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NATION BUILDING AND GLOBALISATION IN THE VISUAL ARTS: A CASE STUDY OF ART PROJECTS OF THE GREATER JOHANNESBURG METROPOLITAN COUNCIL (GJMC)

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A thesis submitted to the Wits School of the Arts, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Johannesburg, April 2007

Abstract

This thesis explores the tensions between nation building and globalisation in relation to state-sponsored visual arts projects, focusing on the Biennale project of the Greater Johannesburg Metropolitan Council (GJMC). It explores the extent to which this project - aimed initially at internationalising and then globalising South Africa's art world following the demise of apartheid in 1994 - was compatible with key nation building objectives for state funding of the arts, captured imperfectly in the country's Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP). It is found that the Biennale project was largely not compatible with the RDP's objectives for state funding, namely to promote national unity while respecting the country's cultural diversity, redress imbalances of the past in access to the arts, and promote culture as a component of South Africa's development, in spite of the GJMC's statements to the contrary. Rather the Johannesburg Biennale reproduced the dialectic of economic inclusion and exclusion endemic to the political project of globalisation, leading to the creation of economic and artistic 'insiders' and 'outsiders' akin to the 'First World' and 'Third World' divide that the RDP warned against in its principle on nation-building, and proved to be an inappropriate use of state resources given the divided nature of the South African artworld. Furthermore, the GJMC imported uncritically an exhibition form associated with the discourse of internationalisation in the first Biennale, and then globalisation in the second, from other Biennales, based on contestable theoretical positions on nationalism and globalisation. This they did in an attempt to address a growing financial crisis in the city by using a 'one size fit all' set of policy prescriptions falling under the rubric of neo-liberalism, including culture-led methods of enhancing a city's global status to attract foreign revenue. In particular,

the Biennale did not learn the lesson that the shift in focus in other Biennales from internationalisation to globalisation, was also accompanied by growing discontent in these countries about the elitist nature of these events. I also consider whether it is possible to devise an alternative Biennale project that uses international contact to unite the South African artworld, rather than dividing it.

Keywords

Nation building
Globalisation
RDP
Gear
Biennale
South African art
Local government
Greater Johannesburg Metropolitan Council
Arts funding
Neo-liberalism
Postcolonialism
Arts and Culture Development

Declaration

I declare that this thesis is my own unaided work. It is submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any other degree or examination in any other university.

_____

20th day of April 2007.

To my father
with sincere thanks
for his love and support
during the writing of this thesis

To my mother
who wished that I would obtain this degree
but who is not alive to see her wish being fulfilled

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'I did not step into this role expecting this project, which is still an art project, to be one about issues of nationalisation in terms of the distribution of economic resources. I did not expect that. However, I think it's important to say from the outset that when the Biennale opens, there will be no apologies. The city has to be extremely proud of its role in putting this project together…I did not set out to make an exhibition to resolve political or economic conflicts. I did not set out to make an exhibition in order to build more houses. I did not set out to make this Biennale to have everyone agree on my conceptualisation. But art has always existed as an aggressive surface that rubs against the world and the artists we have chosen to participate in this project are those who are making the kinds of gestures that go beyond the ecstatic. These are artists who pose durable questions. We are not into conflict resolution. I'm not running for office and I think we must be judged by the kind of curatorial job we've done. It's too late in the day for this to be seen as a nationalistic event'.

Okwui Enwezor[1]

'The neo-liberal emphasis on privatisation, free markets, and regional trade agreements, in particular, led to the substitution of traditional subsidies for art and artists with a more active market structure that was significantly opened by the cultural spheres of these countries to the dynamics of transnational, global exchange. Neo-liberalism has accorded an important, if not fully recognised, function to the visual arts. This new function has, in turn, created a very complex space for their production and distribution…Thus whereas in the past, the visual arts functioned as banners of prestige for nationalist states, today they can be seen to embody a type of marketing tool for Latin American neo-liberal economic elites.

Mari Carmen Ramírez[2]

'And now it is time to denounce certain pharisees. National claims, it is here and there stated, are a phase that humanity has left behind. It is the day of great concerted actions, and retarded nationalists ought in consequence to set their mistakes aright. We, however, consider that the mistake, which may have very serious consequences, lies in wishing to skip the national period. If culture is the expression of national consciousness, I will not hesitate to affirm that in the case with which we are dealing it is the national consciousness which is the most elaborate form of culture'.

Franz Fanon[3]

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List of abbreviations

Actag	Arts and Culture Task Group
ANC	African National Congress
CBD	Central Business District
CDE	Centre for Development and Enterprise
Dacst	Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology
EU	European Union
Gear	Growth, Employment and Redistribution Plan
GJMC	Greater Johannesburg Metropolitan Council
GJTMC	Greater Johannesburg Transitional Metropolitan Council
ICT's	Information and Communication Technologies
MLC	Metropolitan Local Council
NAC	National Arts Council
NEM	Normative Economic Model
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
SAAA	South African Association of Arts
SACP	South African Communist Party
TMC	Transitional Metropolitan Council
USA	United States of America
VOC	Dutch East India Company

Introduction

Why conduct research on the art projects of the Greater Johannesburg Metropolitan Council (GJMC)?

Aim and rationale of research

The aim of this research is to explore the tensions between nation building and globalisation in relation to particular contemporary South African visual arts projects that have been supported financially by the state. It explores the extent to which state-sponsored moves, aimed initially at internationalising and then globalising South Africa's art world, are compatible with key nation building objectives in the arts, captured imperfectly[4] in the country's Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), namely democracy, diversity and redress, and addresses whether these projects take South Africa closer to realising these ideals, or further away.

This research question is pursued by means of a case study: namely the Biennale[5] project of the Greater Johannesburg Transitional Metropolitan Council (GJTMC, which became the Greater Johannesburg Metropolitan Council, or GJMC, in 1996). The project began operating in 1994, and ran until its untimely closure in 1997. During this period, the GJMC provided support for two Biennales. While these events focused mainly on the visual arts, they also incorporated other art forms such as film: however, this thesis will focus only on the art exhibitions. The first Biennale, entitled 'Africus: Johannesburg' ran from the 28 February to 30 April 1995, and the second, entitled 'Trade Routes: History and Geography' ran from October 12 1997 to December 12 1997. The Biennale project has been chosen as it

exemplifies the tensions between nation building and globalisation, and how they play themselves out in practice.

The RDP is used as a benchmark[6] for this research as it was the first and possibly the most significant policy statement to come out of sections of the liberation movement, especially the African National Congress (ANC), as a statement of intent for South Africa after the 1994 democratic elections. According to the RDP, the ANC-led alliance developed the RDP in consultation with other mass organisations[7], and the Government of National Unity then adopted it after the 1994 elections. The Programme set in place a framework for the restructuring of many aspects of society and the economy to rid the country of the legacy of apartheid, including in the arts, and provided a framework for the development of policy on the arts.[8] The RDP document lays down necessary, but by no means sufficient, preconditions for the realisation of a unified South African nation; it identifies nation building as one of its six basic principles, and elaborates on this principle in the following manner:

> 'Central to the crisis in our country are the massive divisions and inequalities left behind by apartheid. We must not perpetuate the separation of our society into a 'First world' and a 'Third world' – another disguised way of preserving apartheid. We must not confine growth strategies to the former, while doing patchwork and piecemeal development in the latter, waiting for trickle-down development. Nation building is also the basis on which to build a South Africa that can support the development of our Southern African region. Nation building is also the basis on which to ensure that our country takes up an effective role within the world community. Only a programme that develops economic, political and social viability can ensure our national sovereignty'.[9]

This passage has been quoted in full, as it is a highly significant pronouncement in the RDP for the purposes of this thesis. It can be inferred from this statement that realising a united nation is premised on the government's success in transforming the economy to redress the legacy of apartheid: so nation building is not just a cultural project, it is economic and political as well. Other theorists of nationality share this rounded understanding of nation building. For instance, Marxist linguist Neville Alexander has argued that nation building must take place on all levels of the social formation, including the economic, the political and the cultural/ ideological. He further points out that it is not possible to argue that national unity has been achieved even though South Africa is an economic entity contained by national boundaries exists. Until the nation is built on all the above-mentioned levels, the national question will remain.[10] This principle also acknowledges the importance of South Africa integrating into the region and the international community: however, it insists that this integration will be meaningful only once the South African nation has been built.

In view of the fact that the Biennale project was 'international', even 'global', in nature[11], while claiming to have national reconstruction and development goals,[12] the principle has particular relevance to the project as a benchmark, and its relevance to the project will be assessed in this thesis.

The key values the RDP identifies in the section on arts and culture in the body of the text are unity within diversity, redress of cultural imbalances, and culture as a component of development: it directs the government to expend its arts budget in line with these objectives.[13] These values are also captured in the White Paper on Arts, Culture and Heritage, which was released in 1996, one year after the first Biennale and one year before the

second. According to the White Paper, access to, participation in, and enjoyment of the arts is a human right, and not a privilege; state funding should therefore give effect to this right.[14] The relevance of these rights to the Biennale project will be assessed.

At the same time as it was supposed to implement the RDP, the government also sought greater integration with the global economy after decades of sanctions. The document most commonly associated with these trends is the Growth, Employment and Redistribution Plan (Gear) of 1996, which advocated an export-led approach to economic development: that is, key markets were to be turned outwards to compete internationally rather than simply nationally;[15] these benefits are then meant to trickle down and facilitate national development. However, this policy shift did not take place suddenly, but over a period of time. There were already indications in the economics section of the RDP that export-led development would reinstate the apartheid government's outward-orientated economic growth path of the early 1990s, captured in the Normative Economic Model (NEM) of 1993;[16] so there was an important thread of continuity between apartheid-era and democracy-era economic policies. The indication became more pronounced in the White Paper on the RDP, released in 1995; however it was only following a financial crisis in 1996 that the government's export orientation was pursued vigorously. The success of an export-led approach in achieving growth targets would allow the government to address employment and redistribution needs: so the RDP's 'growth with redistribution' approach was replaced by 'growth before redistribution'. Also according to Gear, strict growth targets were to be achieved through an array of fiscal austerity measures, coupled with incentives to attract foreign investment. The government has argued that Gear is a continuation of the RDP, in that it merely elaborates on the RDP's economic programme.[17]

The measures outlined in Gear have been linked to an ideology[18] termed 'neo-liberalism'[19], which advocates a set of universal laws of economic development to facilitate globalisation irrespective of the level of development of particular countries. International debates have been raging for some time about whether neo-liberalism is in the interests of developing countries, and wide scale opposition to the ideology and its proponents has developed and coalesced into the World Social Forum. These debates and struggles have been taking place in South Africa as well, and have intensified since the adoption of Gear. The debates have focussed on the extent to which neo-liberal globalisation is compatible with the nation building objectives of the RDP. Johannesburg's two Biennales took place as these struggles were unfolding, and were shaped by them in complex ways (to be discussed in Chapters Two and Three): the first took place before the adoption of Gear, when the apartheid government's NEM was still being implemented at local government level in Johannesburg, and the second when a remarkably similar growth path had been adopted by the-then democratically elected City Council.

The policy shift from the RDP to Gear has also manifested itself in state-sponsored visual arts projects internationally. Influenced by neo-liberal policy, there is a growing tendency for governments to cut back arts funding: in fact, the very rationale for such funding has been questioned on the basis that the age of welfarist approaches to such activities is past. Governments have also been feeling the pressure to use a significant amount of the funds remaining following cutbacks to facilitate globalisation. This they do by supporting projects that raise the international status of selected cities to attract foreign revenue.

Local governments in particular have found themselves on the cusp of these tensions. On the one hand, they are expected to respond to local

development needs where service delivery actually takes place; on the other, they are expected to play more of a role in facilitating 'cultural tourism' in an attempt to place themselves on the global map as 'world cities'.[20] Attempts are being made to reconcile these two approaches, where benefits derived from linking particular cities to the global economy are channelled back into reconstruction projects[21]: whether this is actually taking place is the source of debate.[22]

To this end, several governments have entered into public-private partnerships to organise Biennales. While Biennales started out as international platforms for the display of the artworks of particular countries, their roles have shifted somewhat. More recently, Biennales have been located in this debate as key institutions facilitating globalisation, while at the same time providing platforms for critical reflections on globalisation. A number of newer Biennales in the 'South'[23] have set out to articulate an alternative vision to their 'Northern' counterparts, with the Havana, Dakar and Johannesburg Biennales stating explicitly that their focus is on articulating the aspirations of Southern communities and their experiences (often negative) of globalisation.[24] Given the explosion in the number of Biennales worldwide during the 1980s, they have become the focus of some critical debate about the extent to which they redress or exacerbate local and national inequalities in the arts through their emphasis on global exchange. These debates assumed particular prominence with respect to the Johannesburg Biennale, given what was at that stage South Africa's very recent transition to democracy.[25]

Even though it could be said that in practice the RDP has been superseded by other policy documents, in theory it remains an important touchstone against which to measure government's progress in redressing historical imbalances according to its own statement of intent. In fact, as recently as

January 2005, the ANC recommitted itself to the document's contents as the instrument the party is using to pursue the broad objectives of the Freedom Charter.[26] In June 2004, the Ministry of Arts and Culture also recommitted itself to the implementation of the RDP.[27] In addition, the central tensions between the nation building imperatives captured partially in the RDP document and the globalisation imperatives captured in the Gear document are still felt in South Africa. In fact they are being felt even more strongly thirteen years after the first democratic elections than they were when the documents were first adopted. Hence the underlying concerns of the research are still relevant to contemporary cultural policy.

The currency of nation building as a cultural and political project has been questioned for other reasons: the appropriateness of promoting policies that base themselves on nationalist discourse is of particular concern. The resurgence of nationalist movements of recent years has led to the balkanisation[28] of countries, especially in Eastern and Central Europe. These trends have been accompanied in several instances by civil unrest, and even violence. In fact, it has become hard in the light of events since the collapse of communism to speak of nationalism without conjuring up the spectre of ‘ethnic cleansing’ and mindless pillaging. In the light of these post-1989 experiences (following the dismantling of the Berlin wall), questions have been asked about whether even progressive nationalisms can avoid collapsing inexorably into their reactionary opposites, and whether they cannot all too easily be harnessed to promote rather than redress inequalities.[29] Art theorists and activists have also questioned the nationalist project, on the basis that its ability to capture the complex of identities experienced in the context of globalisation is limited.[30]

These theorists have questioned the currency of arts practices that base themselves on fixed, essential notions of national identity, leading to

debates on whether state support for the arts should be so concerned with the promotion of national cultural identities. As early as 1993, the Venice Biennale's curator Achille Bonito Oliva, argued that '…it is no longer possible to recognise the purity of a national nucleus', and the Biennale should rather focus on 'the positive contribution of a transnationality'.[31] In the same year at the Johannesburg Biennale, Okwui Enwezor made the case against nationalism even more forcefully; he argued that in the era of globalisation, the underlying rationale for nationalism had been eroded, leading to nationalist movements turning violent. As a result, artists and curators should be promoting a 'post-national state of culture': a clarion call that is echoed in Biennales in other parts of the world. In his introduction to the Biennale, Enwezor even termed South African culture 'postnational', as it is, by its very nature, hybrid.[32] These sentiments were also echoed by one of the Biennale's artists, Yinka Shonibare, who argued that '…as an artist of non-Western origin, I feel strongly that the time has come to resist the temptation of defining artists by the narrow confines of nationality'.[33]

One of the theoretical bases of the 'anti-national' approach of the curators is to be found in Postcolonial theory.[34] According to James Meyer, Biennales in the 1980's were marked by attempts to make curatorship more relevant to current global events by transforming the profession into social critique. Curators like Enwezor and David attempted to integrate globalisation and Postcolonial theories into curatorial practices, in the hope that these synergies would make curatorship more relevant to marginal communities.[35] In the process, curators cited Postcolonial theory as a justification for an anti-national position, so it is important to evaluate whether they are citing Postcolonial theory accurately. If they are, then the theoretical claims made in Postcolonial theory that nationalism is a regressive force need to be evaluated.

There are various currents of thought in Postcolonial theory on the relevance of nationalism as an analytical category; the one stream that seems to have influenced the above mentioned curators especially includes Homi Bhabha and Gayatri Spivak, who (according to Simon Gikandi) use Poststructuralist theory[36] to critique the supposedly unitary nature of Western thought and culture, and expose the false unity of many Postcolonial nation-states (which may well be built on suppressing the voice of 'the other' in these communities).[37]

For instance, Bhabha has argued that the nation as a united body is a narrative construct that tends to undermine the acknowledgement of difference amongst a nation's subjects; in fact the nation may well be defined on the basis of stereotypes that classifies certain subjects as 'other' on the basis of race, gender, class or ethnic difference from the mainstream body politic; these stereotypes derive from the unequal forces of cultural representation in the modern world order.[38] This false unity has become especially apparent in the light of what he terms the 'new internationalism' thrown up by contemporary social trends linked to Postcolonialism, including the growth of transnational Diasporan[39] communities formed by the political and economic refugees, as well as the growing claims for recognition by peasant and aboriginal communities. These recent developments have thrown the spotlight on repressed communities who are often ignored in the process of national identity formation.[40] Therefore, Bhabha argues, their identities will be unearthed only through prising open the false unity of all-encompassing modes of identification like 'the nation' – through using Poststructuralist tools of textual analysis - and recognising the unsettled and contingent (or hybrid) nature of their identities: he considers this literary project to be the function of what he terms a 'committed theoretical perspective'.[41] Based on her reading of Indian history, Spivak shares similar concerns with

Bhabha. She has argued that pro-nationalist decolonisation movements have tended to ignore the subaltern[42], leading to a false form of national 'unity' driven by elite interests; in this regard, all forms of nationalism – whether progressive or conservative – are equally guilty.[43]

In fact the curators quoted above base their arguments on highly contestable theories of nationality and globalisation, that do not consider the possibility that an inclusive approach towards nationhood is possible and in some cases even necessary to address inequality questions and sub-national conflict. These theories are contested even within Postcolonialism itself, where numerous defences for inclusive nationalism have been made, flowing in part from critiques of Bhabha and Spivak's reservations about nationalism. This tradition is also bolstered by theoretical work on the political economy[44] of globalisation, which argues that proponents of neo-liberal globalisation exaggerate the extent of global integration.

