failure of the building, she opines that:

“The building is disliked and abandoned by users and has become a security hazard – the new society has an extraordinarily high crime rate, partly because of the violence invested in it by the apartheid system. In this instance architectural space becomes an ally for crime,” (Ferreira, 2010, pp. 2)

The symbolic cracks and fissures which allowed for mold to fester in the actual building are meant to depict what has been termed the failure of colonialism. Conversely, these cracks may be understood for the many nooks and crannies that create an aesthetic that is concealed, obscured, and camouflaged, making safety a major concern for the building’s users. In a nation such as South Africa, notorious for under privileging the safety of its black female citizens, the architectural monstrosity that is the Werdmuller Centre serves the metaphoric function of illuminating the many ways that black women’s access to full citizenship and by proxy their safety is undermined.

Crime is not only limited to architecturally complex buildings such as the Werdmuller, nor is it limited to the public domain. The private domain, the home in particular – which it must be mentioned is often less structurally complex than commercial buildings such as the Werdmuller Centre is also a site of crime. In the acclaimed work of fiction, *The Madonna of Excelsior*, author Zakes Mda profiles the South African town Excelsior that became infamous for its high proportion of coloured children in the 1960s, indicating that there was a high rate of miscegenation that was considered a crime under the immorality act of 1950. The miscegenation was a consequence of the sexual abuse black female domestic workers faced at the hands of their white masters.

In the work *Double Sided*, which also formed part of the *South Facing* exhibition, Ferreira juxtaposes the abstract work of artist and Donald Judd with that of Helen Martin’s *Owl House*

in which we are offered a glimpse of an empty bedroom, imbued with meaning but void of any iteration of architectural space and how can become an ally to crime. The works are situated in different rooms of the gallery, and not conceived as part of a cohesive narrative on safety, crime, and space. The rendering of these two works represents a missed opportunity to make commentary on the bifurcation of apartheid space, the public and private divide, and the precarity of existing in between the two.

1.4. *Maison Tropicales*, black women caught in the interstices of modernity and neoliberalism.

Maison Tropicales is a critical work which addresses the tensions between Africa and Europe. It is an intensely engaging work that references the ethnographic film of the same name, produced by Malinese cinematographer and ethnographer Manthia Diawara. The work references the controversial status of the *Maison Tropicales*, three housing prototype modules, designed by architect Jean Prouvé in the mid-1960s (Rodenbeck, 2010). They were designed in France, at a time when the colonial government was seeking to provide comfortable housing for French expatriates living and working in the French colonies of Africa.

Once the designs were completed, they were shipped to Africa where they were reassembled. Of the prototypes that were created only three were shipped to Africa, and the scheme was eventually abandoned due to it being costly. Two of the *Maison Tropicales* houses were built in Congo Brazzaville, whilst the other was built in Niamey, Niger (Diawara, 2008). Christopher Rausch, in the insightful article *Maison's Tropicales/Maison's Coloniales: Contesting technologies of the Authenticity and Value in Niamey, Brazzaville, Paris, New York and Paris* (2018) addresses how at the turn of the twentieth century, the *Maison Tropicales* were rediscovered as modern architectural heritage, and how this occurrence happened to coincide with art market excitement around Prouvé's modern industrial design. In 2001 an American collector commissioned a French Gallery to Remove Prouvé's *Maison Tropicales* as "collectors' items". The houses were dismantled and shipped to France for restoration as art objects.

What is interesting about these houses is their history of transit and embroilment in French colonial discourse and later 20th-century globalisation and the fraught interface of neoliberalism and imperialism. Scholar, Manuela Ribeiro Sanches, in the journal article *Archaeologies of the Postcolony*. Ângela Ferreira's and Manthia Diawara's *Maison*

Tropicales' (2010) similarly reads *Maison Tropicales* as a joint project which emphasizes the complex relations and unevenness of globalisation and, concomitantly the **postcolony is still** burdened by (global) neocolonial, neo-imperial dependencies.

Ferreira once again uses architecture to shed light on the incongruent histories of modernism in Africa. Through *Maison Tropicales* she gives credence to Achille Mbembe's sentiments on the immobility of architecture. In the impassioned work titled *On the Postcolony*, Mbembe (2001) notes how architecture – a more immobile form – also managed to travel, and that it has played a significant role concerning the government of the (post) colony. I contend that in the instance of the *Maison Tropicales*, this mobility does not simply refer to the shipment of the works from one continent to another, but rather, it refers to the fluctuating way the houses have been conceived, initially from architectures emblematic of colonial bureaucracy and then in later years as newly appropriated art objects. It also signifies an oscillation of capitalist value systems that invariably interact with neo-colonial Africa in complex and insidious ways. More importantly for the present argument, what emerges from these accounts is the fragmented nature of modernism, its inflections with neo-colonial politics, but also the gaps in this interface that disallow for gender to be imagined within the framework of a transitory politics.

Ferreira first commissioned the works in 2007 for the Portuguese Pavilion at the Venice Biennale (Bock, 2007). Ferreira presents the *Maison Tropicales* as a critical installation which Rausch (2018) describes as a wooden structure modelling Jean Prouvé's prefabricated prototype in transit. Ferreira configured the *Maison Tropicales*' dismantled parts for transportation in a container, in a manner that mirrors the way the houses were shipped to and out of Africa. Ferreira further simulated the transitory experience of the *Maison Tropicales* by inviting her audience to walk through the life-size container constituted as the entry of the pavilion.

In the South Facing iteration of the *Maison Tropicales* is situated in the west wing of the Edward Lutyens section of the Johannesburg Art Gallery. Ferreira has sculpted concrete scaffolds that mimic those pillars used to raise the Brazzaville house and to protect the house rich and the moist tropical topography. The work also features six large scale images of the sites where the houses stood in Brazzaville and Niamey, respectively. The images are void of any physical human presence. The images of the sites in Niamey depict the raised concrete platform where the *Maison Tropicales* stood, it illuminates the stark contradiction between the

house and the surroundings where it stood, drawing attention to the abject poverty that exists in a post-independent state. Sanches (2010) the Maison Tropicales endeavour a joint project between Diawara and Ferreira. In the *South Facing* project, there are no traces of Mathia's exhumation of the Maison Tropicales and the subjectivities of the two black African women who interacted directly with the two houses.

What is not easily apparent, is the fact that before the Maison Tropicales was removed despite the calls from the French Ministry in culture as well as the UNESCO World Heritage Centre to preserve them in situ as cultural heritage (Rausch,2018), the Niamey house was inhabited by a Tuareg woman from Algeria. An excerpt from Manthia Diawara's film of the same name wherein the woman speaks reads as follows:

“The Tuareg woman regrets that she and her people cannot follow and find the shelter they used to find when the house still stood there. But they covered their dwelling place-for nomadic life means to travel and dwelling -with the mats that have woven, thus changing the site with their own imprints.”

Contrary to Diawara's assertion that “Ângela Ferreira provides the Tuareg women and their round huts -nomadic architecture- with a voice to tell their story of Prouvé's Maison Tropicales” (Diawara, 2008, pp.7), I believe her work absents them further and fails to tell of how their existence is one on the margins of the nation state, dually as nomads and black women.

The two houses in Brazzaville were also occupied by a black African woman, Mireille Ngatsé. While the Tuareg woman appears distant, and is depicted as a victim of her circumstance, Mireille's role in securing the fate of the houses is more pronounced. According to Rodenbeck (2010), Mireille took over the occupation of the Prouvé house after her father who also lived there fell ill. Diawara in the conversation with Rodenbeck mentions how powerful she is (Rodenbeck, 2010) and Rausch confirms this when he states that Mireille fought European claimants in court for her right to the Maison Tropicales (Rausch, 2018). He even remarks that Mireille used the revenue from her successful sale of the houses to redevelop the land left vacant by their departure, and how she was able to start a successful business (Rausch 2010). He refers to this act, which is emblematic of Mireille's tenacity, and shrewd business sense as

a remarkable achievement given that Mireille is a single Congolese woman who describes herself as without “contacts in the government” (Rausch, 2010).

By commenting on Mireille's ability to rightly represent herself, Rauch's assertion highlights the limited recourse to power black women possess, more so when they are single and are not associated with any man to serve as their interlocutor in a patriarchal society. Mireille's situation also represents the different ways black women negotiate their identities in a postcolonial setting.

Mireille is intuitively aware of, and fluent in neo-liberal exchange, such that she can position herself in a manner that ensures her survival. It is precisely this positioning, and her willingness to engage a capitalist modernity that ensures that she emerges as a somewhat privileged subject. Mireille has a name and all those who engage her recognize and use that name, the occupant of the Niamey largely goes unnamed, she is referred to simply as the Tuareg woman, see (Rausch (2010), Rodenbeck (2018) and Sanches (2010)). By highlighting the personal narratives of these two women, I hope to highlight the complex ways women interact with modernist architectures, particularly within an expanding neo-liberal framework and that the display of these architectures often falls short at referencing these entanglements.

The Maison Tropicales were re-appropriated as artworks. The modernist call to abstraction and noncommittal relationship to aesthetic value meant that they could be removed from their original sites, refashioned into art objects. It is through this process of aestheticization that the black marginalized women were rendered insignificant.

I conclude that Ferreira's project does not do this tenuous history justice. Her Maison Tropicales are offered as concrete sculptural forms hidden in the Johannesburg Art Gallery, which through its failure to appeal to a collective consciousness becomes an inaccessible public domain. The opportunity to reflect on the postcolonial condition in a way that is cognizant of the convergence of race, gender, and class is lost. Black women remain in the annals of history.



Figure 3: *Werdmuller Centre*, Ângela Ferreira, *South Facing Johannesburg Art*, (2017).



Figure 4: *Maison Tropicales*, Ângela Ferreira, *South Facing Johannesburg Art Gallery*, (2017).

Chapter Two

Introduction

This chapter lays down the historical framework that necessitated the establishment of the Johannesburg Art Gallery. It gives details of the South Facing exhibition and underscores the history of the building as an important criterion for the selection of the gallery as an exhibition space by the curator, Amy Watson, and artist Ângela Ferreira. It evokes the development of architecture and the built environment as bound to the history of colonialism. On the emergence of institutionalised colonialism, Art Historian, Nessa Leibhammer writing in her seminal essay ‘Negotiating a South African inheritance: Nineteenth- and early twentieth century: traditional collections at the Johannesburg Art Gallery’ (2016), opines that “the Johannesburg Art Gallery began its life as a colonial institution devoted to what was then modern European art” (Leibhammer, 2016, p.63). Hence, I use the implication of the Johannesburg Art Gallery in the colonial infrastructure as a springboard from which to expound upon Ângela Ferreira’s preoccupation with architecture and her use of art informed by architecture as a medium of relaying meaning.

2.1. The Johannesburg Art Gallery and South Facing: Speaking Back to History

In this chapter, I trace the Johannesburg Art Gallery’s genealogy and critique the designing of the building according to European design standards. I do so as a perfunctory attempt to understand the logic of placing the exhibition South Facing within the confines of the gallery and extract the symbolic motivation behind the situating of the exhibition within the building which was built to be south facing. The initial gallery structure was designed by architect Sir Edward Lutyens who modelled the South Façade in the image of The St Paul’s Cathedral of Italy, where he derived much of his inspiration.

My aim is to reveal the underlying meaning inherent in the symbolic act of placing a project that uses architecture and buildings to make sense of fraught histories and major political moments in a building that is itself burdened by its history. I focus more distinctly on the

exclusionary politics that allowed for the gallery to be co-opted by the whims of an early settler-colonial society with an explicit focus on how this was informed by gendered expressions of the time. I further trace the implications of this through to the present moment using the Ângela Ferreira exhibition *South Facing* as a key resource from which to make sense of black women's exclusion from apartheid's spatial design.

2.2. The Johannesburg Art Gallery Building

The Johannesburg Art Gallery is situated in Joubert Park on the corner of Klein and King George Street in the Johannesburg CBD. Since the dawn of democracy in South Africa, the park has been mired in intense debates (Allara, 2002). The main points of contention have been the location of the building, as well as its ability to house the historical collection. What has been the justification for keeping the Johannesburg Art Gallery situated in its initial site is the belief that its situation in the park is a part of its history, and to remove the gallery would be to temper with this archive.

In a chapter of the book *Refiguring the Archive* titled '*The Power of the Archive and its Limits*', political theorist Achille Mbembe introduces the notion "that the term 'archive' refers firstly to a building, which as a symbol of a public institution, is one of the organs of a constituted state" (Mbembe, 2002, p. 19). I understand this assertion to mean that a building itself can serve as a record of a particular event, history, or cultural sentiment and that the idea of a built environment is integral to the establishment of the nation-state. It maintains that a building can serve as an archive to be retrieved and examined for the history that it represents. On this archival aspect of the building, art critic, Mary Corrigan (2014) in her newspaper/online blog review *Architectural Ambitions* suggests that the Johannesburg Art Gallery, as an institution geared towards the preservation of cultural products" (Corrigan, 2014, p.13) the building itself should be read as a cultural product. In light of Corrigan's and Mbembe's supposition, I argue that Ângela Ferreira, whose project is concerned with the textuality⁵ of buildings, relies on this notion of the building as archive such that the exhibition *South Facing* is used as a means to speak to the historicity of the Johannesburg Art Gallery.

⁵ In a catalogue designed for the exhibition '*South Facing*', Ângela Ferreira is quoted as saying: "I believe buildings can be read as texts, and that is what I try to do in my practice." I have since adopted this notion of buildings as texts and refer to this quality or use of language characteristic of written works as textuality, in line with the Oxford Dictionary meaning.

Based on Mbembe's (2002) declaration that the building as a corporeal space represents the initial point of contact with the archive, an archive which is subject to differing construction and perception, it becomes important to consider what specific aspects of the Johannesburg Art Gallery as an architectural monument Ferreira's project invokes and why it is that these particular aspects have been selected and what are the implications thereof?