The research considers how these arguments have shaped approaches towards Biennales, and more specifically, whether events that facilitate a 'post-national state of culture' - like the second Johannesburg Biennale - increase or decrease the ability of South Africans to enjoy art as a human right and not as a privilege, as articulated in the RDP (how the RDP defines 'art' will be dealt with later on in the introduction). The research will also consider whether the first Biennale - which was based on the concept of 'internationalisation' rather than 'globalisation' - was able to address inequality questions more effectively than the second Biennale. The research addresses in the conclusion whether Biennales as a particular species of exhibition are doomed to marginalise local development needs, or whether (to paraphrase the World Social Forum), 'another Biennale is possible'.

The Biennale project of the GJMC has been chosen as the case study as it presents a good opportunity to explore the tensions between intersecting local, national and global demands on state supported art activities. The Biennale project will be the key focus of research as it was, from its inception to its demise, the focus of tensions around the central themes identified above. The research also evaluates the extent to which nation building is still warranted as government policy for the arts, in the light of the crisis of credibility of nationalism as a political force. Government policy cannot afford to promote activities based on chauvinism that breeds ethnic violence under the guise of nation building, given the volatility of South African political life. The research also contributes in some small way to an evaluation of the nature of government delivery in the area of arts and culture in terms of the government's professed core values in the late 1990's. Evaluations of government performance are an essential feature of democratic practice in that they encourage government accountability, especially with regard to the allocation of public funds. It is especially important to examine these issues at local government level, as this tier of government is at the coalface of delivery of services, and a critical appraisal of how resources have been used in the past may help to set the agenda for arts funding in the future.

Definitions of the core concepts: art, culture, nation building and globalisation

At the outset, it is important to define the core concepts referred to in this thesis, as they are contested theoretically. These are art, culture, nation building (and related concepts such as nationality and nation) and globalisation.

Art is understood as a historically evolved set of practices beginning with

the separation of art from craft leading up to the Renaissance period in Italy. Art was consolidated into a specialised set of practices and commodities along with the rise of capitalism in Europe in the nineteenth century. While at this stage, the practices that fell under the term art were confined to the production of a narrow range of commodities (namely painting, sculpture, drawing and printmaking); the term extended its scope to include a range of practices such as photography, performance and installations. These practices (which came to be called 'high art') were undertaken by a category of independent craftspeople of skilled workers called 'artists', and supported by an institutional network for the production, exhibition and reception of these practices (the 'artworld').[45] Artworks convey messages that are supposed to be appreciated 'aesthetically': that is for their inherent beauty or emotional appeal. According to Janet Wolff, the separation of aesthetic from other forms of emotional experience (such as religious experience), and its focus on a specialised and increasingly marginalised category of products called 'art', was also an historical development associated with the rise of Western, and more specifically European, capitalism.[46]

Wolff has further argued that the definitions of what do and do not constitute art have been historically determined, and that it is 'accidental' that certain types of artifacts have been constituted as art while others have been left out. This understanding leads us to question distinctions between art and non-art (such as popular culture, kitsch and crafts), on the basis that many producers produce culturally and aesthetically significant objects that do not conform to notions of 'high art'. Therefore the definition of what constitutes art can and should be contested, as the set of practices associated with 'high art' tend to exclude a whole range of cultural products and producers, and according to Wolff, 'the forms of literature and art are seen as historical and as changing'.[47]

Many attempts have been made in the history of capitalism to transform the elitist nature of ‘high art’, by breaking down the boundaries between these practices and other practices termed ‘craft’ or ‘popular culture’, and in the process make art more relevant to other areas of social life. Such attempts have also been made in the contexts of anti-colonial or national liberation struggles, where the Western definition of art is reconstituted through the inclusion of the cultural production of indigenous communities as artforms; in the process nation-building movements have pursued the right of ordinary people to access the means of self-expression, and have fought for them as an element in a set of basic democratic demands. For instance, Franz Fanon noted at the height of the Algerian anti-colonial struggle against French oppression, that cultural producers involved in the struggle gradually began to contest the Western understanding of art, and then demanded recognition for handicrafts (according to Fanon, ‘the forms of expression which formerly were the dregs of art’) as forms of artistic production. This development then led to artists demanding the right to express themselves objectively in institutions, which in turn led to demands for state support for popular arts as part of the national liberation movement’s demands.[48]

In the context of South Africa’s national liberation struggle, Steven Sack termed this newly-constituted form of art ‘popular art’, as it represented a movement of people who were not necessarily trained as artists but who produced popular forms of expression for general appreciation, not just for a select ‘art’ audience. So this movement challenged the narrow institutional base for the distribution and reception of ‘art’ as well.[49] While in this thesis I acknowledge that the term 'art' has a particular history, deriving from the separation of artists from artisans from the seventeenth century onwards,[50] and the evolution of 'fine art' or 'high art' as a discrete

discipline, I do not assume that art is trapped by this history. Art's role can be either conservative or revolutionary depending on historical circumstances. Given the contested nature of the term art, I will therefore make use of the terms 'high art' and 'popular art' to distinguish between the two approaches to art. While Biennales have generally been located within the terrain of high art, numerous attempts have been made (especially in Biennales in the South) to bridge the gap between the two by including popular artforms and approaches: in the process they have become sites of struggle over what forms of art should receive state support. These matters will be discussed in all three Chapters.

However, the latter term should not be equated with what Walter Benjamin termed 'tendency art', where art was put to crude utilitarian uses in the context of political struggles (socialist realism being one of its most perverse forms). Historically, there has been a line in the ANC's approach towards art that prescribed 'art as a weapon of the struggle': a line that veered dangerously towards this approach. It should be noted that this line was vigorously contested both inside[51] and outside the ANC.[52] Instead, Albie Sachs has argued that arts policy in post-apartheid South Africa should aim for a 'copy free world',[53] where art unleashes the creative potential of South Africans through the broadest range of creative practices possible, without form or content being prescribed. Arts policy should not prescribe content, but it should ensure that a conducive environment exists for a diversity of creative content and practices to flourish. This sentiment has been captured succinctly by Ulrike Ernest, when she stated that '…as one cannot dictate intellectual processes, one cannot dictate artistic or cultural outcomes. One can, however, create enabling conditions'.[54] This is what a national arts policy should aim to achieve.

Another notoriously difficult term to define is culture. For the purposes of this thesis, I will adopt Stuart Hall's definition of culture as:

> '…both the meanings and values which arise amongst distinctive social groups and classes, on the basis of their given historical conditions and relationships, through which they "handle" and respond to the conditions of existence; and as the lived traditions and practices through which these "understandings" are expressed and in which they are embodied'.[55]

This definition is in contrast to the idealist[56] tradition, which equates culture with ideas, and more specifically with the development of all that is best in civilisation. So, high art would be a marker of the advanced state of culture, and hence of civilisation. The evolution of this definition from eighteen century German philosophy, culminated in the narrowing of culture to mean a body of intellectual and creative work.[57] This definition is also in contrast to crude materialism, which understands culture to be the reflection of a particular economic base (rather than a site of the production of meaning through the use of signifying practices), as well as the totalising definition evolved in cultural anthropology where culture is a 'way of life'. The above-mentioned definition has fused a number of these elements, though, while recognising that ways of life (including their material products) are contested. Therefore there is – as Hall has put it – 'no whole way of life',[58] as the conditions of capitalism have ensured that different social groups (especially classes) have different ways of life, which takes shape in and through different material forms.

The implication of Hall's approach is that - like 'art' – the question of what is considered to be 'culture' is contested, and a number of these contests have taken place in the context of national liberation struggles. The South

African liberation struggle, for instance, threw up various terms to describe this alternative form of culture, such as ‘peoples’ culture’, ‘workers’ culture’ and ‘democratic culture’, in contradistinction to the ‘dominant culture’.[59] As this struggle gave rise to the RDP, its understanding of culture is marked by an attempt to carve out a broader, less elitist, understanding of culture. Unlike the RDP, the White Paper distinguishes between arts[60] and culture[61]; it considers the various artforms to be cultural expressions, but makes it clear that art is not the preserve of an elite few who have specialised as 'artists', but are part of a broader cultural movement. Therefore public funding should not just go to 'high art', but should seek to support popular art. In fact, the RDP did not envisage the transformation of art to stop at its de-racialisation: it wanted art to be popularised as well.

With respect to nation-building the primary concept that needs to be defined first is nationality. For the purposes of this thesis, a materialist[62] approach to definition of nationality is adopted, namely that nationality is a community that - on the basis of shared experiences – begins to act politically; in the process its members come to share common characteristics, be they psychological, cultural, geographic, linguistic or ethnic. These characteristics are defined historically. This definition assumes that national identity, like other identities, are constructed rather than preordained, and that nations are products of particular periods in history.[63] A nation could then be understood as a type of political society established by a nationality.[64] A nation-state would then be a state constituted by a nation, and nationalism would be the political movement on the part of a nationality to achieve its nationhood, or to free itself from oppression by another community or nation. The term 'national question' then refers to the problematic an aspirant nation needs to address to achieve its nationhood. A movement of people acting politically to resolve their particular national question would then be a nation-building

movement. A national culture would be a set of meanings and values, traditions and practices of particular social groups who have resolved their national question and have therefore achieved nationhood. A national identity would be a feeling of belonging to a particular nation, which takes precedence over other forms of identity (such as ethnicity, which would not be suppressed, but would remain sub-national).

This definition has been developed in response to theorists who have adopted an essentialist approach towards nationality (that is, an approach that assumes that nationality is defined by a set of essential, preordained characteristics like language, race, geographic origin or religion, rather than being socially constructed through a process of historical development).[65] The essentialist approach developed a particular notoriety in the hands of Joseph Stalin, who attempted to 'fix' nationality to a pre-ordained set of markers that reads like a checklist.[66] So behind all these external attributes there is an essential, pre-existing nation, waiting to be realised in its own territory: only those 'nations' that qualified would be worthy of international recognition, as only they could legitimately achieve state sovereignty. Stalin's theory of nationality was extremely influential in Marxist circles, leading to it becoming official policy of the Third Communist International, which was then diffused to Communist Parties in areas as diverse as Latin America and China. Often, Communist Parties in power implemented this theory with disastrous effects as it laid the basis for violent forms of ethnic and ideological 'cleansing' under the guise of Communist doctrine.[67] Like Russia, South Africa has suffered a tragic history due to the application of an essentialist definition of nationality by the state, which provided the theoretical underpinnings for apartheid.[68] Even definitions of nationality in South African liberation organisations like the ANC and the South African Communist Party have been (and remain) influenced by the essentialist approach.[69]

However, there is also a rich tradition in African theories on nationality that makes the case for an inclusive understanding of nationality, based on the materialist definition. This tradition is also reflected in a strand of Postcolonial theory that takes issue with Postcolonialism in its more Poststructuralist forms, drawing on African, Arab and Indian experiences. African theorists of nationality contest the essentialist definition of nationality, where groups that do not share certain characteristics (like language or race) are excluded from the definition of who constitute the nation. According to Neville Alexander, African theorists of nationality have been challenged by the concrete conditions of nation-formation to develop an inclusive theory of nationality that breaks decisively from German nationalist theory. States in Africa were often based on colonial boundaries that imposed irrational divisions in previously united communities: divisions that sometimes were sustained by force by colonial and even Postcolonial regimes.[70] The challenge for these communities has been to develop inclusive nation-building movements that build a form of national unity that traverses these differences (which may be linguistic, ethnic or racial), but at the same time does not suppress them.[71]

Theorists writing about Indian and Middle Eastern nationalist movements have been confronted with similar questions. In the Subaltern Studies Collective in the 1980's[72], Gayatri Spivak and Indian political economist and historian Ranajit Guha differed about the extent to which national liberation movements were capable of achieving an inclusive national identity. Guha maintained that even if elites mobilised the masses to manipulate them for their own ends, they '….managed to break away from their control and put the characteristic imprint of popular politics on campaigns initiated by the upper classes'; this meant that the masses were capable of articulating nationalism independently of the elite. Edward Said has noted that several

Arab nationalists have developed a critique of exclusivism, sectarianism and provincialism, and that this had led to sensitivity towards the dangers of narrow nationalism, which may lead to unhealthy practices such as reverse racism.[73]

More recently, other writers located in Postcolonial literary studies have contested the critiques of nationalism by writers such as Bhabha and Spivak, and have argued that their hostility to anti-colonial nationalism is especially misplaced. In a Marxist contribution to Postcolonial studies, Neil Lazarus has argued that it is indeed possible to achieve an inclusive national identity that advances national liberation, while resisting the dangers of narrow nationalism. In fact he has argued that, in order to develop the sort of 'counternarrative of liberation' that should characterise progressive national movements, it is necessary to embrace totalising concepts that Poststructuralists would disavow, such as 'nation' and 'universality'[74]; from which it is possible – in his words – '…to assume the burden of speaking for all humanity'.[75] According to Lazarus, such totalising strategies are absolutely necessary to counter the growing disparities in the global system, whereas Poststructuralism tends to encourage cynicism about the possibility of such political change, leading to paralysis.[76] Laura Chrisman has critiqued the undue influence of Poststructuralism on Postcolonial studies, leading to an overemphasis on difference as an end in itself. As a result, Bhabha refuses '…to recognise that people may share needs, values and interests that override their differences'.[77] In fact she notes that such differences can be protected only if a unified but democratic struggle is won to attain political control over a particular territory, as the state could then institutionalise protective measures.[78]

Specifically in relation to South Africa, Alexander has used the metaphor of the Garieb river[79] to describe such an inclusive approach to nation building,

where the mainstream of South African identity is constituted by the confluences of all the 'tributaries' of identity in the country (be they racial, ethnic, linguistic or other). No one single stream current dominates, they continue to exist, but they also continue to constitute and re-constitute the mainstream, which is inclusive of all the various currents but which unites these currents at a certain point. He contrasts the Garieb metaphor to that of 'multicultural' societies, where one main stream dominates (such as Anglo-Saxon), while it tolerates the existence of other streams.[80] The inclusive but unifying approach to national identity captured in the Garieb metaphor is the one adopted in this thesis.

Globalisation theory has also been marked by tensions between idealist[81] and materialist[82] definitions. The literature on globalisation theory is vast, and extremely difficult to summarise, but David Held and Anthony McGrew have made a useful distinction between 'traditionalists'[83] and 'globalists'[84]: the former tend to be dismissive of the explanatory value of the concept of globalisation and may even question the very existence of globalisation, or rather may see it as a vehicle to advance particular interests (specifically Anglo-American capitalism). The latter argue that there are real structural changes that characterise the current period, and mark it as a period of unprecedented global integration; they recognise both the irreversibility of many of these changes and the irreducibility of the phenomenon to specific economic interests.[85] Held has recognised a position in between the two, where theorists believe that a major transformation is taking place, but do not accept that the events are pre-determined, and acknowledge that there is room for traditional players to act (like nation-states) in spite of the fact that widescale global integration has taken place.[86] In a slightly more elaborate review of the literature, Timothy Brennen has identified five broad positions: globalisation as a political move towards a world government, globalisation as a matter of development of trade and finance (rather than

politics) where untrammelled exchange revolutionises human contact, globalisation as integration working in concert with a particular ideology favouring the United States, globalisation as the form that imperialism takes in the twentieth century, and globalisation as myth.[87]

In this thesis, the term is understood in a way that acknowledges the reality of globalisation, and the unprecedented nature of a number of its features, but not to the extent that it threatens to sweep away key aspects of national governance; it is not understood as an inexorable development driven by the advent of technology that is politically neutral. Globalisation is therefore defined as a phase of capitalist historical development[88] involving the intensification[89] of earlier trends towards worldwide interconnectedness[90] on many spheres of the social formation, including in relation to economies and financial systems, industrial and political systems, the media and culture, such that events in one corner of the globe affect other corners of the globe.[91] However, this interconnectedness is highly uneven across and within these spheres[92], and tends to benefit particular political and economic powers disproportionately (especially the United States of America, followed by the European Union, which have promoted globalisation to enable them to invest over-accumulated capital in other countries). This move of capital across borders, and the technological advances referred to above, has been made possible by new Information and Communication Technologies (ICT's), and involves pressure from powerful political actors like the USA and the EU especially for countries to remove barriers to this expansion through liberalisation[93], de-regulation[94] and privatisation.[95] This neo-liberal form of globalisation is also giving rise to counteracting tendencies, which may also take forms that are global but antisystemic in nature (such as the anti-globalisation and anti-capitalist movements); these struggles point to the fact that globalisation is a political project, rather than an inevitable outcome of technological advances, and

therefore is subject to political contestation and even change.

Globalisation has manifested itself in highly complex, and even contradictory ways, in the arena of culture. While some theorists have argued that globalisation heralds the formation of a world culture - which will eventually be transnational and even postnational in nature[96] - others have argued that globalisation is leading to the development of a 'third culture' characterised by hybridisation of different cultures[97]. While there are merits to both sets of arguments, sociologists like Andrew Day and Graham Thompson[98], as well as literary theorists like Frederick Jameson and Masao Miyoshi, have argued that globalisation has in certain respects generated reactions that take the form of reassertions of national identity.[99] The former have argued further that growing transnational connections may not necessarily alter fundamentally how the majority of people view themselves, and that access to this burgeoning 'third culture' may be reserved mainly for what they call a 'transnational elite'.[100] In effect, responses to globalisation may take different forms, which may even be inimical to globalisation: as Robert Holton has pointed out, it should not be assumed that economic globalisation creates cultural globalisation in its own image, as culture cannot simply be 'read off' the economy.[101] So while globalisation is a phase of capitalist development, aspects of it (especially in relation to culture) are not reducible to capitalism.

This definition of globalisation also acknowledges aspects of the argument made by social theorists such as Paul Hirst and Graham Thompson that the inevitability of economic globalisation can be overplayed by governments implementing politically unpopular measures, as it gives them the basis to make the contestable argument that globalisation is an unassailable reality that countries merely have to accept (this position defines them as skeptics in Held and McGrew's eyes).[102] Their analysis

also calls into question another assertion put forward by writers from opposite ends of the political spectrum - such as Erich Hobsbawm (writing from a strand of Marxism that considers nationalism to be a waning historical force)[103] and Kenichi Ohmae (a business strategist from the multinational consultants McKinsey and Associates)[104] - that 'the national' has lost its relevance as an organizing category. In fact Gitanjali Maharaj has argued that nation building is a necessary process if countries are going to participate meaningfully in the 'global economy'.[105]

These disputes have also been debated in Postcolonial theory, where some globalisation theorists and Postcolonial theorists (especially those influenced by Poststructuralist theory) have found common cause in their hostility towards the nation form, and their embracing of mobility as a key feature of globalisation. For instance, Bhabha has argued that the unitary concept of ‘the nation’ does not have the explanatory power to define the nuanced identity of the Postcolonial subject, and that cultural theory should be promoting the creation of a hybrid culture as an acknowledgement of the reality of globalisation[106]: an approach that Timothy Brennen considers to be strikingly similar to Hobsbawm’s disavowal of the rationality of nationalism in the context of globalisation. According to Brennen[107], these theoretical congruences have led Postcolonial theorists like Bhabha and Spivak to ‘retool themselves as globalisation theorists’[108], as globalisation theory gives credence to the currency of terms like ‘hybridity’, ‘migrancy’ and ‘nomadism’, and the disavowal of older forms of national identification. As a result of these theoretical congruences, Postcolonial theory and globalisation theory may share what Brennen describes as a ‘dubious relationship to the power it purportedly questions’. [109]

A number of other Postcolonial theorists influenced by the tradition of

anticolonial nationalism, such as Benita Parry,[110] Andrew Smith,[111] Arijf Dirlik,[112] Geeta Kapur[113] and E. San Juan[114] have taken issue with this wholesale rejection of national culture, arguing that the national still forms the basis for the lived experience for many people in the South; to this end, they have drawn on the writings of Fanon, Cabral and Guha, to argue that inclusive definitions of nationalism are an integral part of Postcolonial theory. They have also pointed out the significant differences between Bhabha and Spivak on the one hand, and Said on the other, on these questions.

According to Parry, the experience of 'postnational identity' is confined to what she terms 'privileged Postcolonials' such as Bhabha who are based in Northern academic institutions and who travel extensively: a concern shared - albeit in a less strident way - by Smith.[115] Parry has gone onto argue that these intellectuals could not be considered to be 'rooted intelligentsia' who are attached to concrete nation-building movements and who therefore speak from that subject position[116], and Dirlik has even gone as far as arguing that such intellectuals are not so much victims as beneficiaries of global capitalism. Therefore they have a vested interest in arguing for the indeterminate nature of meaning as their understanding of Postcolonialism '…is designed to avoid making sense of the current crisis [of global capitalism]':[117] Writing on her experiences in India, Geeta Kapur has also taken issue with Bhabha's reductionist assumptions about Postcolonial identity. She has argued that '...there is still ground for debate about the nation-state', mainly because it presents people in the Third World with a political structure through which to resist the massive state power of countries like the USA. In the realm of the visual arts, this supposed loss of relevance of the national has led curators such as Enwezor to argue that they should rather be promoting a post-national state of culture: a state - it could be argued - that is far removed from the

realities of many people.

Globalisation is often cited as a reaction to the political project of Keynesianism[118] in many social democratic countries, which became an increasingly unprofitable mode of governance. However, globalisation must also be distinguished from internationalisation. While these terms share a number of characteristics, the former emphasises the supposed erosion of the nation-state and national boundaries, while the latter does not. In fact internationalisation still recognises the existence of sovereign nations while promoting co-operation internationally based on the principle of Multilateralism.[119] In reality, though, internationalism masked a dominance of Northern countries, especially the USA.

Two more terms that are of relevance to this thesis, and therefore require elaboration, are built on this above-mentioned definition of nationality and globalisation: they are 'internationalist nationalism' and 'inclusive nationalism'. Surely, one may ask, even the most progressive form of nationalism is bound to be exclusive in nature, as it maintains its boundaries through the exclusion of other nationalities (especially where resources are scarce, and a nation has a vested interest in maintaining them for its members only). Theoretical work on the articulation of national and international identities suggests that defensiveness is not a necessary feature of national identity formation. In the context of globalisation, Patrick Bond has argued for a form of nationalism he calls ‘internationalist nationalism’. Rejecting an uncritical use of the term ‘globalisation’, he argues that this politically progressive approach would involve ‘rejecting a threatening external Other, and redirecting attention against national elites whose international financial allies and neo-liberal export-orientated rhetoric represents the more fundamental erosion of democracy, as well as of ecological balance and balanced economic development’.[120] He reverts to

the use of the term internationalist in recognition of the fact that nation-states are still largely intact. However, it is important for nation-building movements not to be merely national in focus, as international forces do impact on their space for progressive manoeuvre.

Neville Alexander has gone further to define some of the defining features of the South African nation-to-be in the context of heightened global integration. These include every South African being able to speak at least three languages (of which English is one), communicate with other South Africans effortlessly, have various sub-national identities (such as religion or ethnicity), and have regard for the genuine diversity of all South Africans. In addition, and most importantly for the purposes of this thesis, every South African should be open to having his or her identities – include South African identity – extended '…should historical evolution point in the direction of regional or continental, and even global unification'.[121] The end result may be a very different identity to that of being a South African, but the point is that citizens should be open to this process of historical development, and not feel threatened by it. According to Alexander, the material basis does not exist yet for the widescale development of supra-national identities; he states that '…as long as the national state is the political and economic entity in terms of which international relations are structured, even if only on the surface, [national] identity is an inescapable one'.[122] However, the essential features of a common South African identity will be achieved only if a radical redistribution of material resources takes place in the lifetimes of the present generation: otherwise the 'new South Africa' will be merely – in the words of Albie Sachs – 'legitimating inequality', and may well proceed down the treacherous path of fragmentation.[123]

Globalisation theory also recognises that inclusive national identities may be possible. For example, social theorist John Tomlinson - who has concerned

himself with the complexity of cultural identity in the context of globalisation - has argued that national identity is not doomed to irrelevance in the context of globalisation. This is so particularly if nation-states openly acknowledge that national identity is bound to be but one of a multitude of identities that their citizens embrace. In fact, Tomlinson has argued that - far from destroying cultural identity - globalisation has led to an amplification of identity, where citizens develop cultural identities that are both multiple and complex. While national identity is bound to maintain its importance in this complex picture, he argues that what constitutes national identity in the context of globalisation is in flux. The events in the former Yugoslavia were precipitated by political actors seeking to mobilise particularistic national identities to attain state power, but this approach need not characterise national identity formation.[124] According to Tomlinson, 'Political subjects now experience and express, without contradiction, both attachment to the nation, multi-ethnic allegiances and cosmopolitan sensibilities. The really interesting cultural-political question that emerges is how nimble and reflexively attuned state apparatuses are capable of becoming in response to these changes'.[125]

This open approach towards nationality is the one adopted in this thesis, and is referred to as 'inclusive nationalism'.

The themes/ problems explored in research, Chapter by Chapter, and summary of main findings

The research question requires the consideration of a broad spread of literature across a variety of disciplines; it deals with questions relevant not only to art history and art theory, but to sociology, economics and literary theory. Many contemporary studies on nation building, nationalism and globalisation are interdisciplinary, and are therefore virtually impossible to

deal with within the confines of a specific discipline. I have therefore adopted an inter-disciplinary approach towards aspects of the question (especially those relating to theories of globalisation and nationalism).

The thesis consists of three Chapters. The first Chapter provides an international context; it considers the tensions between nation building and globalisation in relation a number of Biennale projects internationally, but mainly in relation to Biennales in the South. The Chapter discusses the Venice Biennale (the oldest Biennale in the world) and Documenta X (which actually takes place once every four to five years), and some attention is paid to the shifting roles of these Biennale projects from art equivalents of trade fairs framed in nationalist discourse to vehicles for increasing the international competitiveness of the host countries. The tensions between development concerns and globalisation in the Biennales of the South - such as Korea (the Kwangju Biennale), Cuba (the Havana Biennale), Senegal (the Dakar Biennale) and Turkey (the Istanbul Biennale) - are then explored, to provide a more relevant context for discussing the Johannesburg Biennale.

The second Chapter examines the aims and objectives of the Johannesburg Biennale project on two levels: how it interfaces with the RDP's cultural vision, and to what extent the above aims were realised in practice in the exhibitions. I explore the reasons for the decision to launch the Biennale project, and relate these reasons to the competing tensions on the GJTMC to support RDP-inspired nation building projects while reintegrating South African into the international art world. The argument that was made by the Biennale organisers, namely that these objectives were compatible in that external contact was needed to generate the resources for the development objectives of the RDP, is examined. The Chapter also analyses the aims of the Biennale to establish whether these

aims were compatible with one another, and to what extent they were realised in the context of the Biennale.

Chapter Three deals with the second Biennale exhibition held in 1997, entitled 'Trade Routes: History and Geography'. The Chapter explores the themes of the event, and how they were executed in practice in the specific exhibitions, especially the theme promoting the idea of a post-national state of culture.[126] The influence of aspects of Postcolonial discourse on the themes of the event, especially critiques of nationalism, is also considered, including its impact on the curatorial practices encouraged by the Artistic Director, Okwui Enwezor.

More specifically, I consider the extent to which the project realised its own objectives, especially to make spaces for 'excluded cultures and polities'.[127] The implications of rejecting nationalist reference points in favour of promoting '...the conduits of the city as a kind of delivery network to explore the many layers of critical practice that form the extensive world of contemporary thought' are also explored.[128] This theme is then explored in relation to the GJMC's overall vision for the development of Johannesburg as a regional hub for economic and cultural activity, and then in relation to the GJMC's RDP commitments. The Chapter deals with why the GJMC decided to withdraw its funding to the Biennale midway through the exhibition, in spite of it seemingly serving its propaganda needs very well, and the contradictory signals regarding support are analysed.

With respect to the main argument of this thesis, I will seek to show that - given the ways in which the Biennales were conceived - these state-sponsored activities, aimed at internationalising and then globalising South Africa's art world, were not compatible with what the RDP directed the state to achieve with its funding for the arts. The first Biennale was conceived

within an international discourse, and landed up prioritising the international at the expense of the national, and more specifically the main artistic centres of the North. Where it did benefit South Africans, it benefited an elite of mainly white artists, as the apartheid imprint on who had the resources to become an artist was still apparent. The second Biennale adopted a distinctly anti-national position, and rejected any attempt to address ongoing problems around access to the arts, set out by that stage in the White Paper on Arts, Culture and Heritage.

What I will seek to prove is that these Biennales reproduced the very separation of South African society into a small 'First World' who benefit from the international prestige associated with participating in such events, and a 'Third World' who were disengaged from these events, both as artists and as audiences: a separation that heightened from the first Biennale to the second and that sat uneasily with the RDP's nation building principle. This separation has mirrored the separation in South African society more broadly, something which has become more apparent since the imposition of Gear. I will attempt to show that in relation to the arts, the export-led approach to national development simply did not work: it created new centres that benefited from this form of growth, bounded by sprawling peripheries that were locked out of this growth path. So, in attempting to follow the neo-liberal growth path, the RDP's general vision of nation building and its more specific vision of generalised access to the arts, was sidelined.

Biennale projects globally have intertwined in complex ways with the ideology of neo-liberalism, with a number of these projects being used by governments committed to a neo-liberal growth path to develop the competitiveness of host cities in the 'global economy'. In the process, many of these events have experienced conflicts to varying degrees around the

marginalisation of local artists and audiences in favour of an increasingly prominent coterie of 'global' artists, audiences and critics. While some artists and curators have framed these events as critiques of the globalisation process, they have largely failed to confront the contradictory role that these events play in the overall framework of government policy. I will seek to show how the uncritical importing of the Biennale form of exhibition has reproduced these contradictions in South Africa, and has done little to redress inequalities in access to the arts.

Fundamentally, I will seek to show that the GJMC misdirected its resources in investing in the Biennale project as it was conceptualised, and that it would have been more appropriate for the GJMC at that stage to have developed an alternative strategy for state-funding in the arts, where resources were used to level the playing fields, embed the arts in communities and develop new audiences, thereby shifting the allocation of funding from high art to include popular art, as set out in the White Paper. Co-operation with international art institutions should have been subordinated to these priorities. In these circumstances, state resources would be used to unite the nation, rather than divide it.

An overview of relevant research and literature, and theoretical framework

There has been no in-depth research into the phenomenon of Biennales in South Africa. There was however a number of researched articles published while the Biennale project was still running. The ones reviewed here are highly critical of the project, especially its tendency to leap over national needs into the international or global artworld; three articles are reviewed below - one produced for an art magazine (by Thomas McEvilley) and two for academic journals (by Karen Preller and Carol

Becker) - to give an indication of both their topicality and their weaknesses. Priority is given to the academic articles, as they discuss the Biennales in depth, and one (by Karen Preller) compares and contrasts the first and second Johannesburg Biennales. This comparison makes the article especially relevant to this thesis, as it also considers the similarities and differences between the Biennales.

For instance, Thomas McEvilley argued at the time of the first Biennale that while the exhibition was sufficiently impressive for the organisers to have achieved their objective of re-entering what he called 'international discourse' the event was premature. According to McEvilley, '...it might better have been preceded by a period of inner gestation and discussion involving more of the community'.[129] McEvilley based this conclusion on his own personal involvement with the Biennale (he made a contribution to the catalogue) and interaction with the participants, as well as with people disaffected with the event. However, this article took the form of a commentary on the event - and was therefore largely anecdotal in nature - rather than presenting a researched, theorised argument.

Karen Preller produced a much more scholarly work comparing and contrasting the first and second Biennales and the relevance they had for contemporary South African art. In making the comparison, she noted that both Biennales were marked by a dominance of installations, although there were a greater variety of art forms in the first Biennale. She pointed out that while it is not her intention to deny the validity of installations, she rejected what she considered to be '…a blanket denigration of art forms which do not conform to current trends in the art world'.[130] This denigration was far more pronounced in the second Biennale, which was also marked by a heavy reliance on theories of globalisation to justify the repudiation of national concerns. She argued that conventional craft-based art-making

practices such as painting and sculpture were more accessible to South African audiences, and were heavily used by black artists: exclusion of these art forms therefore amounted to a disguised form of racial prejudice. She interpreted the prevalence of installations as a means of harking back to the worst features of Modernism, namely elitism and exclusivity.[131] She noted that the South African Biennales were clearly influenced by international trends in large exhibitions and Biennales elsewhere, manifested in elements such as the shift away from national pavilions, the privileging of installations and an overt reliance on globalisation theory (that was often presented in an opaque manner). These similarities added further grist to the mill that the Biennale was more concerned with demonstrating its relevance to contemporary international art than addressing local needs.[132]

While Preller offered a useful critique of the Biennale project, she did not locate the Biennale's problems in a broader South African and global context. As a result, she was not able to identify precisely the social and political role the Biennale project actually played. She attributed the largely anti-national nature of the project to the fact that the organisers wanted the prestige of being associated with the cutting-edge of contemporary art, but did not consider why the City allowed its resources to be used for such a controversial event. She also followed the trend set by numerous other commentators on the second Biennale[133], and did not engage with the complexities of globalisation theory underlying the second Biennale, preferring to reject it as over-theorisation. This is problematic, as it shows a lack of rigour in assessing the relevance of the Biennale for South African art. The theoretical assumptions on which the Biennale was based are contestable, but only if the theory is taken seriously and critiqued.

Also, Preller made sweeping judgements about the appropriateness of the

installation art in both Biennales, based on assumption that painting and sculpture are more accessible forms of art, while installations are automatically elitist and exclusive; the implication of this argument is that a South African-based Biennale should prioritise the former above the latter. This caricature reduces the complexity of the field of installation art, much of which has sought to challenge similar assumptions. In fact, depending on the context in which they are exhibited and received, painting and sculpture may be elitist and exclusive, while installation art may be accessible; the point is that if the historical and changing nature of 'art' is accepted, then it is necessary to avoid making simplistic evaluative judgements about one form of art being inherently appropriate to particular audiences. Also, Preller does not acknowledge that both Biennales tended to prioritise a particular form of installation art, which was easy to institutionalise in museums and galleries. In order to appreciate this point more fully, it is necessary to review some of the literature on installation art.

Writing from within the mainstream contemporary art perspective of the Tate Gallery in London, Claire Bishop argues that '…installation art differs from traditional media in that it addresses the viewer directly as a literal presence in the space. Installation art presupposes an embodied viewer whose senses of touch, smell and sound are as heightened as their sense of vision'.[134] This multi-sensory experience, which challenges the privileging of sight in art, is also meant to bring art closer to life by engaging audiences more holistically.[135] Biennales have embraced installation art because the artform allows curators to create 'memorable, high-impact gestures within large exhibition spaces, be these signature large architectural statements or derelict ex-industrial buildings', leading to good photographic opportunities (and therefore good publicity).[136] As a result, installation art has become staple fare for Biennales and Triennials worldwide.[137] Bishop is also critical

of this approach towards installations, arguing that the concern for gigantic scale and visual impact, as well as what she terms 'an expansion of sculptural concerns to dominate a space'[138], has led to these elements being prioritised over concerns for the audience involvement in installations.[139]

Writing from a mainstream position too, art critic and curator of contemporary art at the Solomon Guggenheim Museum, Germano Celant has argued that the installations have become institutionalised. In the process, their creators have adapted them to the need of large exhibitions like Biennales for spectacular visual and architectural displays; they have become part of a 'visual machine' devoted to display. This institutionalisation of installations in large exhibitions perturbed Celant, as it was an indication that 'many radical and disruptive breaks [in avant-garde art] have been nullified'.[140] These observations are useful, as they suggest that the sort of installation art found in Biennales has departed somewhat from its original intention of total sensory immersion, and in fact has adapted itself to take on characteristics of more 'traditional' media like painting and sculpture; in the process, some of the richness of installation art has been lost.

In a history of installation art from the 1980s to date - from an activist-artist perspective[141] - Graham Coulter-Smith has extended these arguments. He has noted that installation art had originally concerned itself with critiquing the role of the gallery and museum as an aesthetic regime that determines what is and what is not art. Installation artists, and especially those interested in deconstruction[142], were concerned with interrogating networks of power in the gallery system. They were also committed to the dismantling of the separation of art and life, often involving audiences directly in installations by using various participatory approaches; in the process,

audiences became more involved as active participants in the construction of meaning. Coulter-Smith noted that installation artists also attempted to unsettle the elitist 'high art' approach where the value (including the monetary value) of artworks is premised on their being individual creations of genius de-linked from broader society.[143] It is small wonder then, that for many years, installation art has been considered the exemplary avant-garde[144] artform.