The exhibition *South Facing* was curated by South African independent curator, Amy Watson and mounted at the Johannesburg Art Gallery in the winter of 2017⁶. It is a continuation of Ângela Ferreira's oeuvre that dialogues with history and political moments through its use of architecture⁷ as a subject matter. The exhibition itself saw the artist, in the words of cultural and art critic, Manthia Diawara in *Architecture as Colonial Discourse: Ângela Ferreira's Maisons Tropicale* (2008), "defamiliarize our relationship with modernist art". Ângela works within the modernist paradigm herself, having studied at the Michaelis School for Fine Art at the cusp of the late modernist and post-modernist eras (Rossouw, 2017). She maintains, however, that modernism as a discipline has been an insufficient scaffolding for her art practice and that she has had to explore alternative ways of imbuing her practice with meaning. She is intrigued by form and hence she uses sculptural models of buildings to reflect errors in design judgement.

Her practice defies traditional art, but it also entices the viewer to question the histories of modernism and colonialism through the encounter of her objects which reference modernist precedents, constituted of photography, sculpture, text and video (Rossouw, 2015). The main point of entry to the gallery is through the south facing entrance, for which the exhibition itself is named. To access the south facing entrance of the gallery however, one must do so from the gate situated on King George Street (Figure 2). The significance of this peculiarity is mentioned in historian Marilyn Martin's analysis of the gallery, *The Johannesburg Art Gallery, Historical Perspective, and Contemporary Analysis* (1989). Martin (1989) makes salient the implications of constructing the gallery to be south facing, stating that this was impractical as it was near the greatly extended railway lines. This means that one now encounters the building obliquely,

⁶ The exhibition was available for viewing at the Johannesburg Art Gallery from May 2017 to July 2017.

⁷ As can be discerned from her sculptures, accompanying video footage and installation Ângela Ferreira's use of architecture connotes actual buildings, structure and design as opposed to academic disciplines.

from its side, due to the fact that Edward Lutyens' desire for a promenade over the railway line to another entrance which was to have been another park, was never realised ((Martin, 1989). The insistence of a South Facing entrance, which due to the geographic location of South Africa means that the building receives no direct natural light⁸, makes it somewhat impractical and alludes to a loyalty to European design standards which negated pragmatism.

Given, curator and writer, Carson Chan's (2016) logic, detailed in essayist Benjamin T Busch's article *Curating Architecture: The Architecture of Estrangement*, Alison Hugill in *Conversation with Carson Chan* states that "exhibitions make the places, structures and durations we generally ignore into objects of scrutiny" (2016, p.47), South Facing is an ingenious and ironic way of steering our gaze to the structures, places and events, such as the Johannesburg Art Gallery's History, which we would have otherwise ignored. That the exhibition uses architecture to trace the vagaries of modernism rendered through a colonial lens and allows for a situated reading of both the exhibition and the building it is set in.

2.3. The History of the Johannesburg Art Gallery, its Patronage and Roots in Institutionalised Colonialism.

The Johannesburg Art Gallery was pioneered by Lady Florence Phillips⁹, who according to Marybeth McTeague in her essay, *The Johannesburg Art Gallery: Lutyens, Lane and Phillips* (1984), desired to establish "an art gallery with arts and crafts From Europe which would provide a model for local artists and artisans" (McTeague, 1984, p.141). The collecting practices that accompanied the establishment of the gallery included arts from European artists that were contemporary at the time, whereas local artists were solely white settler colonialists¹⁰. This often-overlooked history of the gallery gives an indication of how the Johannesburg Art Gallery even in its inception had been conceptualized as an institutional way of crafting a vision of Euronormality¹¹ and that 'art' was undoubtedly considered the preserve of white settler

⁸ South of the equator, north facing buildings receive natural light.

⁹ Lady Florence Phillips was born Dorothea Sarah Florence Alexandra Ortlepp in Cape Town in 1863. Born to a modest family fathered by a land-surveyor she met Lionel Phillips who was to become a central figure in the wealthy Randlord cohort and married him in August 1855.

¹⁰ South Africa was officially colonised in 1652. Dutch settlers settled on what was the Cape of good hope. Thus, began the 400-year-long colonisation of the country by white Europeans. See Oliver E. and Oliver W.H. (2017). *The Colonisation of South Africa: A Unique Case*. HTS Teologiese Studies/ Theological Studies. 73(3), pp. 1-8.

¹¹ The concept of Euronormality is the intellectual product of Political activist and scholar Ram Manohar Lohia. Lohia uses this term within the context of knowledge production from the global south. Hence, the term Euronormality use the metaphor of the campus, whose ideal point of reference is the true north to describe the

colonialists. It also points to the gallery's focus, and how it had conceived of its public and rationalized for whom an art gallery was necessary.

On the collecting aspect of the endeavour, Lady Phillips enlisted the assistance of one Hugh Lane¹² who was an esteemed art collector. According to historian, Anne Tietze, writing in a review by the name of *Collecting for the Colonies* (2007), Hugh Lane appealed to Lady Phillips' vision for an art gallery in the colony because "Lane at a very young age had established himself as a major player in the Irish and English Art World" (Tietze, 2007, p. 246). In 1910, at the behest of Hugh Lane, Lady Phillips commissioned foreign architect Edward Lutyens to design the building that was to become the Johannesburg Art Gallery¹³. Robert Howden, President of the Transvaal Architects Association was appointed as the supervisor of the project due to a discomfort around the appointment of a foreign architect (McTeague, 1984). Lutyens completed the drawing of the building in 1911 (Figure 1), but in 1915 the building had still not been completed (Figure 2). According to historian and museology scholar, Alosle Lamprecht's (1991) master's thesis titled : *Florrie's Dream: A History of the Johannesburg Art Gallery*, in the end, what was in fact built from Lutyens original plan was "only a front entrance and two wings" (1991, p. 17).

In 1986, fifty-three years after the contemporary art collection was moved to the building designed by Edward Lutyens, architects Willie Meyer and Francois Pienaar were commissioned to extend the building to coincide with modernist aspirations in architecture and design (Figure 3). The architects themselves are recorded on their website as having opined that the most interesting about their architectural endeavour that saw the completion of the

way in which European culture asserts itself as the norm. See Yadava, Y., 2017. What is Living and what is Dead in Rammander Lohia. In: N. P. a. A. Behera, ed. *Reasoning Indian Politics, Philosopher Politicians to Politicians seeking Philosophy*. Abingdon: Routledge, pp. 167-211.

¹² Hugh Lane was a young curator of Irish descent who was enlisted by Lady Phillips due in part to his knowledge of British modern art but more so because he was recommended to Lady Florence Phillips by her friend Mrs Grosvenor. Lane became seminal in determining the direction the gallery would take. He introduced Lady Florence Phillips to British modern art and advised her on which artists to invest in. See Carman, J. 2006. *Uplifting the Colonial Phillistine: Florence Phillips and the Making of the Johannesburg Art Gallery*. Johannesburg: Wits University Press.

¹³Edward Lutyens was a British born and self-taught architect commissioned to design the Johannesburg Art Gallery at the bequest of Hugh Lane. He was renowned for his strict keeping with the classical style of architecture and is responsible for having designed the University of Cape Town's initial infrastructure. See McTeague, M. (1984). The Johannesburg Art Gallery: Lutyens, Lane and Lady Phillips. *The International Journal of Museum Management and Curatorship*, Volume 3, pp. 139-152, for a broader description of Edward Lutyens' practise and his involvement in the Johannesburg art Gallery project.

Johannesburg Art Gallery, is the incorporation of a “unique and sophisticated system for the diffusion of natural sunlight.” Silk screened glass skylights control the entry of sunlight, while deflective aluminium louvres and light-reflecting shelves bounce light back into the surface of the barrel ceiling (1991, p1).

2.4. A Johannesburg Art Gallery, the Carving of Nationhood and the Making of Culture.

The Johannesburg Art Gallery although a much-contested site, it is undoubtedly a site of knowledge and cultural production. Inherent structural problems resulted in the gallery’s temporary closure in 2017, providing an opportunity to re-examine the relationship between an institution once regarded as a symbol of elitism (#FRIENDSOFJAG, 2017). The argument has been that calls to relocate the JAG collection to a building void of these structural issues would be to remove from the Joubert Park and miss an opportunity to engage the emergent multicultural post-apartheid urban context.

In *The birth of the museum: History, theory and politics* (1994) Historian, Tony Bennet, traces the genealogy of museums. Bennett (1994) locates the museum within the Foucauldian power/knowledge nexus, opining that the museum was conceived as “a means of showing and telling so that people might look and learn” (1994, p.98). In another famed essay, ‘The exhibitionary complex’ (1994), Bennet notes that institutions, such as the museum and the art gallery, formed vehicles for inscribing and broadcasting the messages of power throughout society. Art galleries and museums, through the representations to which they were subjected to, relayed the message of white superiority.

Susan M Pearson, speaking on the rationale of museums in a chapter of the book *Museums, objects and collections: A cultural study* (1992) prioritises the museum’s ability to determine value and importance. Pearson (1992) further offers the justification that this tendency arose as a replacement to the decline of the intellectual and institutional power of religion. Similarly, the retrieval of punishment from the public domain¹⁴, which was closely aligned with the intellectual and institutional power heralded by religion, gave way to the museum as the primary mode of civic education (Bennett, 1994). In the context of apartheid, the museum

¹⁴ See Foucault, M., 1975. *Discipline and Punish: The birth of the prison*. New York: Vantage Books for an extended discussion on the privilege of the scopic and how corporal punishment was an integral part of public life.

facilitated a civic education whereby the “citizen” had already been conceived of as white. Hence, civic education referred to the establishment of white cultural norms that served to further exclude black people from civic life.

Museums and gallery spaces utilised and still utilise exhibitions to relay various messages to their chosen public¹⁵. On the concept of exhibitions, Art Historian, Michael Belcher in *Exhibitions in Museums* (1991) notes that exhibitions are privy to the power/ knowledge nexus in that “they are subject to the various vicissitudes inherent in a dynamic and fluctuating medium which has its roots in the historical, social and economic, educational and political structures of a given society” (Belcher, 1991, p. 42).

To this end, exhibitions, galleries and museums serve a differentiated public. Art Historian, Sandra Kloppe in *Whose Heritage? The politics of cultural ownership in contemporary South Africa* (1996) suggests that museums have tended to divide the population into “those who possess the ‘culture’ and the competence to make sense of the visit and those who do not” (Kloppe, 1996, p. 34). Kloppe reiterates Bennett’s (1994) sentiments that museums have also served as an instrument to differentiate publics. This division according to Bennett (1994), is achieved through “a combination of cultural markers which established it in a cultural zone clearly distinct from that of the popular assemblies and regulatory technologies” (Bennett, 1994, p. 104). Bennett (1994) goes much further by invoking the architecture of museums as being attuned to this most primary function of museums. By this Bennett surmises that the museum is designed to reflect a western canon. Its architecture is reflective of a western institution whose function is to inculcate in its visitors with a sense of culture that is aligned with a nationalist discourse. Its architecture asserts itself as an authority on culture and knowledge production mediated through the exhibiting of art and art objects.

A turn to the work of architect, Kahina Amal Djar who in her essay *‘Locating Architecture, Post-Colonialism and Culture: Contextualisation in Algiers’* (2009), suggests that the extent

¹⁵ The point being made here is that museum audiences are not homogenous or even decided organically but that they are crafted through state apparatuses that dictate who should visit museums. Cultural theorist, Vera Zolberg in *“An elite experience for everyone”*: Art museums, the public, and cultural literacy (1994) contends that museums are complicit in perpetuating this ideal through their inability to democratize publics but to rely on publics that are stratified according to income or educational attainment. In the context of South Africa, where income and education often serve as proxies for gender and race, this would mean that museum and gallery publics are interpreted as the elite white minority and to a lesser extent the emergent black middle class.

to which architecture and culture relate to or affect each other is dependent on the broader political, economic and social context is revelatory. Djar (2009) reinforces the notion that exhibitionary spaces are integral to creating and maintaining a sense of community founded on a particular set of political ideologies. In the instance of the Johannesburg Art Gallery, its architecture is emblematic of the set of relations between space and vision in which its function was “to construct the norm of humanity as white, bourgeois and male” (Bennett, 1994, p.102). This normalising function was located in a grander discourse of national identity (Spivak (1991). Cultural theorist, Stuart Hall, writing in an edition of *Modernity, an Introduction to Modern Societies* (1996), beckons us to view national culture as a discourse in which meanings that citizens can identify and identify with are produced.

Based on this definition of national culture offered by Hall, we may assume that the early colonial state was fashioned with the intent of positioning whiteness and its ties to European metropolises as a national identity and that the establishment of the Johannesburg Art Gallery was premised on the logic of a British national culture. Arinze (1999) in, his article ‘African museums: The challenge of change’, points out that museums were conceived as institutions dedicated to the interests of the colonial elite, they served to reinforce the colonial power through the institutionalisation of British culture.

According to art historian Jillian Carman, in her master’s thesis titled : *Modern art for South Africa: the Founding of the Johannesburg Art Gallery* (2002), the founding of the Johannesburg Art Gallery is situated in a complex web of nation building. It was conceptualised as part of the ideal of civil and civilized society. Its inception came during a time when the colonial administration was trying to recreate Johannesburg as a permanent residence for British expatriates (Carman 2002). Thus, the gallery itself was fashioned as part of an attempt by white’s settler colonialists to carve a nation state. This nation state was to be established on a cultural and societal bedrock which was Eurocentric in its tendency to herald European cultural and societal practices as not only the norm but the epitome to which all peoples should strive towards.