Coulter-Smith argued that from the 1990's onwards, there was a gradual institutionalisation of installation art as 'fine art', which many installation artists enabled by re-emphasising the visual aspects of installation and reducing levels of interactivity with audiences: these installations tend to operate according to the 'look but don't touch' dictum of the gallery system. Drawing on Rosalind Krauss's term 'sculpture in the expanded field'[145], he has argued that '…The institutionalisation of transgressive art and the dominance of sculptural installation – with its inevitable links to the precious work of art – have led directly to a situation in which the viewer is not integrated with, but segregated from works of sculptural installation'.[146] So for Coulter-Smith, such forms of installation art could no longer be considered avant-garde, as they are not anti-institutional gestures; rather they have been superseded by new, internet-based forms of interactive installation. While the truly avant-garde nature of such artworks is debateable, what is significant about these views is that they express concern about the blunting of some of the more adventurous aspects of installation art.

These critiques point to the danger of making simplistic judgements about the necessarily elitist and exclusive nature of installations, as implied by Preller. Rather, what Biennales may be guilty of is the promotion of forms of installation that take on more of the characteristics of painting and sculpture

to adapt themselves to an exhibition setting (reference will be made to Coulter-Smith's useful term 'sculptural installations' in this thesis to refer to this installation-type). In the process, installations that seek to achieve the very objective that Preller espouses – namely accessibility – have been marginalised. While such artforms may not have succeeded in breaking out of the elitism associated with the institutional framework of 'high art', thereby thwarting their attempts to really achieve accessibility, at least attempts were made to increase accessibility by promoting greater audience involvement, and a broader array of sensory experiences beyond sight only.

Like Preller, Carol Becker has also discussed the repudiation of national concerns in the Second Biennale. However, unlike Preller, she attempted to understand what motivated its focus by engaging with some of its theoretical underpinnings. She argued that while the exhibition was 'dramatic, brilliant and at times gorgeous', it '…was in truth isolated from, and perhaps even ultimately irrelevant to, what was happening in South Africa'.[147] She based this argument on her direct involvement in the Biennale, where she had noticed the event's degree of alienation from the South African public. She also acknowledged a disjuncture between the theoretical practice of the Biennale and the South African reality. In locating curator Okwui Enwezor's claims about the existence of a post national state of culture, she acknowledged the fact that artists and intellectuals like curator Okwui Enwezor had a basis to argue that they occupied a post-national space. However, given the fact that South Africa was still struggling to define its own nationhood, she argued that the Biennale's debate on postnationality was abstract and removed from the context in which it was taking place.

This disjuncture was sorely felt by some South Africans, leading to Becker's recounting her experience of speaking at the Biennale's

conference where she was verbally attacked for not focussing sufficiently on issues relevant to South Africa. She concluded that the untimely termination of the exhibition by the GJMC might have been averted had the event attempted to locate South Africa's position in the international debate on globalisation. She suggested that South Africa did not have a critical mass of audiences prepared to engage with the concepts embedded in the Biennale, and that as a result, South Africans were largely shut out of the activity. She also argued that 'what seemed most left out was what South Africa itself has to offer the international debate about Postcolonialism and the relationship between art and politics'.[148] Becker provided a basis from which to examine the theory and practice of Biennales, including their constitutive role in creating the 'global' in art, but she did not theorise why the 'national' should still be a relevant category in cultural practice.

The literature that attempted to link the phenomenon of Biennales to the advent of globalisation is also sparse, and is largely silent on the complex relationship between the rise of Biennales as a 'global' phenomenon and the advent of neo-liberal globalisation. More importantly, there is no literature available that attempts to theorise the relationship between Biennales and the restructuring of local economies to turn them – in the words of Hank Savitch - into 'the international growth machine of the new economy'.[149] Furthermore, to my knowledge there is no literature that really attempts to unpack theoretically the claims made by Biennale organisers like Catherine David[150] and Okwui Enwezor[151] that Biennales are bound to address global issues as the 'national' has lost its relevance as an organising category. This thesis attempts to address these gaps, in the process exploring the theoretical assumptions underlying these claims and the social, political and economic roles these Biennales play in constituting artists and audiences as what Enwezor has characterised as

'the post-national subject'.[152]

The theoretical framework adopted in this thesis is located in the tradition of critical theory[153] that is orientated towards radical social change, rather than being purely observational; this theory is interdisciplinary in nature and has influenced the literature on globalisation, nationalism, Postcolonialism, as well as in various strands of cultural theory and art history. The term critical theory can be traced back to the Frankfurt School of Marxist Theory, where it was counterposed to 'traditional theory' in that the former actively sought human emancipation, aiming to decrease dominance and increase freedom, while the latter assumed a (contestable) position of 'objectivity'.[154] Now, it is taken to embrace all sorts of work that concern themselves with human emancipation, including feminism, critical race theory, as well as some forms of Postcolonial theory. Critical theorists have used the analytical tool of dialectics[155] to make connections and identify contradictions in closed systems of analysis based simplistically on cause and effect (such as systems based on the assumption that ideas determine material reality or, conversely, that material reality determines ideas).

Drawing on critical theory, this thesis lays a theoretical basis for acknowledging that critiques of the nation-state are valuable, in that they have challenged its assumptions about its unitary nature. However, the nation-state is argued to be still a relevant category of analysis for cultural studies (including the arts), as the extent to which it has been undermined by globalisation has been exaggerated. In addition, the extent to which global integration has actually occurred on the level of the economic, cultural and social formations is demonstrated to be exaggerated. As a result, nation-states have a choice in how they respond to globalisation, and many - including South Africa - have made decisions to facilitate

active participation in the global economy (and all that this implies).

Given that the above arguments are derived mainly from the social sciences and political history, they do not deal with specific analyses of cultural institutions and art per se, although attempts have been made to apply them to cultural studies generally and art history specifically in order to understand more fully the impact of globalisation on these disciplines. However, these attempts to explore the relationships between art and globalisation have exposed a gap in globalisation theory. According to Janet Wolff[156], social theory needs a theory of globalisation that is able to analyse cultural production and cultural texts, and that explores the relationships between culture and economic processes. Wolff argues that culture plays a constitutive role in relation to ideology and social relations. Critical theory stresses the materiality of culture; so, it is not merely a reflection of a particular ideology, but it plays a constitutive role as well. However, it does so to different extents depending on the circumstances in which cultural texts are produced, disseminated and received. So culture is not just inserted into ideology and social relations: it constitutes them as well.

According to Wolff, in order to build a non-reductive critical theory of culture and globalisation, a bridge would need to be built between two underlying definitions of culture, namely culture as values and beliefs and culture as arts and media. So critical theory must explore '...the ways in which cultural texts participate in the construction of wider cultural values and ideologies...[which in turn] must be linked with the sociological (and historical) analysis of institutions of cultural production (and cultural reception)'[157], considering the social relations in which the production of art takes place. The definition from Stuart Hall - quoted above - attempts to build that bridge.

This thesis attempts to address this challenge to critical theory, by exploring the role of cultural texts, including artworks, produced in the context of Biennales in constructing a vision of globalisation that largely embraces the twin assumptions of greater global integration coupled with the loss of relevance of 'the national' as an analytical category. If 'post-national culture' is a construct developed by particular cultural theorists located within a stream of Postcolonial theory, rather than an actually-existing state of culture, then a materialist approach would help us to analyse the complex, discomforting relationship of these theorists to the ideology of neo-liberalism, and its construct of 'globalisation'. Such an approach should also help us to understand insufficiently theorised relationship between artists who produce cultural texts based on these assumptions and neo-liberal ideologues in local governments who seek to project their respective cities as 'global cities'.

Chapter One

Biennales in international context

Introduction

This Chapter considers how the definitions of nation building and globalisation have been translated into cultural policy internationally, including policies around state support for visual arts projects like Biennales. The Chapter also explores the rising importance of local government-sponsored art events such as Biennales, and their complementarities with neo-liberal government policies promoting cities as the engine rooms of economic growth. Some attention is also paid to the shifting role of the Venice Biennale and Documenta X from art equivalents of trade fairs framed in nationalist discourse to vehicles for increasing the international competitiveness of the host countries. The tensions between development concerns - where attempts have been made to use Biennales to advance a popular art agenda - and globalisation especially in the Biennales of developing countries - such as Korea (the Kwangju Biennale), Cuba (the Havana Biennale), Turkey (the Istanbul Biennale) and Senegal (the Dakar Biennale) - will also be explored, as it is important to point out that these tensions are not unique to the Johannesburg Biennale.

In this Chapter I will seek to show that the de-legitimisation of the concept of 'the national' and the adoption of the discourse of globalisation in the Venice Biennale and Documenta has been adopted uncritically by Biennales in the South. In doing so, host cities have sought to develop global relevance and enhance global competitiveness, but in the process of narrowing their focus on high art, they have marginalised development needs in the arts in their

own backyards. These developments in turn have led to conflict over their continued public support (including financial support). This Chapter considers how and why this shift has happened as it has affected how Biennales have been shaped internationally. In fact it is not possible to understand how Johannesburg's two Biennales unfolded in the way that they did without providing this framework, as international developments were decisive in shaping the project.

The Venice Biennale and Documenta X: shifting roles

Throughout the 1990's, cities around the world implemented cultural strategies to boost their international competitiveness. One of the most important strategies involved the promotion of large exhibitions as the main state-sponsored vehicles through which art is experienced.

Biennales have come to assume a prominent role in this strategy, with new ones being launched by different countries virtually every year in that decade. Countries as diverse as South Africa, Cuba, Turkey, Korea, France, Australia and Chile have responded to this trend by launching their own Biennales, and have been linked in complex ways either to an outright shift to neo-liberalism in the governments of these countries or, at the very least, an accommodation of some of its basic tenets.

The oldest Biennale is the Venice Biennale, dating back to 1895, and it has been shaped and re-shaped by national and global political events at various points in its history. It was established by statute after a resolution was taken by the City Council to found a 'bienniel national artistic exhibition, to celebrate the silver anniversary of King Umberto and Queen Margherita of Savoy'.[158] At that stage, the Biennale was focussed mainly on showcasing the most prominent Italian artists, as determined by the

Council. In fact, the Biennale was instrumental in inventing the canon of Italian art, in view of the fact that Italy had become a nation only in 1861. Venice joined Italy only five years later. Therefore the notion of a distinctly 'Italian art' was still quite new.[159]

It was only in 1907 that the City took a decision to invite other artists from Europe, and different countries then started to build and maintain their own pavilions after the Council sold segments of the public gardens to participating nations.[160] From this point onwards the Biennale adopted an international focus, in that it accepted the legitimacy of 'the national' as an organising category for exhibitions: in fact, national representation was crucial to the success of the Biennale as it depended on a comprehensive coverage of different countries for its status.

Belgium built the first foreign pavilion in 1907, followed in the next five years by Germany, Britain, France and Sweden.[161] These countries had a vested interest in participating in this Biennale: as the premiere trade fair in the visual arts, it played a similar role to other international trade fairs, namely to serve as propaganda tools for countries seeking to demonstrate their levels of technological, scientific or cultural advancement.[162] As the national pavilions were set up, they played host to some of the most prominent of European contemporary artists, with an increasing emphasis on art trends emerging from the USA after the Second World War: a prize was also initiated for the best exhibit. In fact the emphasis on Pop Art in the 1960's, which culminated in the Grand Prize being given to Robert Raushenburg, led to the French complaining that the Biennale had become a platform for 'cultural colonisation'.[163]

In the same decade, there was a backlash against how the Biennale was being run, influenced by popular art movements linked to the anti-capitalist

student and worker protests of 1968. In the process of challenging the institutional narrowness of high art, they made their mark on the Biennale, leading to the Grand Prize and the sales house being abolished on the basis that they were instruments for the commercialisation of art (although the prize was reinstated in 1986). Monographical and celebratory exhibitions were also replaced by exhibitions intending to 'present some problematics in the arts'. Further change took place in 1973, when the Italian Parliament approved the Biennale's new founding statute. It attempted to respond to criticisms about the top down, elitist nature of the Biennale by democratising the composition of the Board. Apart from including representatives from the government, key local organisations were also included, such as trade unions and a staff representative. The Council also changed the statute to enable the Biennale to become a truly interdisciplinary event, and also to have permanent activities.[164] In the 1980's, the Biennale adopted different themes, such as 'Art as Art: Persistence of the Artwork' (1982), 'Art in the Mirror' (1984) and 'Art and Science' (1986), although the 1990 Biennale was organised into national sections.[165] So while the Venice Biennale was set up as a representative of official nationalism imposed on a state-led, top-down basis, this identity has also been contested and the actions of 1968 sought to change the nature of the Biennale somewhat to adopt a more non-elitist, decommodified approach that was more inclusive of the various constituencies in Italian society.

The largely government-funded mega-exhibition Documenta X was established much later than the Venice Biennale, in 1955, and occurs once every four to five years. Its initiator, Arnold Bode, who had designed the architecture of fairs and pavilions in world exhibitions, elaborated its role. The main motivation for its establishment was to re-define contemporary German art after the demise of National Socialism, and therefore to push its doctrine of social realism to the margins of German mainstream art. The

Museum Friedericianum – which was bombed during the war – was reconstructed provisionally to house the Documenta. In view of the makeshift nature of the reconstruction, Bode had to use his skills in staging temporary trade fairs and apply them to creating a makeshift exhibition space for the then-largest exhibition in the history of the museum. In doing so, he created an environment that drew on trends in interior design, inspired partly by the Bauhaus era. The enormity of the challenge led to Bode commanding enormous power over all elements of the exhibition.[166] It also led to the museum staging a show in a manner that broke markedly from past practices of the museum: according to Walter Grasskamp, it started a trend where '…works for an entire museum could be chosen by the organisers at whim and taken to Kassel without the paintings having to be bought or captured. But what was especially important is the fact that the museum could get rid of the paintings afterwards without having to burden themselves with the acquisitions in the long run or even having to manoeuvre the showpieces of yore into the storage rooms'.[167] This curatorial shift was important in that it 'de-regulated' the staging of the exhibition from the established practices of the museum: a shift that was to become more commonplace as Documenta developed.

However, Documenta rapidly shifted focus from attempts to confront the challenges of reinventing German contemporary art from a distinctly German perspective. The second Documenta, which took place in 1959, had a greater international dimension: according to Catherine David, this exhibition was organised to act as a showcase for the Marshall Plan. Apart from acting as an expression of freedom from the recent experiences of Nazi repression, Documenta II focussed on promoting abstract expressionism as a 'world language'. In 1972, it focussed on American photo-realism, and in 1977, social realism from East Germany was presented.

Documenta also enjoyed the attention of a dedicated art historian, Werner Haftmann, who gave academic legitimacy to the exhibition's emphasis on abstract art as a world language. For each of the first three Documentas, Haftmann published a book with photographic illustrations of much of the art.[168] In the process, the Documenta was recognised as a legitimate site for the creation of art history, and the canonisation of new artists.[169] The role of curators also increased in status, in some cases with the status of the curator overtaking that of the artists.

By the early 1980's, Documenta had become so large, it has been described by John Miller as a 'blockbuster exhibition' or a 'mega-exhibition'.[170] Contributors to the Documenta 7's catalogue (held in 1982 and curated by Harald Szeemann) noted that the grandeur of the event was overshadowing more basic questions about its social role,[171] given the fact that its original rationale - namely to act as a force for post-war progress and development - was no longer relevant, and that a new sense of purpose had to be developed if it were to have a future. The sheer spectacle of Documenta had also elevated the status of the event's curator to one akin to that of an artist, with as much, if not more, creative input into the event. In fact, Documenta exhibitions began to be conceived as artworks in their own right, with a great deal of critical attention being paid to the styles of curatorship, installation and architectural design.[172] This development set the stage for particular curators to be sought after by other Biennales, on the basis that they could confer status on artists and art events.

The increasing importance of the curator's role was reinforced by Szeemann's concept of the 'ahistorical exhibition', implemented in 1982. The aim in this form of exhibition was to display works to demonstrate correspondences or exemplify themes, even if these works are from vastly

different places or historical periods. His approach was based on a strongly utopian ideal of art, where art had an underlying essence or a timeless dimension that could be detected from its visible form: this essence would be revealed only once artworks were liberated from their usual methods of classification. By organising works in this manner, it was possible to ignore the nineteenth century art historical canons of geography and history, as well as the evolutionist assumptions underlying presentation of art according to style. The presentation of art according to the materials used was also rejected in favour of an empathetic approach that allowed objects from vastly different contexts to be exhibited together. Underlying this approach was a profound mistrust of the evolutionist art historical narratives of style - and even of history itself - associated with the rise of Postmodern art theory. In Documenta, Szeemann combined works by artists as diverse as Mark Rothko, Hieronymous Bosch, Saenredam, Piet Mondrian and a Venetian glass dish from the sixteenth century, to exemplify the theme ‘the sacral elevation of the apparently trivial’.[173]

The 'ahistorical exhibition' ensured that the role of the curator was foregrounded, as decisions about what works to include or exclude were guided solely by the intention of the curator and not the art historical conventions of stylistic, geographic or historical classification. The intuitive nature of the curating decisions in an ‘ahistorical’ exhibition underlined the curator as a powerful arbiter of taste rather than a simple illustrator of art historical trends.[174] This approach was to pave the way for adoption of a thematic approach towards curating in Biennales.

From the 1990's, there was a complex shift in the focus of these mega-exhibitions, away from an internationalist approach that recognised the legitimacy of ‘the national’ as an organising concept for exhibitions. Rather these exhibitions began to position themselves to promote the phenomenon

of globalisation. For instance, the Venice Biennale changed its curatorial approach from exhibiting the art of different countries in their own national pavilions to curating according to themes (especially themes dealing with the 'reality' of global integration). In Documenta, the shift was subtler but involved a move from focussing on the problematics raised by particular national art movements, to a focus on global themes. So the criterion for contributing to a particular exhibition would be the relevance of a particular artist's work to the theme, rather than his or her country of origin or representation of a particular art style. In motivating for this change, the curators argued that globalisation is rendering the national approach, and the evolutionist approach to artistic style, in mega-exhibitions less and less relevant.[175]

The first Venice Biennale to adopt a thematic approach was held in 1993, and was curated by Achille Bonito Oliva. Up to that point, the Biennale had been heavily criticised for regurgitating the same 'New York legitimised artists', rearranged in different ways according to the personal whims of the curator.[176] The title of the 1993 Biennale was the 'Cardinal Points of Art'. The exhibition focussed on the theme of 'cultural nomadism', coupled with the complexity of artistic languages thrown up by the process of globalisation. In elaborating on this theme, Oliva noted that globalisation had exposed different cultures to one another, to the point where contemporary culture could be characterised by the idea of 'voyage'. Only an exhibition that formulated a '...project of international breadth'[177] would be able to capture the complexity of these developments. This project was based on a series of themes focussing on the transnational experience. According to Oliva:

> 'It is no longer possible to recognise the purity of a national nucleus; instead we must acknowledge the positive contribution of a

> transnationality, of an intertwining of nations capable of producing cultural eclecticism and necessary interracial unity'.[178]

Oliva's notion of nationality appears to be idealist in nature, and influenced by German nationalist theory in that it assumes that national nuclei, prior to 'transnationality', were pure. As noted in the introduction, materialist African theorists of nationality such as Fanon and Alexander, as well as Postcolonial theorists like Said and Lazarus, have argued that 'interracial unity' was achievable within the framework of a single nation, and that these nations were not defined by a single 'pure' characteristic (such as race or language) but by an historically defined and constructed set of common factors such as at least one shared language and common political institutions. So already by this stage, it was apparent that Oliva was committed to restructuring the Biennale on the basis of a highly problematic theoretical assumption.

However, Oliva did not simply dispense with national pavilions. Rather the 'transnational' project was realised by encouraging national pavilions to invite artists from other countries, thereby rupturing the supposedly pure national nature of these exhibitions. The Italian pavilion hosted many artists from countries that did not have pavilions, and the American, German and Hungarian pavilions also hosted artists from other countries. However, reportedly, these invitations were fairly arbitrary, and did nothing to challenge the nationalist assumptions of this section of the exhibition. Other spaces were created for thematic exhibitions based on the notion of 'internationality', such as 'Passage to the Orient' that explored linkages between the Japanese Gutai group of the 1950's, the French letterism of the same period, and numerous artists from other countries and periods as well.[179] Another problem identified by Thomas McEvilley was that American artists dominated those shows dealing with the theme of transnationality,

and American artists won most of the prizes. So in spite of attempts to de-emphasise national pavilions, the thematic, transnational approach actually disguised the extent of American dominance of the show.[180] So this early experiment in addressing questions of global integration (termed 'transnationalism' at that stage, rather than 'globalisation') already betrayed a focus on a form of integration characterised by American dominance.

Apart from attempts to enhance its relevance at the level of exhibitions, the Venice Biennale also underwent organisational changes. In 1999, the Biennale was transformed from a state-run enterprise into a Foundation, a form of privatisation in that it supposedly introduced institutional autonomy from the government. However, ironically enough government representation on the board actually increased, giving the government a far greater say in how the Biennale was run at a policy level. The board was cut from seventeen to five people, representing the city, the region, the province and national government, and one member of the public. In response to ongoing fiscal crises, the Foundation decided to diversify its revenue base, which previously was drawn almost exclusively from the government. Instead the Biennale now mixes government and private support with earned income from the event itself. The Foundation's board selected an economist and former cabinet minister as its chairperson, in a bid to enhance its financial acumen. It also decided to organise year-round events to ensure an ongoing revenue stream between Biennales. This shift in the composition of the board showed that the city had become more concerned with the Biennale as an income-generating exercise, and had decided to increase its levels of representation on the Board to ensure greater control over its strategic direction. The removal of the staff and trade union representatives meant that the Biennale became less accountable to the City's workers, while becoming more accountable to government officials. The only gesture to public involvement was a seat reserved for a member of

the public, but largely the attempts made to democratise decision-making, following the upheavals of 1968, were reversed.[181]

These changes were in line with shifts in thinking around state support for the arts, evident in countries such as England and America. This shift was influenced by the rise of neo-liberalism and the corresponding decline of Keynesianism. According to John Pick[182], these arguments were spearheaded from the end of the 1970's and throughout the 1980's by the governments of Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher to cut back public spending to the arts and to demand what they termed greater 'public accountability, to be measured according to its economic performance.[183] Welfare states provided arts funding on the basis that these activities were necessary for active participation of citizens in social life. In conformity with the neo-liberal emphasis on fiscal austerity, the government struck up partnerships with the private sector and non-profit organisations to diversify their sources of funding. They promoted these funding shifts through cultural policies that act as a guide as to which 'mix' is best, depending on local circumstances. They recount how this approach rapidly spread to other governments in Europe who, in the process of shifting from Keynesian to neo-liberal policies, engineered aspects of the arts that increased private sector investment and foreign exchange while promoting their countries' international competitiveness.[184] These shifts were driven by two aspects of neo-liberalism: namely the belief in the need to cut budgets to shrink the size of the state, and the need to make more space for private sector participation in potentially profitable areas of activity undertaken by the state.

New media and installations also dominated the 1999 Biennale, and very little painting was in evidence even in the pavilions where traditionally painting was strongest. In addition, the events became much more

integrated into the surrounding city. Those countries that did not have pavilions were housed in *palazzi* and other buildings throughout the city. Site-specific works were also more in evidence in the city; for example, Bill Fontana's *Acoustical Visions of Venice* consisted of concealed microphones at sixteen sites around Venice. Other open-air pieces were shown as well. The Biennale was also joined by a private non-profit organisation, which staged a series of events to coincide with the main event.[185]

These endeavours to integrate the city into the events around the Biennale were not merely gratuitous gestures: they were an attempt to give the city a contemporary veneer, using the most cutting edge art forms. In return, the public/ private partnership at the heart of the newly-formed Foundation would offer new levels of support. The merging of the event with the city was also essential in ensuring the financial success of the ongoing events planned by the Foundation. Hence the shift was informed by a coincidence of interests between the Biennale and the city: financial support would be forthcoming in return for highly visible, cutting-edge artistic relevance. The greater integration between the city and the Biennale was also a sign of the growing influence of neo-liberal policies in the City. According to Bernstein, neo-liberalism has led to arts and culture becoming increasingly important to local governments, as they have come to recognise the role the arts can play in enhancing their international competitiveness.[186] Some of the most common city strategies include holding international trade fairs or bidding for events with an international stature such as the Olympics, developing new office centres or refurbishing central business districts, attracting international businesses, building sports and cultural facilities - especially those with a tourism potential - and developing 'street-life' activities (which may be expanded to include the development of 'cultural districts').[187] Given the fact that Venice already had an art exhibition of international repute, City officials merely had to ensure that that the Biennale's existence could be

optimised to enhance the City's international competitiveness by projecting it as a cutting edge cultural city.

However, the Venice Biennale has been unable to escape its nationalist roots entirely; it still operates with national pavilions, although an international section has now become a permanent feature. This structure has been retained largely at the insistence of the main core of countries that founded the Biennale in the first place,[188] restraining its ability to shift away completely from its 'trade fair' roots. Reportedly,[189] the Biennale organisers had experienced resistance from these countries to the inclusion of other countries in national pavilions, and the emphasis of the thematic approach at the expense of nationally organised exhibitions. The difficulty in placing a stronger emphasis on crosscutting themes was aggravated by the fact that traditionally, every country had its own selection process for artists. However, in spite of these constraints, the Biennale had attempted to reinvent itself by including more 'youthful' art; that is more contemporary formats like conceptual, land and installation art, made by a younger generation of artists than was often the case at previous Biennales.[190]

The conservative inertia imposed on the Venice Biennale by the weight of its own history became even more evident when a prize structure was reintroduced: a move which was characterised by Szeemann, the 1999 Director, as a '...leftover from ancient times, when international exhibitions gave gold medals'.[191]

Documenta X also began to re-define its role as a platform for debate around globalisation, drawing on a range of cultural practices, rather than yet another exhibition that emphasised national representivity, where national identity was projected through an array of art objects. The curator of the 1997 Documenta exhibition[192], Catherine David, argued that the

collapse of Communism and the globalisation of the market had led to more fractured societies based on 'postnational identification', and that Documenta would be remiss not to reflect that.[193]

She further noted that the dual shift to thematic exhibitions and an extended definition of art was a deliberate curatorial decision to distinguish it from other exhibitions; in an interview, she noted the following:

> '...We privileged critical and polemical positions over quick surveys, and attempted to think in terms of contemporary cultural practices, which did not necessarily take the form of art objects. Under this rubric, instead of inviting, at any cost, one artist from *every* country, we emphasised a strong polemical and political discussion about globalisation, while privileging cultural areas, or cultural practices, that do not fit within the classical exhibition framework'.[194]

The cultural practices she was referring to involved exhibitions of art objects, but also included presentations from writers, philosophers, political theorists, musicians, filmmakers, urban planners and architects: in fact David estimated that only approximately one third of the entire Documenta consisted of exhibitions of artworks. David explained this approach by saying that increasingly, significant cultural events could not be reduced to art objects alone, and that the most relevant cultural work took different forms from country to country.

The rise of 'marginal centres': Biennales in the 'South'[195]

In the 1980's the rise of the so-called 'Asian Tigers' led to the development of numerous 'marginal centres' in South East Asia, including in the area of arts and culture. Some of these countries invested actively in these sectors,

and also began to promote 'their' artists internationally.

This rise of artists and exhibitions from previously marginalised parts of the world has led to arguments that the distinction between the margins and the centre are breaking down. As Alfredo Jaar has commented:

> 'This is one of the ironies of today's art world. Because I think we are now in the phase where, in order to be known, artists from the so-called periphery have to have a presence in the so-called centres. But we will reach a phase where it will be not necessary to actually leave the so-called Third World. You can live anywhere you want and develop your vocabulary and your work and have a certain visibility on the world stage from your own country. Now this is wishful thinking but I think we are moving slowly towards that. The periphery will disappear, there will be no more periphery, we all will be centres and the euro-centric view of the world will disappear as well'.[196]

The greater incorporation of Southern artists within Northern exhibitions, as well as the increasing interest in 'First Nations' art and art from other cultures, within Northern countries, has led to a revision of curatorial practice. 'Transcultural curating' has become increasingly popular, and also more controversial. Exhibitions such as 'Magicians of the Earth' adopted a particularly controversial approach by presenting objects on the basis of their visual similarity. These visual associations were supposed to lead to an 'intuitive' appreciation of the aesthetic similarities between objects drawn from vastly different cultural settings.[197] Numerous museums and exhibition organisers have adopted this model as an expression of a new internationalism, which takes into account the totality of artistic production beyond the confines of the Western world.

‘Magicians of the Earth’ has been criticised by art critics such as Rasheed Araeen[198] and John Picton[199] for reproducing imperialist attitudes, in that it appropriated objects from outside the West, without addressing the specific contexts in which the objects were produced. In the process, the art world was presented as an homogenous institution, devoid of the sort of structural imbalances that characterise the global economy. These controversies have led to accusations that reflect a more sanguine view than Jaar’s, namely that transcultural curating is a one-way flow, in that the curated culture is introduced into the curating culture in such a manner that the latter’s cultural, political and economic hegemony remain intact. Gerardo Mosquera[200] has argued that ‘…globalisation as understood in the art world was really a globalisation from and for the centres, with limited South-South connections’.[201] Even when Northern art institutions demonstrated an interest in Southern artists, the flow of works tended to be from the South to the North. In addition, increasing representation of Southern artists did not necessarily mean that the structures of the art world were shifting to Southern control. These power imbalances led Mosquera to conclude that the world is still divided up into ‘curating cultures and curated cultures’. In order to break down these imbalances, Mosquera has argued for more aggressive measures to be adopted to ensure that ‘...the art of the periphery can be shown internationally by the periphery itself’.[202]

A few Biennales in the South attempted to embrace this approach by charting a different course from those in the North. They attempted to establish these events on a more inclusive definition of nationalism that was more sensitive to questions of how national representation was constructed; they therefore attempted to adopt an approach of 'internationalist nationalism' by using international exhibitions to bring more people into the ambit of the arts locally (either as artists or as audiences), and to move beyond a high art approach to include more popular forms of art production

and reception.

The most noteworthy in this respect is the Havana Biennale, which was established in 1984. According to the Wifredo Lam Contemporary Art Centre, which has organised the Biennale since its inception, the integration of the arts with everyday life in Cuba is central to the conception of the Biennale, as they felt that merely to focus on linking national and international elites would be a profound injustice in such an underdeveloped country. According to the Centre:

> '…Our commitment is with the life and the culture of the peoples integrating a world less developed economically. Our commitment is with the societies hoping to attain better levels of development and social justice. Our commitment is with everyday reality trying to find understanding, consideration and respect, even though it sometimes becomes a painstaking struggle for survival. This entails a serious ethical commitment. It is not the same curating in Brazil than in United Arab Emirates, in France than in Senegal, in Guatemala than in Indonesia. We are interested in the life of millions of men and women on Earth, and on the daily life of our peoples.
>
> Therefore, as curators committed to and interested in the ideological and social repercussions generated by our actions, we will do everything in our hands to contribute to the improvement of that life. We always wonder, what's the use of holding a Biennale? And we will always wonder whom do we hold a Biennale for? The Biennale is also not supposed to be focused simply on artists; it is supposed to include cultural actions that stimulate the participation of the population in the community as another way of making ever more real the integration of man in its cultural, technical and social

expressions'.[203]

The Havana Biennale in its original conception gave early glimpses of alternative approaches to 'Southern' Biennales that articulated a popular art approach as a key objective. According to Rachel Weiss, the early Biennales strove to bring art to the Cuban public through an array of small populist exhibitions. The Biennale also hosted public events such as open-air concerts of musicians who played while artists painted impromptu murals on stage. Artists also designed fabrics that were turned into clothing modelled throughout Havana for the duration of the Biennale.

The Biennale was originally set up to bring together the works of artists that were marginal to the cultural centres, in the process establishing mainly South-South art networks.[204] At that stage, Cuban society, while still very isolated, was beginning to open itself up to the outside world. The event was set up very consciously as an alternative to Venice, Documenta and the increasing numbers of Northern Biennales, both in terms of its form and content. It sourced works from countries it identified with more closely, in view of the embargo on the country by countries such as America.

The emphasis on peripheral culture became even more pronounced in the second Havana Biennale in 1986, which gave particular priority to the exhibition of art from Asia, Africa, the Caribbean and Latin America; Cuban art was then positioned within this historically marginalised cultural context. The organisers transformed the Biennale concept even further in 1989, when they eliminated prizes and adopted a thematic approach with a global focus. Decisions were not taken by an individual curator, but by a research team combined with a group of specialist curators.[205]

However, in spite of these noble intentions, Southern Biennales such as the

Havana Biennale have largely failed to carve out an alternative approach to those in the North. Rather they have been driven increasingly by the need on the part of local governments in the cities concerned to 'market' certain cities as 'global cities'. These local governments wanted to ensure that they set in place measures to attract investment, thereby enhancing the overall international competitiveness of nation-states. In the process, strategies were often imported uncritically from cities in the North, without real consideration for the contradictory impact they had on the arts.

More and more national governments encouraged selected cities to specialise in particular areas to enhance their competitiveness, defined in terms of the roles of similar cities in other parts of the world. These growth strategies have led to the creation of a network of increasingly similar 'global cities' like Paris, New York and Hong Kong: in fact, it has been noted that these cities often have more in common with one another than they do with other cities and towns in their respective countries. The increasing emphasis on the competitive potential of cities has also driven developing countries to invest in these areas, rather than focussing on rural development. In terms of this approach, cities are seen less as 'problem areas' resulting from drive towards urbanisation and more as instruments of economic growth. Hence development planners are expected to focus more on the competitiveness of particular cities in relation to the other 'global cities' mentioned above, rather than on how many people these cities contain relative to the rest of the country's urban and national population.[206]

Local governments enhanced urban productivity and facilitated entrepreneurship through public/ private partnerships. They built flexibility into the system, so that a city's economy could respond rapidly to changes in demand ('flexi-cities'). These new demands on cities meant that resources had to be spent to ensure that their orientation to external

markets is sharpened.

Concerns previously marginal to the life of the city, such as its image, become extremely important given the need to attract investors and tourists: hence marketing and public relations exercises are launched to package the city's image. Even cities with no presence at all in the global consciousness could rise to prominence through a strategic development of cultural facilities, linking them to commercialised cultural industries geared towards using art to generate revenue (especially foreign currency). Possibly the most startling example in recent times of this approach involves the Basque city of Bilbao, where the Solomon Guggenheim Foundation built a satellite of the New-York based Guggenheim museum.[207] These events have also been linked to urban regeneration strategies for cities whose centres have become run down through the de-industrialisation of local economies, coupled with the 'suburbanisation' of finance capital. All the above-mentioned strategies form part of the neo-liberal approach to urban restructuring.

However, the 'crowding in' of investments in particular areas can lead to the 'crowding out' of investments in others, resulting in the creation of small, well-resourced centres and huge, sprawling peripheries locked out of the benefits of the global economy. Even within 'global' cities, the strategic re-positioning of resources in particular internationally competitive areas and activities - often called 'Spacial Development Initiatives' - has resulted in the deliberate running down of communities left out of the globalisation loop.[208] As a result, regional disparities have developed, with many small towns and rural areas being shut out of the productive process. [209]

In reviewing projects implemented in cities like Baltimore, Liverpool and Manchester, John McGuigan has noted that instead of challenging the

exclusionary effects of ‘edge city’ development, culture-led urban regeneration projects further marginalised mainly inner city-based workers and the growing pool of unemployed; in the process, they exacerbated rather than diminished social fragmentation. This was because local governments prioritised the development of the sorts of facilities that would draw back middle class consumers. In the process, a great deal of wasteful investment took place as city officials and local businesses attempted to spend their way into international relevance. City after city duplicated the same facilities, like sports stadiums, harbour features, cultural districts and convention centres. In more extreme cases, 'race riots' and other forms of social unrest rocked various cities in England and America (notably Los Angeles), as communities expressed their frustration at their exclusion from the city’s ‘regeneration’.[210]

Franco Bianchini has noted a tendency for local governments and businesses to support ‘high’ art forms and events, often paralleled by reductions in public subsidies to community art centres with a more popular orientation: he singled out Birmingham, Glasgow and Cardiff for such criticism. Another tendency was for the cultural content to be marginalised as the strategies sought to harness culture in a crude propagandistic fashion to a range of social, economic and political objectives: in the process, the critical space that artists needed to conduct their work collapsed. International artists were often prioritised over local artists. The above-mentioned contradictions between the demands of competitiveness and local development priorities were also to make themselves felt in relation to Biennales that were implemented as part of local level regeneration projects or cultural industries strategies (internationally and in South Africa). In fact, a number of culture-led urban development strategies have simply been transposed into Southern cities, in spite of the profound problems experienced with these strategies in the North.