Carman, in her detailed historical analysis *Uplifting the colonial philistine: Florence Phillips and the making of the Johannesburg Art Gallery* (2006), gives context to the patronage and establishment of the Johannesburg Art Gallery. She highlights the conditions that encouraged and even necessitated the establishment of the Johannesburg Art Gallery, stating that it was

part of a large social strategy to attract a certain type of settler to Johannesburg and to institute a sense of citizenry founded on the superiority of British culture (Carman, 2006, p. 55). The gallery was co-opted into the logic of nation building and was an integral part of the social engineering of the colonial settlers (Carman, 2006). Bennett (1998) articulates the relationship between museums, galleries and other cultural institutions in his seminal essay. Bennett (1988) offers the insight that museums, galleries and exhibitions to a less consistent degree played a pivotal role in the formation of the modern state (Bennett, 1988). Central to Bennett's argument is the Foucauldian idea of discourses of power and surveillance¹⁶. He contends that.

“Museums were used as a tool to allow people to know and thence to regulate themselves: to become, in seeing themselves from the side of power, both subjects and the objects of knowledge, knowing power and what power knows and knowing themselves (ideally) known by power, interiorising its gaze as a principle of self-surveillance and hence, self-regulation” (Bennett, 1998, pp. 104)

Owing to the adoption of a revised definition of culture, wherein it is seen as a dynamic system of ideas and structures of symbolic meaning subject to changes in political rhetorics (Djar, 2009), the museum too as a signifier of culture and an instrument of cultural production is believed to be subject to these changes.

The Johannesburg Art gallery is in an ongoing process to shed its history as mired in institutionalised racism and exclusionary practices. Curators, Khwezi Gule, Clive Kellner and Nessa Leibhammer (2006) in their collective article *The Johannesburg Art Collections* note the prior exclusion of artists due to the “aesthetic racial imperatives of the day” (Gule, Kellner, and Leibhammer, 2006, pp. 2) and the peculiar set of affinities that benefited from the colonial system. They maintain, however, that this situation is one that can be remedied through the implementation of policy and strategy that increase inclusion and representation of previously marginalised groups (Gule et al, 2006).

¹⁶ Whereas Foucault articulates power and surveillance in different texts, power being a prominent theme in his collection of essays ‘Power, Essential Works of Foucault 1954-1984’ (1994) and surveillance in *Discipline and punish* (1975) the two concepts are nonetheless to state control and are used here to describe the multi-focal ways that museums are co-opted into creating and sustaining national identities.

In a converse tone, rendered in ‘Acquisition policy of the Johannesburg Art Gallery with regard of the South African collection, 1909-1987’, Carman (1988) pessimistically asserts that no matter the extent to which a museum may develop, it remains essentially shaped by the founding rationale and the policy that accompanied it. As recently as in 2011, artist, curator and vocal feminist of colour Sharlene Khan highlighted the ongoing privilege of white artists. In the infamous online article *Doing it for Daddy*, Khan (2011) argued that white privilege in the arts is supported by an elaborate industry founded on the seemingly unshakable hegemony of whiteness. I am inclined to agree with Khan. The arts industry is reflective of a broader South African society which has been unable to truly reform. The arts industry is a microcosm of this society, wherein radical change has not been affected at the institutional level, such that colonial attitudes around representation persist, if only in more subtle and insidious ways.

Critical theorist, Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (1991), speaking on the changing forms of colonialism in ‘*Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak: Neocolonialism and the Secret Agent of Knowledge*’ mentions that the use of the term neocolonialism is critical to thinking around the persistence and shapeshifting nature of colonialism. Spivak (1991) suggests that neocolonialism is something other than territorial or cultural colonialism due to the fact that neocolonialism is economic, hence knowledge production within a neocolonial framework is more subtle and therefore more difficult to pin down. It is within the bounds of this neocolonial framing that a new set of cultural practices that seek to counter prior exclusions that the Ângela Ferreira exhibition is situated. The problem arises when the language of exclusion itself is unstable, such that issues of access are still central to debates around galleries in South Africa, only in different and often difficult ways to articulate.

2.5. Locating the Johannesburg Art Gallery Within the Gendered Dynamics of the Early Colonial State

Bennett (1998) continues to enunciate the situation of museums and galleries within the exhibitionary complex and to argue the ways in which it served as the primal mode of effecting self-regulation and organising of objects and individuals alike. I, however, am more concerned with the diverse meanings that galleries such as the Johannesburg Art Gallery instituted in a British colony came to embody- not just for the colonialists who built them but for the ‘native’ peoples who were denied access to them in numerous ways. In this regard, Tony Bennett’s (1994) statement on the representational space of the museum is worth quoting at length here. It reads thus:

“The space of representation shaped into being by the public museum was hijacked by all sorts of particular social ideologies: it was sexist in the gendered patterns of its exclusions, racist in its assignation of the native populations of conquered territories to the lowest rungs of the human evolution, and bourgeois in the respect that it was clearly articulated to bourgeois rhetorics of progress” (Bennet, 1994, p. 97).

I am inclined to contest the notion that the museum as an institution was co-opted into this exclusionary system of representation. I argue that it was designed as an integral part of this system in that it was meant to reflect the exclusionary political order of the day. The specificities of the exclusionary facets of the gallery space are worth scrutinizing, bearing in mind the ways in which gendered and racialized experience intersect. The accounts of artist and activist Fatima Meer documented in *Women in the Apartheid Society* (1986) reveal the incongruity of the notion of a universal woman. They exemplify the differences in black and white women’s lived experience as mediated by access to power and the privilege that comes with it. I rely on the gendered dynamics articulated by Meer and inherent in the establishment of the Johannesburg Art Gallery and use them to anchor a description of the ways black and white women’s experiences differed. I do in a manner that interrogates the notion of ‘woman’ as a universal and universalizing term¹⁷.

On the notion of women as a universal category Bell Hooks, in her book *Ain’t I am woman, Black Women and Feminism* (2015), notes that white racist ideology has allowed white women to assume that the word woman is synonymous with white women, and that women of other races are perceived as Others. These articulations of difference anchor my reading of the ways in which the gendered dynamic of the early settler colonial society in which the Johannesburg Art Gallery constructed white womanhood as both a racialized and gendered subjectivity. Thus, I focus on Lady Phillips, her personage and how her vision of the Gallery was subsumed by a racialized patriarchal society. Based on how the patronage of the gallery

¹⁷ Although the notion of location, difference and multifocal identities have been iterated by many feminist scholars and gender activists such as The Combahee River Collective, Bell Hooks and Nivedita Menon and, Legal Scholar and Feminist Kimberle Crenshaw has been seminal in theorizing and popularizing identity politics vis-à-vis the notion of difference and location. However, Crenshaw’s theorizing emerges from the legal and juridical complex of the global north. It is for this reason that I find the iterations of artist and activist Fatima Meer to be quite important. Meer articulates issues of difference and politics of location in women’s organising during Apartheid giving a context specific analyses of racial and gendered dynamics and challenges the notion of woman as a universal category put forth by second wave feminists.

has been recorded I argue that the tendency has been to elide Lady Florence Phillip's role in the initiation of the project. The marginalization is a complicated one and points to the subtle but oppressive ways that gender functioned within the newly established colony. It also directs us to the ways in which these very gendered dynamics were often obscured by one's social and class status.

McTeague (1984) like other historians such as Lamprecht (1991), Jacobson (1994) and Cook (2014) mention Lady Florence's role as the progenitor of the gallery, but they do so in a way that pivots the gallery's coming into being around the benevolence of a few wealthy male Randlords. Carman (2006) is one scholar who has attempted to trace the sexist environment Phillips found herself in as well as the gendered order of the day, mentioning that even an influential woman like Florence Phillips was largely constricted by her gender, having her plans completed only when subverted or appropriated by men.

Whilst this description may allude to the possibility of disadvantage on the part of Phillips due to her gender, recent articulations of the ways in which race, gender and class intersect point to the complexity and nuance of even supposedly subordinate positions. This description lends itself to Bell Hooks' prior mention that 'woman' is oft used as a universal term such that Carman's expression of Lady Phillips' gendered oppression is totalizing and downplays Philip's role in the oppression of the racialized black subjects of the newly established colony. Anthropologist and Colonial Studies scholar, Ann Laura Stoler in her pivotal account *Making Empire Respectable: The politics of Race and Sexual Morality in 20th-Century Colonial Culture* (1989), grounds her analyses by asking what are the ways in which gendered qualities were essential to the structure of colonial racism and imperial authority? (Stoler (1989) makes the point that European women were pertinent to the colonial enterprise and the solidification of racial boundaries in ways that consistently tied their supportive and subordinate position to community and colonial peace.

The Ângela Ferreira exhibition, through its use of the meta-narratives of colonialism and modernism, is unable to highlight these complexities, to bring to the fore these tenuous relations between the emergent black and white women's subjectivities. Such a move has the inadvertent effect of reinforcing this notion of a universal women even in the context of South Africa. It has the potential to reify the myth that women whether black or white experienced totalizing gendered oppression during colonisation.

2.5. South Facing, speaking to the gallery but not its gendered past.

The exhibition South Facing begins to explicitly converse with the Johannesburg Art Gallery at the Meyer Pienaar¹⁸ moment. Ferreira responds to this moment using archival images showing the profile of the Meyer Pienaar extension. According to the catalogue drafted by the #FREINDSOFJAG (2017), the commission draws on the visual history of the construction process of the extension, particularly the contentious barrel-like copper vaulted roofs of the gallery. This particular focus on the Meyer Pienaar extension occurs in the backdrop of the exclusion of Lady Florence Phillips' pivotal role in establishing the gallery as a public institution. Hence, I read Ferreira's project as one that straddles modernist architecture to the advent of Afrikaner nationalism but does not articulate the early colony, Lady Florence Phillips' role and the gendered dynamics inherent therein.

The focus on the Meyer and Pienaar work is important for two reasons. The first is that Meyer and Pienaar were according to Architect, Walter Peters in his article *Men are as Great as the Monuments they Leave Behind* Wilhelm O Meyer and the (Rand Afrikaans) University of Johannesburg, Kingsway Campus (2011), commissioned to design several buildings for the National Party. The most famous of these other commissions was the then Rand Afrikaans University. This little-known fact is significant to contextualising the Meyer and Pienaar work because the Rand Afrikaans University was conceptualised as an instrument for the creation of an Afrikaner National Identity. It was funded through the auspices of the right-wing Afrikaner Broederbund, (Peters, 2011) and represented an opportunity for the National Party to further entrench apartheid segregationist policy and inculcate white supremacist thinking through the formal environment of institutions of higher learning.

The second aspect of the Meyer Pienaar extension is the period in which the project was commissioned. The north wing of the gallery was commissioned in 1986 at the height of political upheaval in South Africa. In 1986, South Africa was declared a state of emergency by the National Party due to the increased resistance of the marginalised black majority. The medium used to introduce the Meyer Pienaar extension is equally symbolic. Ferreira, whose

¹⁸ Meyer and Pienaar were prominent architects who established the firm Meyer, Pienaar and Partners and were responsible for building a number of public buildings commissioned by the National Party. These include the Rand Afrikaans Universiteit, now the University of Johannesburg as well as the Krugersdorp Civic Centre.

practice is very much research and archive based, uses photographs to depict the scaffold of the Meyer Pienaar extension. The history of photography, similar to most mediums of artistic expression in South Africa, is tainted by the country's gendered and racialized past. A glance at the famous photography exhibition *The Rise and Fall of Apartheid* (2014), curated by Okwui Enwezor features very few, if any female photographers whilst the exhibition *Between States of Emergency: Photographers in Action* (2016), convened by the Nelson Mandela Foundation and curated by Robin Comly, has various white photographers and only Zubeida Jaffer and Deseni Sooben as the only two women photographers.

Ângela contends that there are no coincidences. The absence of women photographers from history cannot be taken as mere coincidence. The symbolism of using photography as a means to comment on a nationalist discourse must not be taken for granted since it occurs in the backdrop of apartheid histories of exclusion, it is representative of the ways in which the possibility of using photography as an artistic medium was sealed off to black women. Angela Ferreira's documenting of the Meyer and Pienaar extension is rendered through a visual archive that depicts the construction of the north façade. The scaffold of the extension, concrete and steel pillars are in contrast with the red iron rich earth of the building site (Figure 1). This contrast, depicted in the photograph, is reminiscent of Frederico Freschi's analysis of art and Afrikaner nationalism during apartheid. In a chapter of the first volume of the book *Visual Century*, titled *Afrikaner Nationalism, Modernism, Modernity and the Changing Canon of High Art*,⁹ Freschi (2011) credits the rise of Afrikaner nationalism in the mid-forties to the civil religion of the Afrikaner. This civil religion was akin to a doctrine that entitled Afrikaners to the land through the triumph over English and black South Africans. This domination of the land is evident in the Meyer Pienaar work which also references modernist precedents through the steel and concrete frames that were characteristic of the burgeoning industrialisation of the time.

Motlatsi Khosi (2017) in the online article *The JAG Under Conceptual Reconstruction: A Review of Ângela Ferreira's South Facing Exhibition* suggests that Ângela Ferreira examines the relationship between people and their use of building and public space. On the contrary, I believe many of the works in the exhibition elide subjectivity, more especially those of marginalized people. In the Meyer Pienaar artwork for instance, there is no evidence of the undoubtedly black labour that was used to construct the actual scaffold. Khosi herself later contends that "we remember the names of the architects who were privileged white men, we

salute their work, yet we give no attention to the other forms of labour” (Khosi, 2017, pp.4). Given that the Meyer Pienaar work references Afrikaner nationalism, what is less apparent are the gendered implications of promulgating a nationalist discourse. In her critical essay, *‘Fabricating a Nation: The Functioning of National Museums in Non-racial Representation and the National Imagination*, museologist Sandra J. Schmidt (2013) writes that nations are fabrications requiring a shared imagination. In many instances the idea of the nation is tethered to patriarchy in inextricable ways.