Many of the newer Biennale projects in the 'South' have been implemented as part of these culture-led competitiveness strategies, and have also exhibited the sort of contradictions mentioned above. A number of the newer Biennales did not even go through a nationalist phase, and leapt straight into a post-national, pro-globalisation approach. As a result, these Biennales also did not have the historical baggage of Documenta and Venice, as they did not originate in the 'trade fair' tradition.

The Kwangju Biennale is a case in point, with the Korean government adopting this approach both for its inaugural exhibition in 1995 and in the second one in 1997. This government-funded initiative was set up after Korea established its presence at the Venice Biennale in the early 1990s, and from the start was articulated in a neo-liberal paradigm. The first Biennale, entitled 'Beyond the Borders', attracted a staggering 1.7 million visitors over the two month period: however, concern was raised about the fact that the overwhelming majority of visitors were from Korea, for '.... as an international event and potentially one of the most important art events in the Asia Pacific region more foreign visitors would have been welcomed.'[211] In fact, the Minister of Culture and Sports, Kim Young-su, identified the Biennale as a focus for developing Kwangju's tourist facilities to help attract more foreign visitors.[212] The Korean Overseas Information Service underlined the importance of gearing the event for international participation in 1996, when it stated that:

> 'The globalisation of the local art world means the survival of the local art industry. In this respect, the main goal is to rationalise the Korean art industry in line with international standards. This is crucial in the face of the opening of the art market to foreign competition.'[213]

This survival strategy was deemed necessary given the reality of a post-boom recession, where investments needed for the continued expansion of the arts were contracting.[214]

The second Biennale, entitled 'Unmapping the Earth', attempted to entrench its competitive edge as the leading Asian showcase for contemporary art. In fact, its role became even more elaborate, in that it was seen to be '...a pivotal element in the establishment of a cultural infrastructure in Korea'.[215] According to the Korean Ministry of Culture and Sport, their support of the Biennale was necessary to boost the ability of local governments to develop local economies, especially the tourism industry, through the medium of the cultural industries. Support was also offered to other local governments that organised international events that promised to develop Korea's international reputation. While the Ministry promised to use national government structures to promote the Biennale, and other local government events, abroad, it emphasised its decision to 'localise the arts'. The Ministry did criticise the 1995 Biennale, though, for failing to promote the uniqueness of Kwangju as a city, and noted that the organisers had to work harder on distinguishing it from other Biennales by linking it to the unique characteristics of the city.[216]

A great deal of interest was shown by the exhibition's organisers in Szeemann's concept of the ahistorical exhibition,[217] to the point where he was invited to curate one of the Kwangju Biennale's exhibitions and advise on the curating of others. The organisers were especially attracted to the notion of breaking down hegemonic discourses of museums, where the exhibition would be de-linked from the institution of the museum and the related conventions of art history that emphasised the primacy of the artist. As noted earlier, the 'ahistorical exhibition' relied on a more distinctive role for the curator, which meant that the organisers could control the content of

the exhibition more easily through a careful selection of a curator. Also, if an internationally renowned curator was selected (like Szeemann himself), his association with the Biennale in itself could draw international attention to the exhibition.

'Unmapping the Earth' followed the thematic approach, focussing on the dismantling of nationalism.[218] Five 'internationally known' curators were invited to curate these exhibitions, which - according to one commentator - could explain the inclusion of artists that '...could be found in any number of international group shows'.[219] In addition, the organisers also included a public art project, with the intention of focussing on the local culture of Kwangju, by '...attempting to incorporate art into everyday life, nature and the urban environment to transform Kwangju into an international cultural centre for the future'.[220] The organisers also envisaged the continued existence of the public art project beyond the Biennale, '...as a long term plan for the city's cultural development'.[221]

Widely differing agendas were pursued in relation to this project. According to the curator of the public art project, the intention was to '...resist the commodification of art and its monopolistic control by private capital', with the focus being on '...the creative process, rather than the possessive concept of "display"', and on realising the creative aspirations of Kwangju residents.[222] Hence the project served conflicting functions: for the curator, it made the Biennale locally relevant to Kwangju's residents, but for the organisers (and behind them the Ministry of Culture and Sport), the Biennale had a distinctively local flavour which gave it the competitive edge it needed to compete with other 'global' Biennales.

The Instanbul Biennale - which began in 1987 - builds on the city's identity as a 'golden gateway between Asia and Europe'.[223] It is rather different from

the ones discussed above in that the bulk of its funds come from the private sector: in fact, early on the organisers took a decision to distance themselves from the government so that the event could be captured for the government's own nationalistic ends.[224] In spite of this, the Biennale has largely followed the trends evident in other recent Biennales. The first two exhibitions were organised on the basis of national pavilions. However, the third Biennale was based on a theme, the 'Production of Cultural Difference', around which the national pavilions were curated.[225] The fourth Biennale, however, eschewed national pavilions entirely in favour of exhibitions curated around a theme 'Orientation: The Vision of Art in a Paradoxical World': artists were selected depending on the extent to which their works related to the theme, not on the basis their national origins (although the bulk of the artists were drawn from various diasporas). According to the curator, Rene Block, organising Biennales on a national basis was an outdated nineteenth century approach.[226]

The fifth Istanbul Biennale, entitled 'On Life, Beauty, Translations and other Difficulties', focussed on Istanbul as a metaphoric gate between the East and West generally, and Asia and Europe specifically. Site-specific works were set up in the airport, the train station, the Bosphorus Bridge that connects Asia to Europe, the historic walls and the old city gates.[227] The exhibition claimed to explore 'the borderlines that separate art and life...the differential spaces, the places of 'others' and the fluidity and difficulties of translation between different contexts [as a means] of reinterpreting our position in the contemporary world'.[228] This emphasis on the uncovering of repressed identities through the act of travel bore a strong resemblance to the theme of the second Kwangju Biennale, which concerned itself with '...the niches, the places in-between, the points of convergence, which are only to be found of the revelations and articulations.'[229] 'Unmapping the Earth' was intended to expose vigorous forces, interstices, ruptures, and

singularities, activated in the complex diversity of problems current confronting the earth'.[230] Themes of travel, migration, transit sites, mapping the global terrain and the fracturing of identity in the context of globalisation have emerged in the Northern mega-exhibitions as well: as early as 1993 in the case of the Venice Biennale, and to a lesser extent in the last Documenta X.[231] These themes also formed the focus of the second Johannesburg Biennale, which will be dealt with in more depth in Chapter Three. They are also clearly marked by the influence of Postcolonial theory, especially those forms influenced by Poststructuralism, and that tend to disavow the relevance of 'the nation' as a relevant theoretical category.

In choosing these loose (even amorphous) themes, the curators have not only been able to circumvent having to dwell on issues of national concern, but they underscore the relevance of the Biennales in the context of globalisation. The veneer of contemporaneity invariably rubs off on the host city, which helps to project it as a globally relevant cultural centre: this approach has been termed the 'glocal', which is identified as '...the most pressing issue for curators today, at least to the extent that success at integrating one's local realities with those of the world at large is fast becoming the only sure way to maintain a community's standing in the race for global relevance'.[232] The rise in global status of the host cities is clearly in the interests of governments and local businesses seeking a foothold in the global economy, so it is not surprising that to varying degrees, the public and private sectors have entered into partnerships to sponsor most of the above events.

It seems fair to say from this brief discussion of a number of Biennales that they have (either deliberately or unwittingly) begun to intertwine in very complex ways with neo-liberal interests in their host countries. As a number of these events shifted to reflect the new 'realities' of globalisation, they

have suffered from the kinds of contradictions mentioned above in relation to culture-led urban 'development' projects. For example, although the auxiliary exhibitions of the second Kwangju Biennale had a specifically Korean focus, the Biennale as a whole was accused of not engaging sufficiently with the country's culture, preferring to provide a platform for foreign artists at the expense of domestic ones. As a result, the Biennale was criticised for being too Western in its artistic view, and failing to differentiate itself from the other famous art fairs it seemed to want to compete with, such as Kassel or Venice.[233]

Increasing pressure is being brought to bear on the organisers of Biennales to take local needs into account; this is especially so with newer Biennales in the South. Resentment at the international focus of the Kwangju Biennale reached a point where Korean artists threatened to boycott the 2000 Biennale. The Biennale adopted the theme 'Man + Space', and included 246 artists from 46 countries.[234] Local artists discovered that they were being treated unequally by the organisers, as they were being offered half the participation fee offered to foreign artists; this difference added insult to the injury suffered in the previous Biennale where very few Korean artists were included. In response to a threat, on the part of local artists to boycott the event, the organisers included more Korean and other Asian artists, and raised more funds to equalise the participation fee.[235] Also, there was evidence of a shift away from the thematic approach that marked the first two Biennales, and towards an emphasis on geographic representivity: a shift which art critic Frank Hoffman characterised as a shift back to nationalist identities.[236] Hofmann also noted that the concessions made to local artists were quick-fix, and hence ill-considered solutions, leading to him concluding that '...it is impossible to satisfy the expectations of local, national and international artists and audiences all at the same time'.[237]

The role of the Dakar Biennale has also been controversial, especially since the collapse of the Johannesburg Biennale, which has led to renewed questions about the role of this African-based Biennale.[238] According to the official blurb, the Biennale is a 'major event in the cultural program of the Senegalese government'[239], and '…a tool for African integration in common progress of African culture'.[240] However, notwithstanding this objective – that should have set it aside from other Biennales - the organisers have been criticised for failing to establish a Biennale that distinguishes itself from other Biennales around the world. The Dakar Biennale is reputed to be especially bad at providing a platform for African artists to define the continent's role in a Northern-dominated artworld.

For instance, Rasheed Araeen has argued that the Dakar Biennale emerged out of a context and a struggle characterised by opposition to colonial domination, and that it should therefore be informed by this context rather than attempting to mimic other Biennales. This it has failed to do: a criticism shared by Olu Oguibe and Christian Hanussek.[241]

In order to address these problems, Araeen argued for the establishment of a permanent institute to provide a research and documentation base for the Biennale, thereby assisting it to evaluate and develop contemporary art on the continent on a consistent basis. Oguibe, who has characterised the Biennale's approach as a 'befuddled stumbling in the dark'[242], has endorsed this argument.[243] He has further castigated African cultural practitioners for failing to provide a critique of the event - which is problematic given the fact that the Biennale claims to prioritise African concerns – and has called for a proper evaluation of the event in order to prevent it from suffering the same fate as the Johannesburg Biennale, and collapsing.[244] These problems - largely unaddressed by the organisers - have led to international artworld's confidence in the event waning.[245] What emerges from these critiques is

that the Dakar Biennale has failed to position itself sufficiently on the marginal 'Southern' Biennale circuit.

However, unlike the Havana Biennale, the Dakar Biennale has been characterised by confusion right from the star; it did not lose its way as the event was exposed to the chill winds of globalisation. Apparently, the first Biennale in 1992 did not have a distinctive focus; instead it invited artists from around the world in a haphazard manner, and even at that stage developed a reputation for its extremely high level of disorganisation. According to Iolanda Pensa, the only positive aspect mentioned in international reviews was that it was the first Biennale on African soil.[246] Yet, the chaos masked a problematic set of assumptions on the part of the organisers; in its formative stages, Clementine Deliss already detected a 'misguided faith in the so-called international art circuit, [which has] deterred the organisers from developing a Pan-African approach, [with] a focus on greater communication and familiarity within Africa between practicing artists and writers'.[247]

After this rather inauspicious beginning, Pensa recounted how the sponsors, especially the European Union, ensured a reappraisal of the Biennale, leading it to become more focussed instrumentally on promoting economic development and the cultural industries.[248] As a result, the Biennale became even less concerned with creating an accessible Pan-African event, which has manifested itself in how its approaches the selection of artists, and its selection of audience. Since its restructuring in 1996, the Biennale has used a rather controversial method of selecting artists for its international and design exhibitions, where artists apply to a selection committee (the International Selection and Jury Committee) for inclusion on the basis of a call for entry that is not well advertised; the only criterion for consideration is that artists must hold a passport from an

African country. As a result, the existence of the call tends to be disseminated through word of mouth; while this approach may yield unexpected results, it has extended the reach of the Biennale only to those artists who can be reached through this arbitrary method of communication. This weakness led to significant unevenness of quality in the 2002 Biennale; for instance, the manner in which the South African contingent came to be selected was arbitrary (one of the artists discovered the call for entries by accident while browsing through some e-mails).[249] Hanussek noted that the 2002 Biennale did not make 'the least effort'[250] to address Dakar's public, and there was no public art, nor even public transport to the event. Rather the organisers spent large amounts of money transporting international guests from luxury hotels.[251] These elements point to a Biennale that did not take its own accessibility seriously, either to African artists or audiences.

Even the Havana Biennale in Cuba has found it difficult to resist being sucked into the slipstream of global competitiveness, with all the attendant contradictions. Concerns have been raised by Mosquera that the Biennale organisers were seeking to transform the Biennale into an 'alternative Biennale of the First World', which acts as a feeder of 'peripheral' art to the cultural capitals of the North (with all the commercial kick-backs involved).[252] Critics have noted changes in the focus of the Havana Biennale from 1994: shifts that were tied up with the opening up of Cuban society to capitalism, and the country's subsequent embrace of cultural tourism. The legalisation of the dollar in the same year also encouraged American critics, collectors and curators to travel to the event and feature it in numerous publications.[253] Luis Camnitzer noted that the 1994 Biennale was marked by a subtle shift in view of its acceptance into the 'hegemonic circuit', involving the '...loss of independence to become an alternative Biennale of the First World.'[254] Cuban artists exhibiting at the event sold many works to foreign visitors, and numerous platforms were set up to 'market' these

artists beyond the event. The Biennale was also characterised by a shift away from panel discussions and educational workshops to the exhibition of art objects, marking an attempt to take advantage of the heightened commercial interest in the event.[255]

The 1997 Havana Biennale became even more of a tourist attraction than the previous one, attracting 1 500 American visitors alone. The event also drew on a sharp rise in the dollar-driven tourism industry since the unbanning of the currency in 1994, and it became linked to a broader cultural tourism strategy promoted by the Cuban government. This heightened popularity led Turner to comment that the event was no longer a peripheral event, but was firmly part of the 'international calendar': in fact he noted that it defined Havana itself as an 'emerging periphery', using the language of installation as a common currency with other international events. Another critic noted the tendency for artists' works to be 'more abstract and universal' than previously.[256] The organisers decided to charge an entrance fee: a decision that was out of step with the earlier non-commercial focus of the event. The fee was clearly aimed at earning revenue from the event's foreign visitors.

The tourism potential of the Biennale was developed to such an extent that by 2000, foreign visitors could select numerous exhibition packages and pay for them in dollars. By that stage, a number of the Cuban artists that had received attention after having shown works in earlier Biennales had become assimilated within the mainstream art circuits, in the process - according to Dermis Leon - becoming an '...attractive investment for curators, gallery owners, collectors and seekers of alternative art and political critical art outside of Cuba'.[257] The foreign artists exhibiting at the Biennale were also increasingly the same artists exhibited at other Biennales, lending an air of sameness to the event. The event was also

noteworthy for the 'politically evasive' approach of its exhibits: an unprecedented feature of the Biennale given its highly politicised roots. With respect to the Cuban artists, this evasiveness has been attributed to the increasing alienation of these artists from the rest of the Cuban population, in view of their access to the country's dollar economy and international travel, and consequently their relatively higher standards of living.[258] In addition the elements that connected the Biennale to the citizens of Havana - such as the public art-making events - have been lost as the Biennale became tourist-orientated.[259]

The proliferation of Biennales has had an effect on the type of art produced by artists. Szeemann, noted in an interview that the rise of newer Biennales has placed the older ones under pressure, in that they have had to 'reinvent themselves' to remain relevant.[260] This need to distinguish them is made more important by the fact that much of the art being shown in these events is taking on a sameness. This homogenisation of Biennales should not be surprising given the fact that a similar pool of artists and curators are circulating in these events. For example, before directing the 1999 Venice Biennale, Szeemann directed Documenta V in 1972. Okwui Enwezor curated the Johannesburg Biennale and then Documenta**.** They have been termed a 'curatorial class', which has been described by G. Sholette as '...that transnational detachment of specialised professionals who manage the global spectacle called contemporary art'.[261]

In fact it has been noted that the same artists are exhibiting over and over again at these events, and that their work is similar across these events '...as this is what the Biennales allow for and encourage'. [262] Biennales have also exhibited more and more video art, given the fact that it is cheap to reproduce and transport. According to Ann Wilson Lloyd, some artists have taken full advantage of these possibilities and showed the same videos at

different Biennales, further reinforcing the feeling of homogeneity.[263] In response to these developments, Szeemann noted the following:

> '[The] explosion of Biennales is creating a new type of artist who really lives from project to project. They are very flexible, they go to Santa Fe, they go to Berlin; sometimes it's better, sometimes it's worse. These artists are like film directors because they go from job to job, place to place, and make masterpieces as well as failures'.[264]

The sort of flexibility that Szeemann refers to above is perfectly in keeping with the notion of the 'flexi-city' mentioned above, where artists adapt continually to fit in with the organisational needs of specific exhibitions and the ideological needs of the hosts. The fact that curators and artists are drawn from a common pool is important in that any exhibition that draws on this pool is conferred a 'badge' of contemporaneity: in other words, the host cities that draw on this obliging pool of artists are up to date with world trends, and they are worthy of the status of world city. Needless to say, the artist also benefits as well, as his or her exposure increases with every successful exhibition.