Gayatri Spivak in her profound essay *Nationalism and the Imagination* (2009) maintains that nationalism is produced by tapping the private attachment to ground the purposes of the most public statecraft, and that it is predicated on reproductive heteronormativity. Spivak centres notions of belonging through birth and alludes to the ways in which gender is co-opted by the ideological framework of a nationalist discourse. In her master’s thesis: *Gender, community and Identity: Women and Afrikaner Nationalism in the Volksmoder Discourse of Die Boervrou*, Feminist scholar Lui-Marie Kruger (1991) traces the intermittent position of Afrikaner women within the discourse of Afrikaner nationalism. She concludes, in much the same way as Stoler does about white women in the early colonial era, that Afrikaans women were not merely passive victims of what nationalist movement made of them but were themselves active contributors to the process.

In summary, Ferreira’s project focuses on masculinist nationalism, foreclosing the possibility of locating white women in the nexus of colonial power. Given that, as described by Schmidt (2013), concepts of race and nation were central to development and maintenance of the apartheid structure, and that citizenry was limited to the British and Afrikaans settlers, locating black women who are burdened by institutionalised racism, social class relations, gender inequalities, and nationalism (Collins, 1998) within nationalist discourses becomes a particularly arduous task as they are elided from this history. Many of the works, in *South Facing* although they reference these political moments, fail to do so in a manner that highlights the context of the architectures. They exist utopic objects that need to be tethered more strongly to these moments so as to unearth the richness of the complex narratives that abide therein.

Ângela Ferreira is unable to express the quotidian lives of Black female subjects. It would appear that she elides both black and white women. This is due in part to her negation of gender as an important conceptual framework, but also because she is working within the discursive frame of modernism which itself is patriarchal in Euromodernity. I contend that this has

varying implications. I argue that the negation has greater consequences for Black women. Through entry into the museum, and through the exhibition of *South Facing*, Ângela Ferreira can speak back to history, more especially through the display of a masculine apartheid nationalism, Ferreira obscures white women's role in the establishment and protraction of colonialism and apartheid.

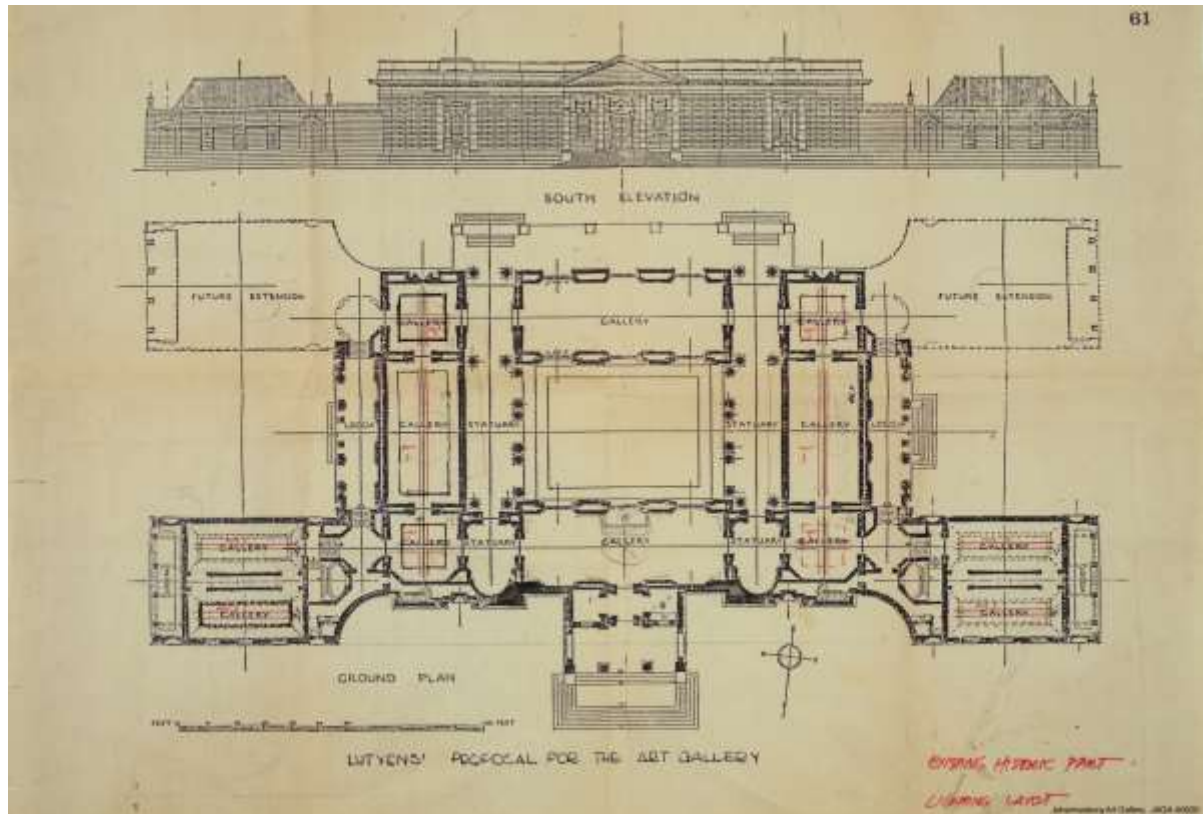


Figure 6: Edward Lutyens original proposal for the Johannesburg Art Gallery

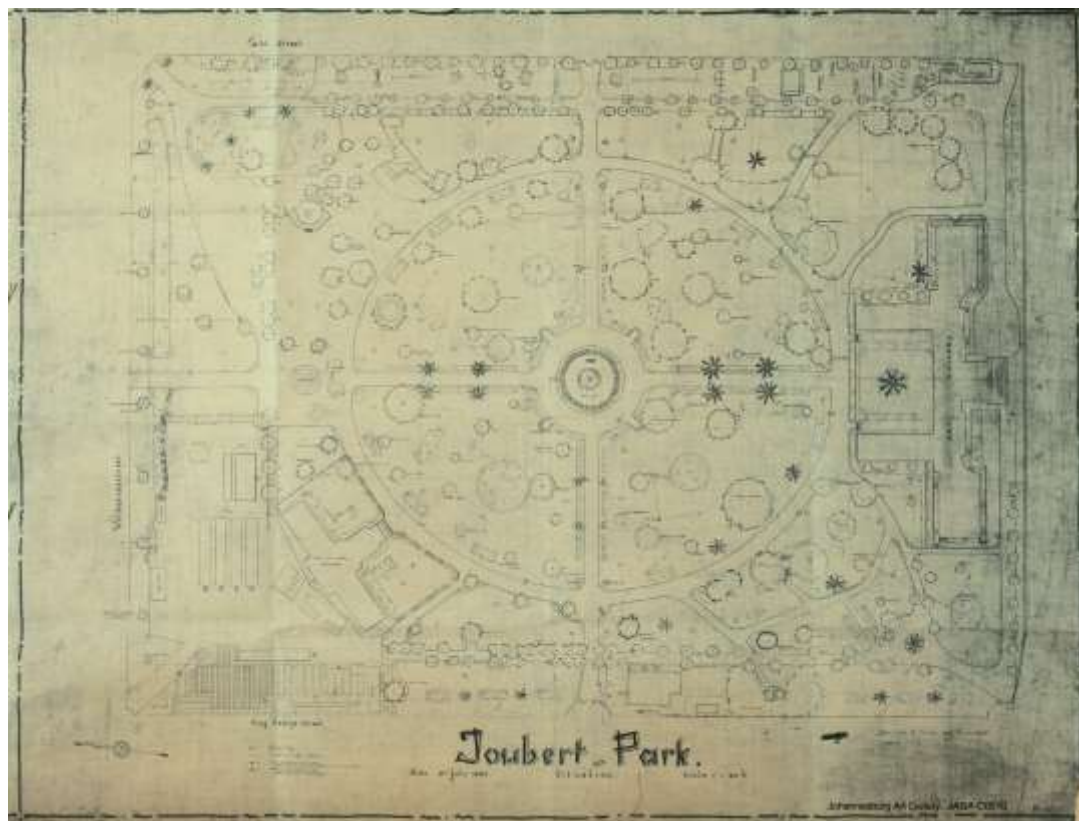


Figure 7: A plan of an incomplete Johannesburg Art Gallery (Prior to the Meyer Pienaar extension).

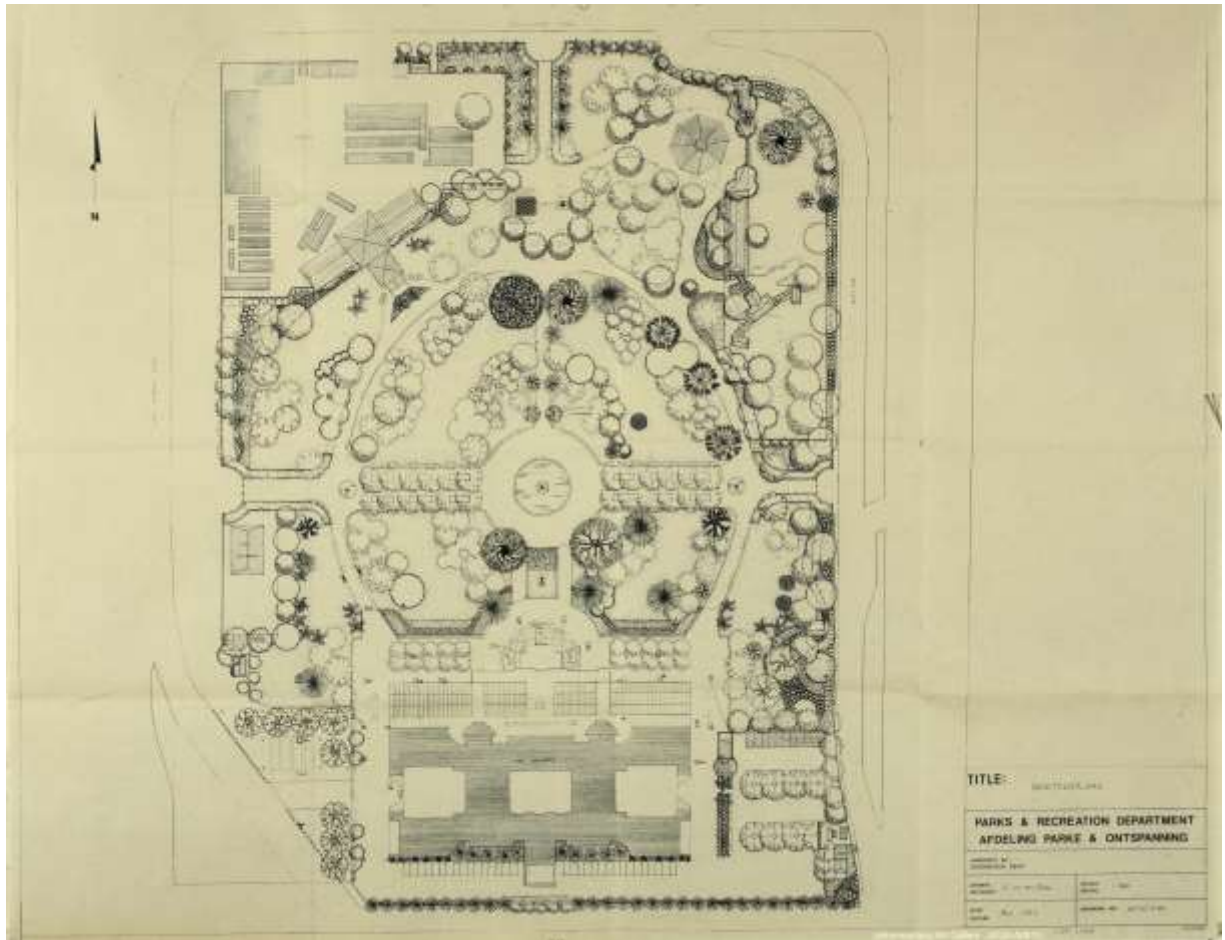


Figure 8: A plan of the north façade commissioned by architects Meyer and Pienaar in (1985).



Figure 9: *Meyer Pienaar Extension* Ângela Ferreira, *South Facing*, Johannesburg Art Gallery, (2017).

Chapter Three

Introduction

British academic and theorist Hilary Robinson, in her article titled *Feminism Meets the Big Exhibition: Museum Survey Shows Since 2005* suggests that art made by women has recently become the focus of many exhibitions in major museums (Robinson, 2016). Although this statement was meant to address the development of women's art in North America and Europe, it rings true for artists in Africa and the Global South. There has been a marked change in the way women's art has been perceived in South Africa. This change has occurred because of increased attention to the inequalities of the past, wherein women were marginalised in different spheres of South Africa society. This shift in the focus of major museums provides incentive for a feminist critique of pre and existing exhibitions and foregrounds my excavation into the way art practice has neglected gendered histories. Using this feminist critique, I articulate the differences between black women and white women and argue that contemporary art practices by white women artists often obscure this difference. I use the work of Ângela Ferreira as a case in point.

In this chapter, I use feminist methodologies that privilege informal archives such as anecdotes and memory to address the absences in formal archives. I argue that the absences in *South Facing* are a consequence of the exhibition being a translation of the colonial archive wherein the occlusion finds its genesis. I take up the task of articulating these absences of black women in apartheid's spatial imagining realised through the use, in the words of Mpho Matsipa, "of modernist architecture as a bureaucratic tool" (Matsipa, 2014, p.23). This endeavour necessitates that an excavation of the archives expressing black female's lived experiences under apartheid be conducted prompting a consideration of anecdotal evidence sourced from old publications detailing black social life under apartheid.

3.1. Setting the scene - viewing the exhibition through a feminist lens

Cultural theorist, Mieke Bal in a guest column titled *Exhibition Practices* (2010), notes that art operates within a discursive space. Bal makes two major assertions. Firstly, curators when operating within the gallery space, deploy specifically selected metaphors which stimulate critiques to continue their reflections on how art is best presented to publics (Bal, 2010). Bal

(2010) maintains that “the public is one that deserves both the greatest help to make sense of art and the greatest freedom to do with art as it pleases” (Bal, 2010, p.11). Secondly, she suggests that the thoughts that art articulates in its own way may become framed and addressed by discourses surrounding the exhibition and interfering with it (Bal, 2010, 10). These two assertions suggest that art’s discursive terrain is open to a few possibilities, such that in as much as publics may be guided in a particular direction with regards to their interaction with art, they are also at liberty to read artworks in a way that reflects their particular background, position and life experiences. Bal also indicts the curator in that she makes clear that the curators’ interventions are pointed, they chose which metaphors to deploy and subsequently which ideology to present. Thus, in the case of Ferreira, the choice to present the aesthetic practices of colonialism as unburdened by gender and the institutionalisation is a choice- one that has real consequences.

In the essay *Translation as Culture*, Gayatri Spivak (1991) posits that the act of translation extends to readers who use their positioning within a particular social, political, economic stratum, geographic locale and lived experience to make sense of a text. She extends this act of reading to the visual arts terrain, insisting that art requires a process of translation where the viewer’s perception is framed by an array of factors. What emerges is that the viewing of art is very much influenced by the socio-political context where the exhibition occurs as well as the contemporary debates of the period.

Using Spivak’s notion of translation, I locate my experiences within a patriarchal society whose apparatus extends to the arts. The notion of absence and exclusion has been the object of feminist concern, more so for black feminists interested in visual cultures and the fine arts traditions. Women have been excluded from art histories and their experiences of life in repressive regimes or oppressive societies glossed over.

Historian, Helen Bradford (1996) in her illuminating essay *Women, gender and colonialism: Rethinking the History of the British Cape Colony and its Frontier Zones, c. 1806-70* contends that regarding African historiography and readings of the imperial archive, gender has rarely been deployed as a concept. She maintains that women and socially constructed relationships between the sexes have been badly neglected (Bradford, 1996). Bradford’s assertions highlight how the negation of gender as a theoretical framework has been instrumental in keeping women’s presence in the historic records minimal. Bradford’s critique rings true not only for the *South Facing* exhibition but for Ferreira’s practice. For instance, Alda Costa, an art

historian based in Mozambique in an interview with the curator Rafael Mouzinho published in an article by the name *Ângela Ferreira: Does she Need More Exposure in Mozambique? A Discussion Between Alda Costa and Rafael Mouzinho* (2018) mentions that Ferreira's practice is particularly concerned with colonialism, racism, memory, amnesia, the traces of history, utopias associated with construction projects in the nascent nations as well as the complex relationships between Africa and Europe (Costa and Mouzinho, 2018). Costa and Mouzinho, exclude an articulation of gender, an act which is congruent with many other discussants of Ferreira's work. This may be in part to an overdetermination of race politics, and a belief that gender as a theoretical framework and lived reality has no bearing on colonial and modernist histories.

Intersectional and decolonial Feminist theories are sensitive to the ways in which women, more especially black women and are excluded from popular histories. They are cognizant of the ways gender nuances are subsumed by nationalist rhetorics. More importantly, feminist frameworks propose ways to identify and subsequently remedy these exclusions. The visual arts being no exception. Jones (2016) makes an argument for developing a feminist praxis within the arts by centering the role of women within the arts. Developing such a praxis also involves critiquing exhibitions that do gendered histories an injustice. Hence, this thesis uses a feminist lens to articulate the ways in which the South Facing exhibition reinforces the exclusion of black women from modernist histories.

In 2017, the year the exhibition was staged at the Johannesburg Art Gallery was a politically charged year as the two years preceding it. Service delivery protests in Neshaminy in KZN, Laudium in Gauteng and Tshitale in Limpopo were but a few of the protests that made headlines, whilst student protests in Durban continued unabated. The country saw shifts in the locus of party-political power with the oppositional party-Democratic Alliance unseating the governing party and the African National Congress in the local elections. Black women, even in the post-apartheid dispensation, continued to be marginalised in all sectors of South Africa Society. This meant that the exhibition occurred in the backdrop of a situation where black women's full liberation had not occurred.

My critique of the exhibition is founded on the belief that this exhibition which claims to expound upon the vagaries of politically charged moments such as colonialism and apartheid and the systems of oppression of racism and capitalist exploitation that accompanied them, should also shed light on gendered exploitation of black women which in the context of South

Africa and Africa more broadly. In an interview with Curator Elvira Dyangani Ose, Ferreira unequivocally states that her practice is pregnant with intentional post-colonial meaning (Balona de Oliveira, Ose and Moreira, 2015). Increased attention to gender and the articulation of black women's subjectivity is an integral part of the postcolonial¹⁹.

In this chapter I discuss the way black women have been excluded from modernist histories. I look at how the work of artist Ângela Ferreira reinforces this exclusion by using a modernist praxis that overdetermines race and negates gender. Such a focus requires an interrogation of the relations between gender and racial strictures. The work of African American feminist scholar Kimberle Crenshaw proves seminal in this regard. In her essay *Demarginalizing the Margins of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics* (Crenshaw, 1991) draws our attention to these intersecting frameworks of oppression. Crenshaw (1989) argues that black women experience discrimination in ways that are both similar to and different from those experienced by white women and black men. In the sequel to this argument presented in *Mapping the Margins*, Crenshaw (1991) explains how black womanhood in North America from where she was theorising, means being subjected to a gendered and racialised existence that makes this personhood fundamentally different from that of black men and white women who were seen as also oppressed, by race in the former and gender in the latter.

Even in the contest of South Africa, Crenshaw's theories are considered useful in making sense of women's lived experiences because of interacting systems of oppression. This is due to the inaccessibility of records detailing South African women's articulation of intersecting systems of oppression, Crenshaw's articulations were widely appropriated within the South African context- Pumla Gqola, (2001, 2011 & 2015) and Mupotsa (2017) are cases in point.

¹⁹ The idea of the postcolonial marks a murky discursive terrain. Scholars such as subaltern studies scholar Gayatri Spivak discount the notion of a postcolonial, arguing that the prefix post- gives a false impression that the colonial period has ended due to the absence of a physical bureaucratic colonial hand. She argues that former colonies are still embroiled in skewed relationships with old colonial masters, albeit in more complex and sinister ways. Hence the fraught relationships between Europe and Africa that emerged during colonialism still abide. Spivak's articulation of the postcolonial privileges the tempo-spatial qualities of the postcolonial. In the version that Spivak discounts, the notion of the postcolonial is contemporaneous with the post liberation moment. In the theoretical accounts of critical race scholars such as Achille Mbembe and Edward Said, the postcolonial has a pronounced qualitative dimension. It represents an intellectual project that seeks to establish a distinct subject position of colonised peoples, considering their interaction with imperialist forces and cultural hegemony. Spivak's position is most appealing in that it allows for a consideration for the post-independence moment. The post-independence moment in Africa was characterised by an intuitive understanding of the ways that black women had been disadvantaged dually by western led imperialism and patriarchy. It insisted on notions of women's liberation through a distinctly African brand of feminism.

Lethogonolo Mokgoroane's master's thesis titled *Multilocality: (Re) Centering the Margins, Navigating Lived Experiences Through the Law as Black and Brown Bodies a South African Perspective* (2017) and the work of apartheid activist Fatima Meer titled *Women and Apartheid* (1986) speak directly to the complexities of gender and intersecting oppressions in the South African context. Mokgoroane (2017) argues that the varying landscapes, rural, urban and peri-urban result in unevenly distributed access to health and education facilities as well as to jobs and economic issues, making black women subject to class oppressions that are more nuanced than that of white women.

Meer (1986) provides one of the more accessible historical narratives of the difference in black and white women's subjectivities. Using the 1976 uprising as a particular case in point, Meer (1986) argues that black women bore the brunt of anti-apartheid resistance because they were not only faced by racial oppression but gendered and class oppression which was often a consequence of the capitalist exploitation that was integral to apartheid. According to Meer (1986), the violence that broke out during June of 1976 was damaging to the unity of the many women's movements in that white women were insensitive and unempathetic to the reality of black women whose children were in the frontlines of the violence. Most White women were openly hostile, blaming the violence that erupted on the children (Meer, 1986).

Gender activist, Penny Andrews has eloquently detailed the specificities of black women's oppression under apartheid, such that a passage from her essay, '*The Legal Underpinnings of Gender Oppression in Apartheid South Africa*' (1986), is worth quoting at length. It reads thus:

The ideology and system of apartheid embodies the most vicious combination of race, class and sex oppression known today. While black South African women suffer as members of the subordinate sex, analogous to the plight of women internationally, it is the system of apartheid which determines their oppression in a very fundamental way. It is impossible within the South African social formation to conceive of sex-based solidarity since race (at the level of appearances and as determined by the official ideology of the apartheid) and class (as ultimately the most significant determinant vitiates and contradicts such solidarity.

The historical narratives of women's experience of apartheid and their negation in the post-apartheid state evince the ways women have been excluded from popular rhetoric. Lato Frank

Ntwape (2016) in his Masters dissertation concerned with the historiography of South Africa women notes that the work of black women working and living during apartheid is fragmentary and is often overshadowed by the presence of black men. I contend that this has been the case in academic disciplines such as the arts and architecture whereby the archives tend to obscure black women and water down their histories.

Reverting to Bal's (2010) assertion on the freedoms entrusted to art viewing publics, my own engagement with the *South Facing* exhibition, drew me towards the gendered intonations of the project. In the prolific essay *Constructing the Spectacle of Culture in Museums* (1993) co-authored by cultural theorist Ivan Karp and curator Fred Wilson assert that "the environment in which cultural production is placed affects the way the viewer feels about the artwork and the artist responsible for producing the artworks (Karp and Wilson, 1993, p.2). More importantly, Karp and Wilson note the ways the absences mark the discursive trajectory of an exhibition and consider curatorial strategies that may begin to bring those absences to the fore.

In a related breath, Gayatri Spivak (1991) in an interview with Walter Adamson, published in the edited volume, *Discourses: Conversations in Postmodern Art and Culture* describes her own quest to understand the ways, contexts, race and class conditions through which gender is used as a signifier to cover over certain things. Using Spivak's (1991) iteration of gender, I am delineating the discursive terrain of modernism and uncovering the politics accentuated by the *South Facing* project. I pay close attention the ways modernism has in the words of the co-editor of the book *Museum culture: Histories, Discourses, Spectacles*, "used gender as a covert signifying practice" (Rogoff, 1994, p.231) or in some instance undermined it all together.

3.2. The colonial archive and the use of gender as a covert signifier

Ângela Ferreira's practice is one guided by an interest in the archive and the narratives that may be gleaned through examining archival detail and documentation. The works proposed by Ferreira are a consequence of a robust engagement with archival material, historical narratives and artefacts. According to the 2017 Catalogue, authored by the #FriendsofJAG Ferreira's area of investigation has been the translation of modernism in the African-Colonial context. Ferreira, even in previous works such as *Talk Tower for Ingrid Yonker* has engaged archival

material in a manner that seeks to illuminate the contesting historiographies associated with colonial and modernist archives²⁰.

Ferreira's work stems from a robust engagement with the archive(s). Curator Ana Balona de Oliveira (2016) in her essay *Decolonization in, of and Through the Archival "Moving Images" of Artistic Practice*, notes that Ferreira utilises decolonising archival strategies which constitute archives in their own right. By this Balona de Oliveira means archival strategies that undermine the authority of colonial archives. Ferreira's project which deals with buildings is very much aware of the utility of archives as monuments to particular configurations of power. Through her presentation of the archive, Ferreira posits new ways of engaging colonial histories.

In a related note, of the archive, the editors of the conference proceedings published as *Refiguring the Archive*, Carolyn Hamilton, Verne Harris (2002) and Graeme Reid, claim that the archive is figured. The figuration of the archive, they argue, is a consequence of a set of conditions and circumstances wherein the preservation of material and the exclusion of material from the record is undergirded by a particular set of power relations (Hamilton et. al, 2002). In the instance of the construction of a colonial archive, from which Ferreira draws insight, the power relations were determined by a racist, imperialist and to a lesser enunciated degree – a gendered order. In light of the constructedness of archives, the absence of women and gender expression in the archives does not speak to a physical absence of women and gendered expression in the events and moments in question. Rather, it speaks to a concerted and purposeful omission of women that serves as a testament to Stoler's (2002) assertion that archives are often both documents of exclusion and monuments to particular configurations of power.

The use of buildings and colonial architectures developed under a modernist praxis evidence imperialist configuration of power. The question that arises, however, is how Ângela Ferreira's project positions itself vis-à-vis the selectiveness of archives? Is it one that is cognizant of the ways in which archives may be used as agents of state authority and the extent to which they were according to Stoler (2002), sites of the imaginary and institutions that fashioned histories as they concealed, revealed and reproduced the power of the state? According to Watson (2018), the use of the Johannesburg Art Gallery was envisioned as part of a pointed critique of

²⁰ Laura Ann Stoler defines the colonial archive as that repository of records, documents and images that give credence to the authority of colonialism. I have developed the idea of a colonial archive to include the histories of modernist architecture which was developed as part of the colonial nexus.

the institution. This was realised through the Meyer Pienaar artwork in which three archival photographs reveal the cross-section of the north façade, commissioned by architects Meyer and Pienaar in 1986. Whilst these images which function as archives in themselves illuminate the contested history of Johannesburg and its fraught futurity, as an artwork they fail to precisely situate the Johannesburg art gallery within the colonial bureaucratic nexus. It serves to highlight the very pertinent of the gallery's history and to illuminate the colonial imaginary realised through the gallery's white female proprietor, Lady Florence Phillips.