Maria Carman Ramírez has noted similar developments taking place in relation to Latin American art as well, although she does not confine her commentary to participation in Biennales; she also analyses the complex ways in which the neo-liberal interests of particular governments intertwine with those of artists and curators through an examination of a host of regional travelling exhibitions aimed at the 'global' art world as well. She notes that the absence of such critiques is leading to a situation where artists and curators are manipulated by local neo-liberal economic elites. This manipulation is due to the fact that – according to Ramírez:

> '[Neo-liberalism] has accorded an important, if not yet fully recognised, function to the visual arts. This new function has, in turn, created a very complex space for their production and distribution. I dare to characterise this new domain in terms of three interrelated factors. First, contrary to the fixed locale of the nation-state, this space is no longer circumscribed or determined by national or regional borders. Instead, it consists of a fluid transit of artists, exhibitions, curators, private sponsorship, and a novel breed of entrepreneurial collectors who circulate between the international art centres and the Latin American capitals…The second characteristic of this flexible space is that it is largely controlled by the promotion and financial interests of neo-liberal private sectors which, since the late seventies have increasingly taken over the role of art patronage previously held by national governments. Thus, whereas in the past, the visual arts functioned as banners for nationalist states, today they can be seen to embody a type of marketing tool for Latin American neo-liberal economic elites'.[265]

With respect to the travelling exhibitions of Latin American origin, she argues that a few artists have been 'mainstreamed' as 'marginal', leading to an even further marginalisation of many more artists on the basis that the 'marginal' has been catered for.[266] Biennales could also be considered to be playing a similar role (either wittingly or unwittingly), namely as marketing tools for neo-liberal interests.

Commenting specifically on the articulation between Biennales and neo-liberal urban development strategies, Director of the Montreal Biennale, Claude Gosselin, noted in 1997 that the Biennale model is being co-opted from art professionals by city promoters, and that as a result these events were becoming publicity platforms for cities vying for attention as 'world

cities'. He warned that if such co-option were to continue, Biennales would become discredited in the eyes of artists and especially inhabitants of these cities. He further argued that it was hard to work out exactly who such Biennales were being held for, and it was also difficult to accept '…third world cities spending money on contemporary art exhibitions, mostly attended by foreigners, while services for their citizens, like clean water, may still be lacking'.[267] However, these Southern Biennales have come to play an important ideological function for Northern curators, as they have become – in the words of James Meyer – 'suppliers of new goods…[to] the Western art market'.[268] These views counter Enwezor's optimism that Southern Biennales have played an important role in shifting the balance of power in the artworld away from the North.[269]

Yet, as mentioned above, more often than not, the choice to 'go global' is made at the expense of local artists and audiences: these contradictions are especially evident in this recent crop of Biennales in the South. These injustices may be felt even more strongly in cities where integrated local development strategies around a range of services are lacking. The host cities in these 'developing economies' respond to the challenges of globalisation by jumping straight into a post-nationalist approach to promote themselves as 'global cities', without having dealt with their own national development problems in the arts. However, this does not mean that these events have to be written off as propaganda arms for neo-liberalism: these newer Biennales often wear both a progressive and a conservative face in that they address the politics of marginalisation under globalisation, and conservative in that they do so by promoting neo-liberal objectives of urban development. So in very complex ways, art discourse around redressing marginalisation becomes appropriated by cities using it to integrate into the global economy on neo-liberal basis.

Conclusion

This Chapter has considered why Biennales have become so popular with local governments in different parts of the world, and has explored some of the interests at work behind their popularity. One of the primary reasons identified in this Chapter relates to the utility value of Biennales in enhancing the status of host cities, in the process attracting foreign investment (especially in the tourist industry). The shifting nature of exhibitions was explored, especially the complex shift in their roles in line with development of 'global cities' geared to the demands of international competitiveness. National pavilions became less important, with thematic exhibitions assuming ever-greater prominence. Themes of voyage, migration, Diaspora and global integration featured prominently in the later exhibitions of these Biennales, with an increasing suppression of references to nationalism. So in the scramble for relevance, cities in the South have adopted a set of prescriptions developed and implemented in the North, influenced by neo-liberal policies.

However, it has become apparent that as Biennales adjusted to the exigencies of neo-liberal globalisation, contradictions opened up between the original intentions and actual outcomes. Biennales in 'the South' have also largely failed to interrogate critically the changing nature of the Biennale form, preferring to import wholesale the latest (thematic, pro-globalisation) trends and the artists and curators who exemplify these trends, while failing to interrogate whether they describe the actual realities of the localities in which they are held. The discrediting of the discourse of nationalism in exhibitions and its replacement by discourse of globalisation has rested on shaky theoretical foundations.

The dislocation of Biennales in ‘the South’ from their localities has led to questions being asked about the appropriateness of spending large amounts of money on events that do not really address national needs or concerns. These Biennales experienced conflicts to varying degrees around the marginalisation of local artists and audiences (as well as audience development activities) in favour of an increasingly prominent coterie of ‘global’ artists, audiences and critics. Even the Havana Biennale, that attempted to chart an alternative course by using an international event to broaden local access to the arts - and thereby contribute to the building of an accessible, inclusive national culture in Cuba - has been transformed to play a greater role in acting as a feeder for art institutions in the North; in the process, the Biennale's role in realising Mosquera's notion of 'South-South' curating has been called into question.

This international context is necessary to understand the tensions between nation-building and globalisation in relation to the South African Biennale, as the contradictions of a number of the Biennales discussed here have been transposed into South Africa: a country whose government is under a policy obligation to ensure that international activities advance rather than contradict attempts to remove inequalities in access to the arts.

Chapter Two

Africus: the first Johannesburg Biennale

The first Johannesburg Biennale is here used as a case study of tensions between two of its objectives: namely delivering on the nation-building imperatives of state funded arts projects on the one hand, while integrating with the international artworld after decades of isolation on the other. These tensions were to crystallise in the second Biennale after the adoption of Gear. Given the fact that 'globalisation' had yet to make an official entry into South African government discourse, the operational term used in the first Biennale to describe this shift was 'internationalisation' rather than globalisation'.

The first Johannesburg Biennale took place at a time when a number of the Biennales discussed in Chapter One were shifting from a nationalist approach to a post-national, pro-globalisation approach: a shift which began in the Venice Biennale in 1993. It also took place at a time when Southern Biennales started to adopt this approach as well; in the process they began to experience tensions between their greater international orientation (especially towards international artists and tourist audiences), and local and national concerns (such as the involvement of local artists, in the case of Kwangju and a commitment to a non-commercial popular approach to the arts in the case of Havana). As noted in Chapter One, Biennales such as the Havana and Kwangju Biennales have failed to manage contradictions between the involvement of local artists and audiences, and international participation. This Chapter considers the fact that the GJTMC set the first Johannesburg Biennale up to experience similar tensions, in that while the Council was expected to implement the RDP, it also intended

to use the Biennale to re-integrate South African art into the global arena. This Chapter considers whether the GJTMC managed to achieve what other Biennales did not, namely to promote global (re)integration in a manner that generated skills and resources to meet local development objectives (in South Africa's case, set out in the RDP).

The Reconstruction and Development Programme and the arts

In order to be able to assess the relevance of the arts and culture section of the RDP to the Biennale, it is necessary to discuss what the RDP's objectives were for this sector.

It is important to note at the outset that for highly complex reasons, the transition in South Africa was a negotiated change, not a revolutionary change: hence the RDP was not a revolutionary programme, but one which sought to redress the legacy of apartheid within the framework of a negotiated transition. This meant that the interests of the liberation movement and the apartheid regime had to be balanced, leading to significant concessions being made on both sides. On the part of the liberation movement, concessions were made that effectively left the economic relations underpinning apartheid intact.[270] These economic relations were restructured in the early 1990s, when the apartheid government realised that its 'Keynesianism for whites only' economic system was not sustainable, and that the economy had to become export-orientated along neo-liberal lines. To this end, it developed the Normative Economic Model (NEM), an array of policies designed to restructure the economy along neo-liberal lines.[271] The ANC and the SACP approached the transition with the political outlook that negotiations may take the liberation movement to the first stage of the revolution – namely the de-racialisation of South Africa – but that the second phase - namely economic

liberation (or socialism, according to the SACP) - would have to be deferred until after the transition.

The visual arts also bore the legacy of apartheid inequalities when the transition took place, and largely mirrored broader social, political and economic inequalities. In 1994, the Minister of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology appointed an Arts and Culture Task Group (Actag) to develop new arts and culture policies for the country in the light of the RDP. The Group undertook an audit of the existing situation in the arts in an attempt to assess the extent of the apartheid legacy that the government would have to address through policy. In relation to the visual arts, they found that there was a '…inequitable distribution of resources for the production and appreciation of the visual arts. Most, if not all of these, are located in historically white urban areas. No public or private galleries, art institutions, or even art schools, are to be found in traditionally black or "coloured" residential areas'.[272] They also noted that the imbalances in access to art education were especially severe, which frustrated the ability of black youths to practice art. While the growth of community art centres had attempted to address this deficit, these centres lacked suitable physical infrastructure, financial support and accredited qualifications. At the time of the investigation, some art centres were closing down in spite of the fact that there were too few to service demands in black areas. The group also argued that the dominance of Eurocentric definitions of art had led to a false distinction between arts, craft and design: a distinction that excluded an untold number of (mainly black) artists from the artworld. The Group also noted a lack of funding for the visual arts, with most state funding going to the performing arts. International isolation and suppression of the freedom of expression had also stunted the growth of the visual arts.[273] Clearly, future visual arts policy would have to address this apartheid legacy if the right to freedom of creativity and artistic expression guaranteed in the

Interim Constitution was to be realised.[274] However, according to Actag, it was not enough for the government to de-racialise high art, as this approach would not necessarily broaden access to the arts significantly; rather the emphasis should be on popularising art as well.

The ANC contested the first democratic elections based on the RDP. The RDP had its origins in the trade union movement, but was developed mainly by the ANC in the run-up to the elections. According to the RDP, the final document was a programme of action that 'belonged to everybody', including historically opposed social forces like business and labour.[275] However, according to Hein Marais, the real result was an uncomfortable (even incoherent) mix of Keynesian and neo-liberal strategies, largely based on a 'growth through redistribution' approach where development of domestic industries in marginalised communities were the key to growing the economy.[276]

The RDP acknowledges six basic principles. It notes the need for an integrated and sustainable programme, to avoid attempting to overcome the legacy of apartheid with '...piecemeal and uncoordinated policies'. It also notes that development needs to be a 'people-driven process', where communities participate actively in the delivery of services in a climate of peace and security. Another principle involves linking reconstruction and development, which, the document notes, is important to counter the commonly held view that '...growth and development, or growth and redistribution are processes that contradict each other'. The final principle involves the democratisation of South Africa, where its entire people participate in decision-making on an ongoing basis (not just at election-time).[277] As mentioned in the Introduction, the RDP also includes nation building as a principle, which seems to be based on a materialist understanding.

Based on these principles, the RDP lays out a framework for development in many sectors of society. On the level of meeting basic needs, it set delivery targets for the roll-out of infrastructure and basic services: the authors argue that such delivery would stimulate the country's economy by creating jobs, especially in labour-intensive manufacturing industries and agriculture. These jobs should be created on a massive scale through a national public works programme. In the process, more people would have access to disposable income, which in turn would stimulate demand for goods and services. In terms of the RDP, the South Africa manufacturing industry should expand to produce ever-more efficient and cheaper products to satisfy this demand: in other words, social delivery would stimulate national economic growth. The economic growth model implied in this section is Keynesian, as the state is the main driver of national development.

Yet the document appears to lapse into the sort of multinational approach towards the national question that had characterised the ANC's historical approach to the national question. For instance, one clause in the section on arts and culture states that 'All people must be guaranteed the right to practice their culture, language, belief and customs'.[278] Yet another clause notes that the government must 'promote the development of a unifying national culture'.[279] Read together, these clauses imply that the RDP's authors considered nation building to amount to de-racialisation of South African society and not the transformation of the economic relations that underlie racial prejudice. This bias towards the national question is confirmed again in another clause that states that national unity can come about only through education: it cannot be imposed.[280] So in spite of the fact that the RDP starts out articulating a materialist understanding of the national question, it lapses back into idealist understanding of culture,

where a unified culture is achieved through education, not through the creation of the necessary (but by no means sufficient) material conditions for people to experience commonality.

The section of the RDP titled 'building the economy' is also peppered with mixed messages. This section's vision statement is not entirely incompatible with a Keynesian approach, in that it rejects both a command-style economy typical of the former Eastern-bloc countries, and an unfettered free market. Instead, it proposes the development of a strong and enabling state, coupled with a thriving private sector: in short, a mixed economy.[281] It notes that increasing the public sector in some areas, and decreasing it in others may achieve these aims.

However, with respect to industry, trade and commerce, the RDP changes to a more neo-liberal form of language. It notes the importance of '…[meeting] the challenges of a changing world economy, while at the same time meeting the needs of the majority',[282]and advocates promoting the international competitiveness of some of the country's strategic manufacturing sectors. In short, the RDP's authors were seeking ways of reconciling neo-liberal and Keynesian growth paths, by turning certain industries outwards once they acquire sufficiently large economies of scale from servicing the country's internal needs. However, the RDP's operational concept on these matters was largely of internationalisation, not globalisation, as its authors clearly believed in the power of the nation-state to intervene in international transactions in favour of national reconstruction and development.

In relation to arts and culture, the RDP aims to affirm the diversity of South African culture while promoting unity, and ensure that the resources necessary for promoting the arts are made available to all (including art

education). It also enjoins the state to preserve and promote the country's national heritage, promote culture as an integral component of development, establish an equitable language policy and eradicate illiteracy while promoting a reading culture.[283] The RDP does not spell out, however, how its implementers should go about reconciling the seeming tensions between national unity and diversity, and furthermore does not attempt to define what it considers to be part of the country's national heritage. In order to achieve the above, the RDP recognises that resources will have to be made available; in this respect it advocates a mix of direct government funding, and partnerships between government, business, non-governmental organisations, local communities and the international community, as well as a tax incentive scheme specifically for culture. However, it also states that the Ministry responsible for these activities - namely the Ministry of Arts and Culture - should have its own budget, and should be responsible for the provision of cultural amenities for each community[284]: This approach is fully in line with the mixed economy approach evident throughout the RDP.

The RDP set objectives for the visual arts to redress the imbalances mentioned above: for example, everyone should have access to resources, facilities and education for the production and appreciation of the arts and culture (defined as embracing custom, tradition, belief, religion, language, crafts and all art forms like music, dance, the visual arts, film, theatre, written and oral literature), and which should be seen as a fundamental component of development.[285]

In short, in its statement of principles, the RDP is clear about what tasks need to be undertaken to realise a united South African nation: it is clear that the tasks need to be undertaken on many levels of the social formation. Yet, in the body of the document, it is very unclear on how these tasks

should be executed effectively. In the process of outlining this practical programme, the RDP offers a confused and even contradictory way forward, which may be attributed to attempts on the part of the ANC to straddle two conflicting economic models. This confusion is evident in its provisions on arts and culture as well. The combined effect of this confusion could be that the 'unity in diversity' approach towards nation building becomes, in practice, a form of 'multinationalism' that entrenches racial difference, while projecting a superficial veneer of unity. This became evident shortly after the adoption of the RDP; the government embarked on a rhetorical nation building exercise termed the 'rainbow nation' to convince South Africans to buy into the notion of a united South African nation. The disjuncture between this state-sponsored attempt at unity and the disparities in material conditions led Gomolemo Mokae to comment that, in reality, '…some colours [of the rainbow] are more equal than others'.[286]

In spite of these drawbacks, the RDP does provide a framework for understanding access to the visual arts as a right, rather than a privilege, which involves a shift from merely providing support to high art to supporting popular artmaking.

Background to first Biennale

The first Biennale cannot be understood outside of the general developments in Johannesburg's local government structures. In 1995, when the first Biennale took place, Johannesburg was only beginning to grapple with the transformation challenges facing the city following the democratic elections in 1994. However, local government elections had not yet taken place, which meant that the city was required to respond to expectations of improved delivery raised by the change of government, with most of the apartheid local government structures intact. This contradictory

situation was to shape the Biennale project in very profound ways.

At that stage there was no template for the transformation of local government, save for the Interim Constitution. This meant that transformation had to proceed according to national policy documents, notably the RDP. In view of the fact that local government policy and legislation still had to be developed, numerous Non-Governmental organisations (such as Planact), the ANC and civic organisations under the South African National Civics Organisation (Sanco) initiated a consultative process towards a new local government. Urban-based social movements, such as civic organisations, spearheaded many of these changes. These movements were confronted with the practical problems of transforming local governments that were geared towards highly sophisticated service delivery in white areas, which was cross subsidised from revenue derived from commercial and industrial areas. In contrast, black areas were systematically underdeveloped. Struggles against this spacial and economic apartheid led to the development of local forums, where local level negotiations took place parallel to national negotiations. The forums eventually established a national body of their own, the National Local Government Negotiating Forum in early 1993. The first and most well known of these forums was formed in Johannesburg, namely the Central Witwatersrand Metropolitan Chamber. These bodies negotiated a framework for local government transition, which resulted in the Local Government Transition Act in 1993. Among its numerous innovations was the provision for a framework that compelled political and civil society stakeholders to negotiate by law; as a result, consensus building at grassroots level was required before key decisions could be taken, allowing for inclusiveness, representivity and legitimacy to emerge.[287]

However, factors peculiar to Johannesburg had to be taken into account,

which led to the apartheid City Council restructuring the city's economy and spacial organisation. The slowdown in local economic growth following the slump in the mining industry led to a swing away from the primary and secondary sectors of mining and manufacturing to tertiary services such as communications and banking. These changes led to a 'tertiarisation' of education as the demand for highly skilled workers developed; in the process, the demand for unskilled and semi-skilled workers decreased, resulting in rising unemployment (a trend that was not peculiar to Johannesburg).[288] In response, the City began to restructure Johannesburg's local economy in line with NEM to make it globally competitive in tertiary services, especially banking and finance.