According to Bradford (1996), the colonial state was a male state – in its social base, personnel, and not least its military preoccupations and gender discriminatory laws. This means that renderings of the colonial archive should depict the gender bias inherent in the establishment of the colonial state. The tendency, however, has been the opposite, “to represent the state and by extension men as gender neutral, conceptualised as men but as people, linked with categories like economics, politics or race” (Bradford, 1996, p. 358).

A seasoned scholar of gender and imperialism, Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak in one of her academic works on the imperial archive, titled ‘*The Rani of Sirmur: An Essay in Reading the Archives*,’ cautions against the fetishizing of the archive. According to Spivak (1985, p.14), “when fetishized, the archive becomes more than the repository of traces of the past which may be used in its inferential reconstruction”. What this means is that the archive becomes the stand-in for the actual event. It becomes foreclosed from the possibility of multivariate readings and analyses. To remedy this phenomenon that threatens the integrity of the archive, what Spivak (1985) has termed the “fetishization of the archive”, Ann Stoler (2010) in an Archival grain, epistemic anxieties and colonial common sense, recommends reading against the archival grain as a means of exhuming complicated histories. In terms of the Ferreira project, inspired by feminist methodologies that prioritise the absence of black women from official records, narratives and accounts, reading against the grain includes situating black women's experience of a modernist framework from which they are excluded.

Ferreira's project is paradoxical, because although it tends to speak in the meta-narratives of colonialism and modernism, its unconventional figuring of the archive, allows for a reading consistent with Hamilton et al. (2002) observation that at present, scholars are increasingly paying greater attention to the particular processes by which the record was produced and subsequently shaped, drawing attention to the way in which the record is altered over time, as well as to the gaps and omissions in, and excisions from the record. This is to say that the

refiguring of the archive in much of Ferreira's work presents an opportunity for reading the archive against the grain.

Bradford (1996) surmises that there is a large intellectual gain to be redeemed when gender and feminist insights are integrated into every aspect of history. Given the racialised nature of apartheid, and the fact that it is a history expounded upon by Ferreira's *South Facing Exhibition*, primarily through the works *Sites and Services* (1992) and *Double Sided* (1996-1997), feminist insights integrated into this aspect of history should consider the ways women's issues of class and race in third-world countries were according to Andrews (1986) linked to their specific gender oppression.

As part of reading the archive against the grain, I focus on the figure of the domestic worker as a covert signifier of gender. And use the absence of the direct engagement with the figure of the domestic worker and her social and physical mobility within the apartheid city as an indictment of Ferreira's articulation of a modernist praxis in apartheid South Africa. To this end, Yuuki Yoshiara (2008) her essay '*Art Museums and Society after Apartheid*' attests that colonisation and apartheid affected the status of the victim group of the past order – Black women – limiting their physical and social mobility by conscripting them to low-wage jobs and consigning them to an existence that was not conducive to social life, more so visual arts museum going (Yoshiara, 2008). This argument has bearing on the Ângela Ferreira critique in that it serves as evidence that black women's social and physical mobility was limited, a concept that doesn't come through in the work of Ângela Ferreira. Secondly, that the visual arts museum, through segregation, was open to white women in ways that it wasn't to black women and that Ferreira's and Watson's entry into the museum occurs in the backdrop of this history.

3.3. Reading gendered notions of home and space through *South Facing*

The divide between the public and the private sphere has been a pressing concern for feminists in the Global South since the division of space has had consequences for the lived experiences of black women on the African continent. It has also been a concern for artists, architects and persons concerned with the philosophy of space. Ferreira's work provides an opportunity for reflection on what this divide has meant within the context of a modernist discipline, which encapsulates art, architecture and space. According to Shannon M Jackson, In the essay *Cape Colonial Architecture, Town Planning, and the Crafting of Modern Space in South Africa*

(2005), patriarchal colonial rule required that native spaces be distinct and that respectable and dangerous environments be clearly separated, just as it was necessary to distinguish among virtuous and prostitute women.

In the essay '*The Meaning of Spatial Boundaries*', the feminist scholar from Morocco, Fatema Mernissi (2003) argues that the divisions between public and private domains are not formed simply for the "pleasure of breaking the social universe into compartments" (2003, p. 489), but that this separation features in the field of an ever-contested locus of power.

Mernissi's assertions are preceded by those of independent curator and arts administrator Dorothy Désir-Davis (1997), who writing on Africana²¹ women's art an essay by the name of *Paradise Under Construction* mentions the works of women artists whose work has been concerned with the defining and contesting of space within the framework of power, domination and discourses of gendered based identity. Paying specific attention to the visual arts, Désir-Davis (1997) observes that it is only recently that the visual arts arena is visiting the historic, social and theoretical implications of power and resistance operating within the field. These feminist ideologies in a somewhat amalgamated form find resonance in the subaltern studies scholar Gayatri Chakravorty who in a series of lectures, titled *What is gender? Where is Europe?* and addressed to the European University institute, poses two fundamental questions. Firstly, she asks: "How does art inhabit the public/private distinction?" (Spivak, 2006, p.3).

3.4. Double Sided, The bifurcation of space, art and the private/dichotomy

In the work *Double Sided* Ferreira whilst making political commentary of home, housing and dwelling, alludes to these tensions between public and private spaces. *Double Sided*, consists of two pictures that show Ângela Ferreira's installation at the Chinati Foundation in Texas, where the minimalist Donald set up a studio for his artistic practice. The work was commissioned during Ferreira's residency at the Marfa space in Texas (Ferreira, 2012) The installation itself featured a recreation of Helen Martin's house (1897-1976), the exponent of

²¹ Salah Hassan and Dorothy Desir- Davis in a publication accompanying the exhibition *Gendered Visions* deploy the term Africana as a means of denoting the complex relation that exist between the African artists living and working in African and those artists of African descent living and working abroad who inhabit the world of the Afro Diaspora. See Hassan, S and Desir-Davis, D. 1997. *Gendered Visions: The Art of Contemporary Africana Women Artists*. In: S. Hassan, ed. *Gendered visions: The art of contemporary African women artists*. Asmara: Africa World Press, pp. 1-8.

outsider art in South African art (Lapa, 2003). It provides an illuminating articulation of the tentativeness of the interior, exterior divide. In the interview with Elvira Dyangani Ose, Ferreira explains that she has always been drawn to and repelled by artists like Donald Judd, whom she says are exemplary in producing amazing sculptural objects, whilst battling for the removal of their content (Balona de Oliveira, et al, 2015). Ferreira maintains that she does not believe in objects without content (Balona de Oliveira, 2015). Interestingly, enough *Double Sided* through its rendition of emptiness is a work loaded with content. Through a rendering of the emptiness of the mundane encased by modernist homes, Ferreira reveals an ambivalent relation to home. Home in the minds and hearts of many black women, perhaps due to its elusiveness and shiftiness held a very privileged position, leaving one to imagine the experience of women inserted into the hostility and stillness of Afrikaner homes.

Symbolically “modernism in architecture, with its subversion of space and use of unconventional techniques and materials such as glass, had the effect of making interior and exterior interpenetrate” (Heynen, 1999, p.287) and through its very transparency it concealed the paradoxes inherent in the scaffolding of the apartheid regime. It is this paradox of transparency and erasure that best describes the complexities of mapping the positioning of black women within Apartheid’s architectural imagining. It also represents the device used by Ferreira to reveal the tender dialogue that exists between interior and exterior. In *Double Sided*, the interior of a room is exposed through what appears to be a demolition of the left side of the wall, making an impromptu opening. Inside the room are three low lying beds, organized neatly in a row. Whilst just outside the opening is another bed covered with fabric and a doll placed atop of it (Figure 1). The room is empty, but it is not derelict or unkept. Its order and keptness insinuates that someone has been there to order it. The presence reeks of anonymity and the silence of invisibility.

Jackson (2005) notes how the erasure of black women was designed into the spatial arrangement of the Apartheid home in a manner that allowed for black women’s labour to be exploited without their physical presence being recognized. This system, designed to render black women invisible even though they were an integral part of the apartheid, consisted of passages and side doors that led to the back rooms where domestic work was often housed. One is compelled to ask how minimalism as an intellectual endeavour bears resonance on the lives of women who navigate the domestic terrain in a position that oscillates between visibility and hypervisibility? The use of a minimalism associated with modernity and its call to clean

lines and transparency masks the foreignness of the interior, the banality and exclusion compounded by the longing and inaccessibility of home. The work's appeal to European minimalist aesthetics, isolates black women's experiences of the interiority of the Afrikaner home and fails to articulate the impossibility of black women accessing "home" within apartheid's spatial framework.



Figure 10: *Double Sided*, Ângela Ferreira, *South Facing*, Johannesburg Art Gallery (2017)

3.5. Tracing the precarity of black women's existence in apartheid spatial framework through *Sites and Services*

Feminist scholar Hortense Spillers in an interview for Brandeis University titled 'The scholarly journey of Hortense Spillers, Hortense J. Spillers, PhD'74, professor of English at the

Vanderbilt University, reflects on her academic journey as she receives the Alumni Achievement Award' (2019) provides critical insight on the centering of black women in feminist works. Spillers (2019) insists on making the distinction between black women, black women as the subject of feminism, and black feminism as a critical disposition. Spillers (2019) maintains that although all three might overlap and even show a relationship to each other, they also tend to define distinct positionalities that we tend to occlude citing the fact that not all black women are feminists, the subjects of feminism or black feminism.

Undergirded by Spiller's position on black female subjects vis-à-vis, I maintain that feminism has the potential to make light of the nuance of black female subjectivity, and that black feminist approaches that are critical of colonial archives have proven instrumental in highlighting the precarity of black female subject positions in nationalist apartheid discourses.

To understand how this works I would like to discuss Ferreira's work *Sites and Services* (1991-1992) which references the racialized provision of housing infrastructure under apartheid. According to curator, Jurgen Bock (2003), Ângela Ferreira appropriates modernist methods in an attempt to simulate awareness of the way cultural systems negotiate the concepts of 'here' and 'there', 'centre' and 'periphery' and the complexities of the 'original and the 'simulacrum' (Bock, p.2). Ferreira's (1991) initiating artistic project " *Sites and Services*" appropriates the Khayelitsha Sites and Services scheme. The work was first shown in 1992 as part of the group show, curated by Collin Richards in 1994 at the National Gallery in Cape Town. It is a series of photographs. The work is situated in the west wing of the Meyer Pienaar extension of the gallery, and its floors are littered with asymmetric cross-sections of the ablution facilities – white plastic pipes and concrete bricks are meant to recreate the scene of the Khayelitsha sites and services housing scheme (Figure 2). The images of the Khayelitsha Sites and Services scene are arranged on the adjacent wall. They exude the barrenness and desolation of the actual project commissioned by the apartheid government in the Western Cape in 1985. The images have a grainy texture that captures the dry landscape allocated to the establishment of the Khayelitsha township. It evokes the hardship and the absence of prospects for the mainly migrant labour families to live there.

Platzky and Walker (1983) note the Sites and Services housing scheme was initiated as part of the Sites and Services project. The scheme was conceptualised as a project that privileged an incremental housing approach. It saw the Apartheid bureaucracy build, rows upon rows of ablution facilities and put up sewerage infrastructure, but no actual houses on the barren land

located on the outskirts of Cape Town. According to researchers Susan Parnell and Alan Mabin (1995), the restricted access to urban areas kept African workers dependent on the subsistence economies of the Reserves in order to reproduce themselves. The strict control on the migratory practices of African women meant that many remained in the rural areas such that migration became a highly gendered phenomenon.

Portuguese, art historian, Pedro Pousada (2013) in a chapter titled *From Khayelitsha to Maison Tropicales: Looking at Ângela Ferreira's Space Metaphors on Memory, Reification, and Belonging* describes Ferreira's process as one that has contributed to the development of a critical nonaligned account of art as medium and one that connects cultural memory, physical and virtual experience on built space and space as archive. *Sites and Services* invokes the notion of cultural memory through the nostalgia -amnesia nexus mentioned in the preceding chapters of this thesis. I read it for the ways it fails to utilise gender as a thematic, in a way that reinforces Bradford's (1996) previous assertion that when reading archives gender has hardly been used as a conceptual framework.

In the spatial imaging of the urban Apartheid topography, neither race nor gender could be separately privileged as providing the sine qua none of the colonial justification, both categories intermingled in the spatial and therefore naturalizing alibi of both colonialism and modernism (Jackson, 2005). Architect and scholar Mpho Matsipa pinpoints the dormitory townships crafted for African workers and ethnic 'homelands' colloquially referred to as Bantustans as sites that make salient the "twin logics of modernist instrumental rationality" (Matsipa, 2016, p.3). She reiterates Jackson's sentiments, noting that the spatial policy of Grand Apartheid and its social hierarchies were both racializing and gendered.

There are numerous accounts that make salient the specific dimensions of black women's experiences under apartheid. Zine Magubane (2010) in her extended essay, *Attitudes Towards Feminism Among Women in the ANC, 1950-1990: A Theoretical Re-interpretation*, for instance, contends that the housing and accommodation boycotts that dominated the apartheid landscape in townships such as SOWETO were fuelled and lead by women who in the face of migratory labour and the dissolution of black nuclear family structures were the chief breadwinners. Magubane (2010) maintains that issues like rent increases were staging ground for mass resistance, particularly in the part of women because paying rent was primarily their responsibility. These chronicles of black women's housing issues and their lives on the periphery of the city and civilian life are not only negated in popular histories but are obscured

by Ferreira's practice. The tendency towards deconstruction obfuscates the migratory practices that culminated in the disintegration of the black nuclear family structure that resulted in black women being the primary caregivers and breadwinners in the black urban landscape. This even though Philipa Oliveira heralds this specific work as seeking to transcend binary historical narratives in favour of complex and transnational perspectives (Oliviera, 2014).

Famed literary editor for drum magazine and anti-apartheid activist Es'kia Mphahlele in the biography *Exiles and Homecomings: A Biography of Es'kia Mphahlele* authored by scholar and political theorist N. Chabani Manganyi, details the effects of forced removals on his mother and aunt who bore the brunt of family responsibility in the absence of men in both their lives. He narrates the experience as follows:

Marabastad and Bantule were rezoned to satisfy the greed of white Pretorians The women of Second Avenue, Marabastad and Bantule Location went their separate ways. In some cases, like mother's, there were no men to help families decide on the Hobson 's choice that they suddenly found before them...It has always been a kind of how-long blues in which the song has no beginning and no end. Move baby, move...Boots, Bulldozers, sirens and dark grey hounds sniffing for black blood.

I consider Mphahlele's account to be a critical expression of women's experience with the apartheid spatial framework. it was characterised by the uncertainty of township life, were forced removals were always an imminent possibility. Whilst Sites and Services brilliantly references the bureaucracy it doesn't reference the inverse of the coin, the precarity of lives who were subject to the vagaries of this bureaucratic system. The histories of black women are left unexplored, and the archive is kept intact.

In this chapter, I have justified the use of a feminist critique with regards to Ferreira's South Facing exhibition. Through an analysis of the work *Double Sided* and *Sites and Services*, I have shown how the dichotomising of the private and public spheres to be a disenfranchising feature of modern society that can be attributed for the precarity of black female subject positions as they emerged in the apartheid era. Ferreira is concerned with the histories of capitalist exploitation (Oliviera, 2016). However, since she focuses largely on mining and excavation, she inadvertently constructs migrant labour as male and black. Archives of apartheid's

spatiality reveal that the domestic worker is not only a prime example of black female labour but represents a specific subjectivity that often goes unaccounted for (Matsipa, 2017).



Figure 13 A: 3 of the 12 photographs from *Sites and Services*, Ângela Ferreira, *South Facing*, Johannesburg Art Gallery, (2017).



Figure 11B: *Sites and Services* installation, Ângela Ferreira, *South Facing*, Johannesburg Art Gallery, (2017).

Conclusion

In this thesis I sought to interrogate how black women were positioned both in the spatial design of apartheid and the discursive arenas concerning its architecture. My primary objective was to provide a gendered reading of Ângela Ferreira's South Facing exhibition and its articulations of modernism and colonialism within the context of South Africa as a specific geopolitical zone, making a claim for the artist's responsibility in re-presenting histories of colonialism.

My approach to the exhibition was based on a belief that buildings, in as much as they are inanimate objects, are very much intertwined with the lived experience and subjectivities of the people who inhabit them. Depicting histories of architecture within the confines of a modernist discursive framework undermines the possibility of a critical engagement, which brings the nuances of colonialism, racism and gender oppression to the fore.

To present as nuanced a reading as possible, I provided context and a brief description of the socio-economic atmosphere of the time leading up to the exhibition and justified my use of a feminist lens to critique this particular exhibition. The work of Kimberle Crenshaw, a famed feminist scholar, proved to be seminal, in that it provided a base from which to understand intersecting systems of oppression, whilst works such as that of feminist activist Fatima Meer, provide a uniquely South African experience of intersecting systems of oppression. These works allowed me to situate black women and their experiences of apartheid's spatial arrangement- given that the corporeality of black womanhood allowed for a particular subjectivity that oscillated between labourer and slave, hyper-visible yet inconspicuous -, culminating in a precarious positioning within apartheid's spatial calculus.

I was interested in highlighting the tensions between Ferreira's practice and Black female subjectivity because of the ways black women have been excluded from exhibition practices and visual cultures more generally. And that in the rare event that they were included, they were often depicted as passive subjects in colonial-era art. This precarity of black women's status in apartheid ideology is well articulated by Brenner (2007), in a critique of the museological depiction of apartheid, wherein she anchors the interrogation of the exhibition of the body of apartheid in various cultural institutions, The intonation of the "body" as metaphor prompts an inquiry founded on the symbolism of the body, whereas the mention of bodies that bear traces includes those of black women. This

assertion references the hypervisibility of black women which often denies them the possibility of being seen as agentic beings.

In the analysis of the South Facing Exhibition, curated by Amy Watson, I provided a description of the works featured in the exhibition and located them in Ferreira's practice more broadly. Through an understanding of the exhibition as a site from which the multi-layered meaning of modernist spatial design can be read, this exhibition, whose primary occupation is with the textuality of buildings and by extension the built environment, allowed for a "situated reading of modernist praxis in a colonial context" (Liscombe, 2006). More importantly, it enabled an explication into the ways through which the scaffold of apartheid, riddled with paradox and contradiction, attempted to obfuscate black women, encouraging expression of the myriad ways by which contemporary curatorial practices have been unable to subvert this exclusion.

Contemporary feminist discourses in South Africa are haunted by the ghost of a not-so-distant apartheid segregationist politics. Art critic, scholar and curator Thembinkosi Goniwe (2011) reflecting on currencies in contemporary African art has so aptly labelled to term "post-apartheid" a misnomer in its depiction of a complete rupture with apartheid. Whilst, Lindsey Jill Brenner, a scholar of art and architecture in an essay titled *Memory, Nation Building and the Post -Apartheid City: The Apartheid Museum in Johannesburg* concedes that apartheid is not dead and opines that it is a memory encrypted on the bodies of the many whose lives bear the traces – "of those still subjected to the entrenched racialized and [gendered] inequality persisting in South Africa today" (2007, p. 102). Sharlene Khan, in the infamous online article 'Doing it for daddy' came to a similar conclusion, contending that the dawn of democracy did not signal a shift the locus of power, it was only the face of this power that shifted. She argued, quite compellingly that white women predominated the art space, and that they did so in a way that undermined gendered solidarity because they oft represented the interest of the white minority.

Such an explication encouraged the interrogation of the artist's own subject position, arguing that as a woman of Portuguese descent, hers was only a relegation to the private domain of the home whereas, for black women Apartheid signalled a complete expurgation from the public and private spheres in literal and symbolic ways. Struggle stalwart and gender activist, Fatima Meer, writing in her critical essay titled *Women in the Apartheid Society* explicates the complex ways that race and gender transacted, noting that "in a society where the fundamental criterion

for discrimination is race, it is unreal to consider the position of the one sex in isolation of the other” (1986, p.1). Meer’s assertion is a direct indictment of first-wave feminist politics that eschewed narratives of difference and advocated for iteration of solidarity that by virtue, undermined the experience of black and third world feminists. It is also a condemnation of feminist politics which perpetuating the trope of a rainbow nation in the post-independent election’s moment called for a universalizing of women’s experience. Arguing that “the enjoyment of the privileges of apartheid by white women differs only marginally from that of white men whereas black women suffer more than black men from the violations of their rights, the violations are gross in respect to both” (Meer, 1986, p.1), Meer brings to the fore the highly contested politics of intersectionality and underscores the nuance inherent in racially gendered subjectivities.

Given that black and white women met and discussed prospects of working together on some community projects based on women organising against the injustices of the apartheid regime, the Soweto Uprisings wherein black school children were massacred at the hands of apartheid police and security forces exposed the guise of unity between black and white women. Wherein black women were drawn into the tragedy that pursued their children according to Fatima Meer (1986) white women refused to empathise with black women, blaming the incident on black children’s insolence as opposed to the brutality and uncompromising logic of the apartheid regime.

So too can the experiences of black women with and within apartheid’s spatial and architectural rationality be considered markedly different from that of white women. The carving out of public and private as fundamentally different literal and discursive spaces had dire implications for white and black women even if in somewhat differing ways.

The investigation was founded on the notion, most eloquently explained by Helen Bradford that historically, gender had not been deployed as a conceptual tool, such that works such as Ferreira’s’ which hinge greatly on the historicity of buildings also undermine the importance of mobilising gender in critical art practice.

Compiling this thesis proved to be difficult because it was founded on highlighting the ways black women had been absented from popular histories. Much of the difficulty arose from the fact that the process of illuminating the absence was accessed through the work of an artist who has not been considered with her own gendered subjectivity and had never enunciated how her

positionality as a white woman working from the diaspora affected her practice. Matsipa (2016) emphasises the necessity of delineating a clear conceptual and methodological I relied on methodologies such as critical discourse analysis that dictates, we consider the specific social, political, economic and historical contexts that texts are bound in to. Such a strategy offered an understanding of the ways in which such texts function discursively was used to unpack Ferreira's notion that buildings possess a textuality that allows them to be read for incongruent histories.

The other difficulty arose from the way modernism had been conceptualised, both as an intellectual endeavour and as an artistic discipline. In the literature, modernism was theorised as a mega discourse which often converged with those discourses of modernity and colonialism. These theorisations posited modernism as part of the grand narrative of global power such that it had the effect of overshadowing the personal accounts and more especially marginalised subjectivities.

Although there was an initial informal conversation with the curator Amy Watson and artist Ângela Ferreira, when questioned about the possibility of gendered iteration of the exhibition, Amy Watson indicated that she was unsure if gender was a concern for Ângela Ferreira and insisted that the work had strong preoccupation with modernist paradigms. I interpreted this as another way in which gender is undermined as a conceptual tool. I then read the work considering this assertion and founded my excavation in an approach that privileges the discursive terrain.

I approached the artist Ângela Ferreira with as with a set of questions which she indicated she was keen to engage. However, she did imply that there is a project that she is currently busy with that has kept her quite occupied and that she will answer my questions at a later stage. I was not dismayed by this as I believe that research is never caught in stasis and is constantly developing. In fact, the promise for engagement allows the research to continue beyond the realm of academia.

Nonetheless, the engagement with Ângela's artworks and the colonial archive which they reference revealed the complex ways in which archives may be repositories for meaning. It provided an opportunity to read the archive against the grain and a chance to exhume the neglected histories of black women. However, it did not rectify, the unjust exclusion of marginalised subjectivities through art practice but it did offer a new lens from which to

theorise around the exhibition, as gender had not been mobilised as a pertinent paradigm. Through this work, I hope to have shown the way gender discourse permeates different aspects of art theory and practice and to have displayed the value of theorising black female subjectivity beyond the confines of the body in this instance within the context of a modernist praxis.

Bibliography

- Allara, P. (2002). Johannesburg In and Out of the Museum: The Joubert Park Project. *Nka Journal of Contemporary Art*, pp. 28-33. (RODENBECK, 2010) (Sanches, 2010)
- Allen, F. (2016). Ângela Ferreira's Maison Tropicale: Architecture, Colonialism, and the Politics of Translation. *ABE Journal: Architecture Beyond Europe*, pp. 9-10.
- Andrews, P. (1986). The Legal Underpinnings of Gender Oppression in Apartheid South Africa. *Australian Journal of Law and Society*, Volume 3, pp. 92-104.
- Anthony, M. Gurel, O. (2006). The Canon and the Void: Gender, Race, and Architectural History Texts. *Journal of Architectural Education*, 59(3), pp. 66-76.
- Appadurai, A. (1996). *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalisation*. Volume 1 ed. London: University.
- Balona de Olivera, A. (2015). Ângela Ferreira, Monuments in Reverse. *Centra para os Assuntos de Arte e Arquitectura*, pp. 1-6.
- Bal, M. (2010). Exhibition Practices. *Modern Language Association*, 125(1), pp. 9-23.
- Belcher, M. (1991). *Exhibition as a Medium of Communication*. London: Leicester University Press.
- Bennett, T. (1994). *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics*. London, New York: Routledge.
- Bennett, T. (1998). The Exhibitionary Complex. *New Formation*, Spring, 4(1), pp. 73-98.
- Berger, I. (1983). Sources of Class Consciousness: South African Women in Recent Labor Struggles. *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 16(1), pp. 49-66.
- Bradford, H. (1996). Women, Gender, and Colonialism: Rethinking the History of The British Cape Colony. *Cambridge University Press*, 37(3), pp. 351-370.
- Bremner, J. L. (2007). Memory, Nation Building, and the Post-apartheid city. In: Murray N. Shepard. Matthew and Hall N. ed. *Desire Lines: Space, memory, and identity in the post-apartheid city*. London: Routledge, pp. 173-189.
- Busch, B. T. (2016). Curating Architecture: The Architecture of Estrangement, Alison Hugill on Conversation with Carson Chan. *Spheres of Estrangement: Art, Politics, Curating*, Issue 31, pp. 47-51.

- Carman, J. (1988). Acquisition Policy of the Johannesburg Art Gallery with Regard to the South African Collection, 1909-1987. *South African Journal of Culture and Art History*, 2(3), pp. 203-213.
- Carman, J. (2002). *Modern Art for South Africa: the Founding of the Johannesburg Art Gallery*. Master's Thesis ed. Johannesburg: Wits University.
- Carman, J. (2006). *Uplifting the Colonial Phillistine: Florence Phillips and the Making of the Johannesburg Art Gallery*. Johannesburg: Wits University Press.
- Carman, J. (2008). Colonial allegiances circa 1910: The Engelenburg- Middelberg Correspondence in the Johannesburg Art Gallery. *De Arte*, 43(78), pp. 4-17.
- Collins, P. H. (1998). Intersections of Race, Class, Gender, and the Nation: Some Implications for Black Family Studies. *Journal of Comparative Family Studies*, 29(1), pp. 27-36.
- Cook, S. C. (2009). *Redress: Debates Informing Exhibitions and Acquisitions in Selected South African Public Art Galleries (1990-1994)*. Master's Thesis: University of Johannesburg.
- Corrigall, M. (2014). Architectural Review. *Literature, Sunday Times*, 30 May p. 13.
- Crenshaw, K. W. (1991). Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and violence Against Women of Colour. *Stanford Law Review*, 43(6), pp. 1241-1299.
- Dean A. (2016). Closing the Loop. *The New Inquiry, Essays and Reviews*, pp. 1-11.
- Desir-Davis, D. (1997). Xenobia Bailey: Paradise Under Construction. In: S. M. Hassan, ed. *Gendered Visions: The Art of Contemporary Africana Women Artists*. Asmara: Africa World Press, pp. 19-26. (Rausch, 2017) (Mbembe, 2001)
- Diawara, M. (2008). Architecture as (al., 1991)Colonial Discourse: Ângela Ferreira's Maisons Tropicales. *Nka Journal of Contemporary African Art*, pp. 20-27.
- Djar, K. A. (2009). Locating Architecture, Post-colonialism, and Culture: Contextualisation in Algiers. *The Journal of Architecture*, 14(2), pp. 161-183.
- Enwezor, O. (2003). The Postcolonial Constellation: Contemporary Art in a State of Permanent Transition. *Research in African Literatures*, 34(4), pp. 57- 82.
- Enwezor, O. (2001). *The Short Century: Independence and Liberation Movements in Africa 1945-1994*. Munich: Prestel Books.

- Enwezor, O. (1997). Reframing the black subject ideology and fantasy in contemporary South African representation. *Third Text*, 20-37.
- Erling, N. (2003). Gender and Masculinity in South African Nationalist Discourse. *Feminist Studies, Women in Democratic South Africa*, 29(3), pp. 653- 671
- Ferguson et al. (1991). *Discourses, Conversations in Postmodern Art, and Culture*. Massachusetts: Cambridge University Press.
- Fisher, J. (2006). Exhibitionary Affect. *Curatorial Strategies*, Volume 18, pp. 27-33.
- Foucault, M. (1975). *Discipline and Punish: The birth of the prison*. New York: Vantage Books.
- Foucault, M. (1969). *Archaeology of Knowledge*, New York, Routledge.
- Foucault, M. (1986). Of Other Spaces. *Diacritics*, Volume 16, pp. 22-27.
- Freschi, F. (2011). Afrikaner nationalism, modernity, and the changing canon of 'high art,' in L. van Robbroeck (ed.). *Visual Century: South African art in context*, volume 2: 1945- 1976. Johannesburg: Wits University. 8-25
- FRIENDSOFJAG. (2018, June 03). *FRIENDSOFJAG*. Retrieved from freindsofja.org: <https://friendsofjag.org/news-stories/2017/4/19/ngela-ferreira-south-facing>
- Gell, A. (1996). Vogel's Net: Traps as Artworks and Artworks as Traps. *Journal of Material Culture*, 1(1), pp. 17-38.
- Goldhagen Williams, S., Mumford, and Wagenaar C., (2008). Positioning Positions. *Positions*, 1(0), pp. 4-15.
- Goniwe, T. (2011). Debating and framing Space: Currencies in Contemporary African Art. *African Identities*, 9(2), pp. 187-194.
- Anthony, M. O. G. & K. H., (2006). The Canon and the Void: Gender, Race, and Architectural History Texts. *Journal of Architectural Education*, 59(3), pp. 66-76.
- Gore, J.M. (2004). A Lack of Nation? The Evolution of History in South African Museums, c. 1825-1945. *South African Historical Journal*, 51(1), pp. 24-46.
- Gule, K. Kelner C. and Leibhammer N. (2006). The Johannesburg Art Gallery Collections. *De Arte*, 41(74), pp. 55-60.
- Hartman, S. (2016). The Belly of the World: A Note on Black Women's Labors. *Souls*. 18(1), pp. 166-173.

- Hartman, S. (2008). *Venus in Two Acts*. SX26, pp. 1-14.
- Hassan S. M and Désir-Davis D. (1997). *Gendered Visions: The Art of Contemporary Africana Women Artists*. In: S. Hassan, ed. *Gendered Visions: The Art of Contemporary African Women Artists*. Asmara: Africa World Press, pp. 1-8.
- Heynen, H. (1999). *Architecture and Modernity: A Critique*. Massachusetts: Library of Congress Catalogue-in-Publication.
- Healy-Clancy, M. (2017). *Women and Apartheid*. *Oxford Research Encyclopaedia of African History*, pp. 1-24.
- Herwits, D. n.d. (1999). *Modernism at the Margins*. In: Hilton, A. and Vladislavic I, ed. *blank_ Architecture, apartheid and after*. Rotterdam: NAI Publishers.
- Hoffman, D. (1994). *The German Art Museum and the History of the Nation*. In: D. J. S. a. I. Roggoff, ed. *Museum Culture: Histories, Discourses, Spectacles*. London: Routledge, pp. 3-21.
- Johannesburg Art Gallery, J (2017). *South Facing*. Johannesburg: Johannesburg Art Gallery.
- Jones, A. (2016). *Feminist Subjects versus Feminist Effects: The Curating of Feminist Art (or is it the Feminist curating of Art)*. *Curating Feminist Art*, Issue 29, pp. 5-20.
- Karp, I. and Wilson, F. (1993). *Constructing the Spectacle of Culture in Museums*. *Art Papers*, 17(3), pp. 3-10.
- Khan.S. (2011). *Becoming: The Art of Everyday Performativity*. In: C. M. Septemberberger, ed. *Performing Performance art in South Africa*. Johannesburg: The Goethe Institute, pp. 16-23.
- Klopper, S. (1996). *Whose Heritage? The Politics of Cultural Ownership in Contemporary South Africa*. *Nka Journal of Contemporary African Art*, pp. 34-37.
- Lamprecht, A. (1991). *Florrie's Dream: A History of the Johannesburg Art Gallery*. Unpublished master's Thesis: Pretoria: University of Pretoria.
- Landis, E. S. (1970). *African Women Under Apartheid*. *Southern Africa Perspectives*, pp. 1-8.
- Leibhammer, N. (2016). *Negotiating a South African Inheritance: Nineteenth- and Early Twentieth-Century 'Traditional' Collections at the Johannesburg Art Gallery*. In: C. H. a. N. Leibhammer, ed. *Tribing and Untribing the Archive*. KZN: University of KwaZulu Natal, pp. 53-85.

- Liscombe, R. W., (2006). Modernism in Late British West Africa. *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 65(2), pp. 188-215.
- Mabin, S. P. a. A. (1995). Rethinking Urban South Africa. *Journal of southern African Studies*, 21(1), pp. 39-61.
- Magubane, Z. (2010). Attitudes Towards Feminism Among the Women in the ANC, 1950-1990: A theoretical re-interpretation. *Road to Democracy*, Volume 4, pp. 975-1032.
- Martin, M. (1989). The Johannesburg Art Gallery: Historical Perspectives and Comparative Analysis. *De Arte*, 24(39), pp. 45-61.
- Matsipa. (2016). The Architectural Review. [Online] Available at: <https://www.architectural-review.com/essays/street-values-johannesburg-spatial-agents/1008281.article>
- Matsipa, M. (2014). *The Order of Appearances, Urban Renewal*. California: University of California Berkely.
- Mbembe, A, and Nutell, S. (2004). *Johannesburg: The Elusive Metropolis*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Mbembe, A. (2002). The Power of the archive and its Limits. In Carolyn Hamilton, et al.(eds.) *Refiguring the Archive*. Dordrecht: Springer Science + Media, pp. 6-26.
- Mbembe, A. (2001). *On the Postcolony*. Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- McTeague, M. (1984). The Johannesburg Art Gallery: Lutyens, Lane and Lady Phillips. *The International Journal of Museum Management and Curatorship*, Volume 3, pp. 139-152.
- Meer, F. (1983). Women Under Apartheid. *South African History Online*. [Online]
- Merinissi, F. (2003). The Meaning of Spatial Boundaries. In: R. L. a. S. Mills, ed. *Feminist Postcolonial Theory*. New York: Routledge, pp. 489-501.
- Meyer and Pienaar Architects, (1991). www.meyerpienaar.co.za. [Online]
- Moglen, S. (2002). Modernism in the Black Diaspora: Langston Hughes and the Broken Cubes of Picasso. *Callaloo*, 25(4), pp. 1188-1205.
- Mudimbe, V. Y. (1998). *The Invention of Africa: Gnosis, Philosophy, and the Order of Knowledge*. London: Indiana University Press.
- Murray, N. (2007) n.d. Remaking Modernism: South African architecture In and Out of Time. In: *Desire Lines: Space, memory, and identity in the post- apartheid city*. London: Routledge.

- Nettleton A. (2013). Exhibiting 'Africa' in Africa-An Impossible Conundrum? Take 2. *De Arte*, 48(87), pp. 68-75.
- Nettleton, A. (2013). The art Museum in Africa- A Utopia Desired? *Social Dynamics, A Journal of African Studies*, 39(3), pp. 141-427.
- Njami, S. (2008). The city in the Blue Day. Marrakech, Higher Atlas- The Marrakech Biennale.
- Oliver E. and Oliver W.H. (2017). The Colonisation of South Africa: A Unique Case. *HTS Teologiese Studies/ Theological Studies*. 73(3), pp. 1-8.
- Oliviera, P. (2014). Ângela Ferreira's Zip Zap Circus School. *Journal of Art, Context and Enquiry*, 1(35), pp. 38-47.
- Peterson, B (2019) Spectrality and Inter-generational Black Narratives in South Africa, *Social Dynamics*, 45(3), pp 83-100.
- Rausch, C. (2017). Maisons Tropicales/Maisons Coloniales: Contesting Technologies of Authenticity. *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 24(1), pp. 83-100.
- Rodenbeck, J. (2010). Maison Tropicale: A conversation with Manthia Diawara. *October*, Volume 133, pp. 106-132.
- Rogoff, I. (1994). From Ruins to Debris: The Feminization of Fascism. In: D. J. S. a. I. Rogoff, ed. *Museum Culture: Histories, Discourses, Spectacles*. London: Routledge, pp. 197-22.
- Rossouw, C. (2019, February 27). [www.ARTTHROB_.co.za](https://arthrob.co.za/2017/07/05/in-between-spaces-in-conversation-with-angela-ferreira/). Retrieved from ARTTHROB_: <https://arthrob.co.za/2017/07/05/in-between-spaces-in-conversation-with-angela-ferreira/>
- Sanches, M. R. (2010). Archaeologies of the Postcolony, Ângela Ferreira and Manthia Diawara's Maison Tropicale. *P: Portuguese Cultural Studies*, Spring, pp. 82-108.
- Saunders, P. J. (2008). Fugitive Dreams of Diaspora: Conversations with Saidiya Hartman. *Anthurium: A Caribbean Studies Journal*, 6(1), pp. 1-15.
- Schmidt, S. J. (2013). Fabricating a Nation: The function of the National Museum in non-racial re-presentation and the National Imagination. *Museum Management and Curatorship*, 28(3), pp. 288-306.

- Segalo, P. (2015). Gender, Social Cohesion, and the Everyday Struggles in South Africa. *Psychology in Society*, Volume 49, pp. 70-82.
- Seppa, A. (2010). Globalisation and the arts: The rise of new democracy, or just another pretty suit for the old emperor. *Journal of Aesthetics and Culture*, 2(1), pp. 1-25.
- Smith, T. (2007). Coda: Canons and Contemporaneity. In: A. Brzycki, ed. *Canons*. London: Duke University Press, pp. 309-326.
- Spivak, G. C. (1985). The Rani of Sirmur: An Essay in Reading the Archives. *History and Theory*, Volume 24, pp. 247-272.
- Spivak, G. C. (1985). Three Women's Texts and a Critique of Imperialism. *Critical Inquiry*, 12 (1), pp. 243-261.
- Spivak, G. C. (2000). Translation as Culture. *Parallax*, 6(1), pp. 13-24.
- Spivak, G.C. (2004). Righting Wrongs. *The South Atlantic Quarterly*, 103(3), pp. 523-581.
- Spivak, G. C. (2005). *What is Gender? Where is Europe? Walking With Balibar*. Florence: European University Institute.
- Spivak, G.C. (2009). Nationalism and the Imagination. *Lectora*, Issue 15, pp. 75-78.
- Stevenson Gallery, M. S. & Perryer, S., 2010. *Werdmuller Centre*. Cape Town: Hansa Print.
- Stoler, A. L. (1989). Making Empire Respectable: The Politics of Race and Sexual Morality in 20th-Century Colonial Cultures. *American Ethnologist*, pp. 634-660.
- Stoler, A. L. (2002). Colonial Archives and the Arts of Governance. *Archival Science*, Volume 2, pp. 87-109.
- Tietze, A. (2007). Collecting for the Colonies. *Kronos, South African Histories*, Issue 33, pp. 259-268.
- Umbach, M. (2006). What Architecture Does, Historically Speaking.... *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, March, 65(1), pp. 14-15.
- Warwick, R. (2006). *Arcade: artists and place-making*. London: Black Dog Publishing.
- Were, G. 2010. Re-engaging the University Museum: Knowledge, Collections, and the Communities at University College in London. *Museum Management and Curatorship*, 25(3), pp. 291-304.

Whyte, W. (2006). How Do Buildings Mean? Some Issues of Interpretation in the History of Architecture. *History and Theory*, 45(2), pp. 153-177.

Wynter, S. (2003). Unsettling the Coloniality of Being/Power/Truth/Freedom: Towards the Human, After Man, Its Overrepresentation -An Argument. *The New Centennial Review*, 3(3), pp. 257-337.

Yadava, Y., 2017. What is Living and what is Dead in Rammander Lohia. In: N. P. a. A. Behera, ed. *Reasoning Indian Politics, Philosopher Politicians to Politicians seeking Philosophy*. Abingdon: Routledge, pp. 167-211.

Yoshiara, Y. (2008). Art Museums and Society after Apartheid. *Museum Management and Curatorship*, 23 (3), pp. 281-293.

Zolberg, V. L. (1994). "An Elite Experience for Everyone": Art Museums, the Public and Cultural Literacy. In: D. J. S. a. I. Rogoff, ed. *Museum Culture: Histories, Discourses, Spectacles*. London: Routledge, pp. 49-63.