Transformation in the city's governance ensued in earnest a year after the democratic elections. In 1995, the thirteen local government bodies falling within the Johannesburg metropolitan area were collapsed into the Eastern, Western, Southern and Northern Metropolitan Local Councils, with a fifth overarching structure, the GJTMC, acting as the co-ordinating body of the four Councils. The boundaries of the Local Councils were drawn in a manner such that wealthy suburbs were clustered with poorer areas, to facilitate the cross-subsidisation of the latter by the former. One of the practical problems that this division led to was that the inner city was divided between the four substructures, each with their own separate plans and priorities, which sometimes led to competition and even conflict over priorities.[289]

In view of this split accountability, the GJTMC took responsibility for the regeneration of the CBD: a project that had been in existence since the early 1990's when businesses began to move to other development centres such as Sandton. This capital flight led to a growing ghettoisation of the CBD, and the development of a negative reputation as a centre of crime

and grime.[290]

One of the projects that the apartheid City Council had identified was the establishment of Newtown as a cultural precinct. This decision was based on the fact that a cluster of cultural projects already existed in the area, organised around the Market Theatre. Newtown has a very rich and complex history, as it has changed its character many times down the decades; the fact some of the markers of this history still exist in the form of historic buildings, squares and even signage, has added impetus to its development as a tourism site. After forced removals of informal settlements in 1904, a gasworks, an abattoir and a market were built in 1913. The area suffered another decline in the 1970s when the electricity department spearheaded a departure of all service institutions to other areas.

The fortunes of Newtown changed once again when the Indian Fresh Produce market, which was earmarked for demolition by the City Council, was put up for auction. Barney Simon and Manny Manim won the tender and established the Market Theatre in 1974, using the fact that the Council had zoned the area as a mixed race area to buck the prevailing trend of segregated institutions. The establishment of the theatre and the international funding it attracted led to the development of other facilities including Kippies, the flea market, and later on the Mary Fitzgerald Square. In the wake of these developments, the City Council passed a resolution in the late 1980s for the establishment of Newtown as a cultural precinct. Work ensued on the basis of this resolution, leading to private sector investment in the establishment of the South African Breweries Centenary Centre, the Reserve Bank, the Electric Workshop, Museum Afrika and the refurbishment of other Council-owned buildings. The project was also supposed to include links to the partially pedestrianised Kerk Street,

providing a convenient link between the city centre and Newtown.[291]

When the GJTMC was established in December 1994, it found these plans already in motion. The fact that this decision was taken by the city's previous managers, which effectively made it an apartheid town planning decision, had not sat comfortably with the GJTMC, leading to mixed messages and even conflicting decisions being taken about the future of Newtown after 1994. By 1995, the GJTMC was arguing that Newtown should not be confined simply to being a cultural district, as its demographics coupled with its proximity to the CBD meant that it was more attuned to mixed land use, including residential use.[292]

These conflicting priorities, coupled with struggles around the status of decisions taken on the eve of democratic elections, were also felt in relation to the Johannesburg Biennale. The Biennale project was conceived of by the old City Council as a means of capitalising on the development of Newtown as a cultural district. The City Council recognised that a crucial element in this development was missing, namely a plan to entice foreign tourists to the cultural district, and in the process taking full advantage of the pending collapse of the cultural boycott.[293] The possibility of using the world's honeymoon period with South Africa following the successful conclusion of the elections also spurred the Council on. However, this decision was not driven by cultural considerations alone; by this stage, the City Council had already embarked on neo-liberal restructuring to transform Johannesburg into what it called a 'world class city' by increasing its global competitiveness.[294] The Biennale was seen as a means of achieving this objective.

However, the decision was not without its political risks, given the possibility of the elections not being concluded successfully, and also given the

possibility of the new government rejecting decisions taken by the old one. In order to head off the possibility of the new government stopping the Biennale, the Council hastened with its plans. According to Ivor Powell, the Directorate of Culture began approaching some artists (unnamed by Powell) to secure their buy-in even before the event was announced publicly in 1993 in an attempt to ensure support from prominent artists, as a rejection of the event by this community may have swayed the incoming government to stop it altogether.[295]

The Council also ran the risk of the international art world refusing to participate, given the fact that the decision to host the event was taken prior to the elections, and could therefore be read as a boycott-busting tactic headed by a group of mainly white artists and organisers seeking to take advantage of the changing political climate with obscene speed. South Africa had been isolated from the international art world for decades prior to the first democratic elections in 1994. The cultural boycott, recognised and practised by most countries, involved isolation of South African artists by forbidding them from participating in international exhibitions; in turn, international artists were strongly discouraged from participating in events organised by the South African government or related institutions. The boycott was effected internationally after the United Nations General Assembly adopted Resolution 2396, calling on '…all states and organisations to suspend cultural, educational, sporting and other exchanges with the racist regime and with other organisations or institutions in South Africa which practice apartheid'.[296] This boycott extended to other Biennales as well, with the Venice Biennale, for instance, refusing to allow a South African pavilion.

However, from 1983 onwards, the South African apartheid regime attempted to secure international platforms at art exhibitions, including at

Biennales, following a Commission of Enquiry into the funding of the arts that recommended this move.[297] The government-funded parastatal the South African Association of Arts (SAAA) was given a sum of money over and above its annual state grant, which was made available according to the Schutte Commission of Enquiry 'subject to certain conditions for participation in an art exhibition abroad'.[298] The São Paulo and Venice Biennales rejected the SAAA's overtures. However, a few countries ignored the cultural boycott and invited South African participation, especially those that were themselves governed by repressive regimes. Invitations to participate from these countries were greeted with local and international outrage. One of the most memorable instances in this respect involved the Valparaiso Biennale in Chile. The SAAA facilitated the involvement of white South African artists in the 1985 and the 1987 Biennales, which led to controversy inside the country and calls for the isolation of the SAAA for its boycott-busting tactics.[299] So some white artists and dealers, with the support of the apartheid regime, made numerous attempts to secure participation in international exhibitions, presumably in order to build their reputations internationally and to promote a positive image of South Africa as a culturally relevant country internationally.

The democratic transition opened up the possibilities of such participation; even before the first elections, various Biennales issued renewed invitations, including the Abidjan Biennale and the Indian Triennial. The Department of Art, Culture, Science and Technology was keen to take full advantage of thawing relations and funded and supported South Africa's participation in the Abidjan Biennale in 1993, and the Venice Biennale in 1993 and 1995, and also provided funding for the 1995 Johannesburg Biennale. In 1993, the Venice Pavilion hosted South African artists as part of other exhibitions, with South Africa's two main choices - Sandra Kriel and Jackson Hlungwane - being allocated space in the Italian pavilion. Fifteen

other South African artists participated in an extension of the show in the Palazzo Levi.[300]

However, according to Sue Williamson, South Africa's participation led to controversy, in spite of the fact that democratic elections were to take place the following year.[301] The invitation was issued to the apartheid government, with the SAAA conducting the selection in South Africa. The selection process became politically charged given the direct links between the government and the SAAA, and the fact that the latter were argued not to have the legitimacy to put together a nationally representative pavilion. The controversy led to the hurried inclusion of Jackson Hlungwane as one of the country's lead artists, in a belated attempt to foreground the work of black artists.[302]

The controversies surrounding South Africa's participation did not cease there. At the Venice Biennale conference in 1993, the then-Director of Culture, Christopher Till, announced plans for Johannesburg to host its own Biennale, to facilitate South Africa's reinsertion into the international art circuit once the cultural boycott was withdrawn.

Arthur Danto noted that this was not the first time that a Biennale was being called on to play a diplomatic role after years of isolation. According to Danto[303], the Biennale was similar in intent to the first Documenta X in Kassel, which was intended to herald Germany's reintroduction to the commonwealth of art after the Second World War. The acceptance of invitations would be a concrete statement that the country is now accepted in the international arena. Danto took note of the reasons given behind the decision to hold Biennale, namely to 'put the city…on the map of art', and compared it to the intentions of the organisers of Documenta. According to Danto, the Biennale organisers were proposing the drafting of an alternative

map to the already existing one, consisting of Biennales held in the art centres of New York, Milan, Paris, Cologne and the like, in the process, attempting to correct the imbalance between the North and the South when it came to the distribution of art centres. Danto noted that this shows the ways in which art is willing to make itself '...available as part of the symbolic language of political gesture in the international arena'.[304]

However, the appropriateness of this symbolic language was contested from the time the announcement was made; in view of the fact that the event was initiated by what was then still an apartheid government structure. In fact, art critic Thomas McEvilley, who followed the genesis of the Biennale closely, noted that the announcement took many South Africans by surprise and led to anger over the clandestine nature of the project.[305] McEvilley, Ivor Powell and Candice Breitz all reported on criticisms raised by South African artists that the Council did not have the decency to initiate a consultation process in the country, and then announce the decision before flying out and making a fait accompli announcement on an international platform.[306] Powell further noted that while a few artists had been consulted, this was done on a clandestine basis without a prior public announcement. This manner of announcement led to accusations that the Biennale project was conceived with the intention of prioritising international participation above local participation.[307]

The fact that the Biennale was 'born in sin' as a project of a pre-election Directorate of Culture ensured that the project had a protracted and difficult birth, as it was not an initiative of a government based on the will of the electorate. Controversies led the co-ordinator of the event, Lorna Ferguson, to insist that it should take place only after South Africa's first democratic elections in 1994.[308] However, as the planning proceeded apace, it became apparent that this 'concession' would not be sufficient to ensure the

legitimacy of the event, and that more needed to be done to secure the buy-in of local artists. In fact it emerged that it was only after the visit of invited foreign curators in February 1994 that South African participation was put on the agenda for consideration by the Biennale organisers (who were managed by a Biennale Committee, headed by Till).[309] Only in mid-1994 was the participation of community art centres considered. The organisers were also forced to consider including development aspects in the Biennale, as much of the private sector sponsorship was committed on the basis that it would be used for development work with black South African artists.[310] According to Ivor Powell, the organisers decided to embark on a consultation process in a belated attempt to shape the Biennale in a manner that local artists would feel comfortable with.[311]

The consultative process kicked off with a series of meetings with the Gauteng art community in August and September 1993. Out of these meetings, three Biennale advisory committees were formed consisting of leading figures in various art institutions. These committees were the education, curatorial and advisory committees, which were intended to guide the Biennale through its early stages, and ensure as inclusive involvement as possible. The decision-making body, however, remained the Biennale Committee, headed by the Director of Culture and co-ordinated by Ferguson. This Committee held a public meeting in 1994 to brief the public on progress thus far, and receive comments and advice.[312]

According to a report compiled by the Directorate of Culture after the event, the Committee also decided to invite curators to submit proposals for consideration, with part funding being provided by the Biennale project. Plans were also hatched to draw foreign artists into workshop situations with local artists so as to create interchange and direct contact between artists, although much of this impetus apparently came from the foreign artists who

wanted to use the Biennale as an opportunity to interact directly with South African artists.[313]

These meetings led to acrimonious exchanges about the purpose of the Biennale, and the representivity of the organising committees.[314] According to Breitz, the manner of selection of these committees was criticised for being toy telephones which created the impression of consultation, but which were unable to influence the general direction of the Biennale.[315] Artists became angry when it emerged that consultations had already taken place between international artists and the organisers, and that their participation was then presented as non-negotiable. These conflicts also spilled over in a Curator's Forum, which was hosted by the organisers in March 1994 to discuss the contribution of the international curators.[316] Numerous resignations also took place from the committees. Sue Williamson captured some of the criticisms of the Biennale project thus:

> 'Of course, within the country, not everyone was in favour of the Biennale in the first place. To many it seemed that at a time when overseas funding for local community art projects was drying up (the battle against the State being seen as won), that the vast expenditure needed to bring a Biennale into being could have been much better spent building up grassroots skills and initiatives. The elite are catering for the elite, ran this argument. Our people do not even have the money for the most basic art materials. We cannot afford this kind of grandiose gesture'.[317]

Williamson also noted that Till countered these arguments by pointing out that exposure of powerful artists and critics to the actual conditions in South Africa may have a far more beneficial effect on conditions in the long run, and that the channelling of Biennale funds to local community-based

initiatives might therefore be short-sighted.[318] Till also maintained that the Biennale '…is the vehicle through which a start has been made to begin a process of reconstruction and development'.[319]

This argument was not taken lying down, with a local art curator, Ricky Burnett, noting that the value of the Biennale could not be measured by these small interventions:

> 'It doesn't redeem the process. The commitment to making exciting things happen on a daily, ongoing basis is more important than a once-every two years effort. We have spent more on two days of spectacle than museums spend in a year on education'.[320]

The actual distribution of resources in the Biennale cast a pall over Till's assertions, and also called into question the effectiveness of the consultation process of changing the overall thrust of the Biennale. According to Ivor Powell, less than five percent of the funding resources were allocated to community projects and development.[321] Of the approximately twenty exhibition venues, only two were located in townships: the Mofolo Art Centre, which hosted an informal exhibition (that is, an exhibition that was not included in the catalogue) and the Funda Art Centre that unveiled a mural. Neither venue hosted an international art event or a funded curated show, and only one visiting artist stayed and worked in a township. The disparities in spending on infrastructure were also sorely felt, given the millions of Rands that were spent on upgrading the Newtown Cultural Precinct while no money was spent on infrastructure in any of the townships. According to a newspaper report by Ivor Powell, less than a seventh of the Biennale's R5.5 million budget was spent on the trainee curator programme, whereby fifteen trainee curators (mainly black) were sent overseas to learn from foreign curators. However, Powell reported that

approximately half of the Biennale budget was spent on bringing foreign curators to South Africa to select artists for their shows. Powell contrasted the spending on the Biennale with the stinginess with which the GJTMC approached other art initiatives in the city, refusing to assist artists with space.[322]

The flagship venue, the Electric Workshop, was refurbished to turn it into a suitable exhibition venue. Built in 1905 to house massive combustion engines imported from Scotland, the building became a general-purpose electrical workshop and storehouse for the next eighty years. Architect Nicholas Sack was then commission by the Council to prepare the venue for the Biennale, which involved rearranging sections of the interior for different future needs. New levels of floor space were also inserted to accommodate all the exhibitions. According to Powell, the fact that so much time and effort was being spent on a venue that would house mainly international artists added to local resentment.[323]

The perceived inappropriateness with which Biennale resources were allocated was thrown into even sharper relief with the release of the Actag report, which coincided with the opening of the Biennale, leading to Powell making comparisons between the Group's recommendations and the priorities of the Biennale. According to Powell, the conflict between various provisions of the RDP and the Biennale was starkly apparent, especially the provision that states that '…everyone should have access to resources, facilities and education for the production and appreciation of the arts, which should be seen as a fundamental component of development'.[324]

To give effect to this requirement, Actag stated in its report that at least fifty percent of government arts and culture budgets should be ploughed into development of facilities in areas marginalised by apartheid. This

requirement was in stark contrast to the Biennale's spending priorities, which barely focussed spending on historically disadvantaged projects.[325] Access to facilities also meant that these facilities should have been located within easy reach of communities; a test which the Biennale failed dismally with respect to township residents. The educational dimensions of the Biennale, as noted, were not given priority in terms of the budget, although some attempt was made to incorporate educational events.

Ironically enough, given the conflicts in the country about the manner of consultation, the Biennale was noted several times on international platforms as a model for consultation. In fact Candice Breitz noted at the time that the highly complex and convoluted methods used to gain consensus over the Biennale would probably seem weird to anyone who is not a South African, and who therefore does not understand the highly contested nature of local cultural politics.[326] This consultation process paled in comparison to the consultation and negotiation process engaged in by the local government negotiating forums that eventually gave rise to the GJTMC. The participants in these negotiations had laid a 'best practice' framework for all aspects of the City's operations. However, the Biennale's consultation process did not measure up as key decisions had already been made before it was held. So while the Biennale was being held up as a model of consultation in other parts of the world, it fell far short when it came to South Africa's own consultative local government traditions pioneered in Johannesburg.

The Biennale's opening was attended by numerous Biennale luminaries, including Nelson Aguilar, Director of the São Paulo Biennale, Edemar Cid Ferreira, Chairman of the Foundation for the São Paulo Biennale, Tony Bond of the Sydney Biennale and Rene Block of the Istanbul Biennale, as well as ex-Director of the Venice Biennale, Achille Bonita Oliva. At the

opening, Swedish curator Svenrobert Lundquist noted that the Johannesburg Biennale had to work hard to place its stamp on the international Biennale circuit, as the proliferation of Biennales had led to intense competition for government and foundation funds for different countries to fund participation in these events. The competition was becoming such that countries had to pick and choose which Biennales to send their works to, hence the need for the Johannesburg Biennale to maintain a strong international presence.[327]

So, from unfolding events critiqued by Williamson, Powell, McEvilley and Breitz, it appeared that international participation was uppermost on the minds of the organisers, rather than local and even African participation. This bias could be deduced from a number of facts, including the belated consultation of local artists and community art centres following the announcement in Venice, and the skewed allocation of resources. In fact, African participation emerged as an add-on after political pressure, in spite of the supposedly African focus of the event. Therefore the idea that the Biennale sought to 'bring the margins to the mainstream' was in question even before the exhibition was open to scrutiny by the public.

The exhibition themes

According to the Directorate of Culture, '…the Johannesburg Biennale, like the Havana, São Paulo and Dakar Biennales, focuses on art produced in historically marginalized countries of the third world which challenge the hegemony of established art centres in North America and Europe'.[328] In order to give effect to this objective, the Directorate chose two themes for the main exhibitions: 'Decolonising our Minds' and 'Volatile Alliances'. These themes were deemed to be appropriate in view of their open-endedness, while including clear references to issues of identity in the 'new

South Africa'. According to Ferguson, the themes were chosen to enable foreign and South African artists the scope to explore the relationships between themselves and the African continent, and contemporary visual artmaking as a whole.[329] It can be inferred from Ferguson's point that the themes were supposed to be 'outward looking'; they were not supposed to be interpreted as restricting the Biennale focus to the state of South Africa's very recent apartheid past. Candice Breitz echoed this sentiment by stating that '...the Biennale cannot possibly redress the legacies of apartheid entrenched in South African society over decades of discrimination: however, it can encourage critical scrutiny of these imbalances as they manifest themselves in the realm of art'.[330] The intention was also to create a platform for critical discourse between artists internationally and South African artists on the above mentioned themes.

The first theme, 'Volatile Alliances', was supposed to encourage dialogue around cultural difference and identity. Curators were encouraged to address the identity question in relation to the divide between Afrocentrism and Eurocentrism, as well as the relationship of South African art to the art of the rest of the continent. The relationship of South African art to other international trends or paradigms was also earmarked as a sub-theme for exploration, although no guidance was given as to which trends or paradigms were considered to be of particular significance. The organisers noted that they expected that many of the exhibitions addressing this particular theme would deal with questions of marginalisation in relation to gender, race, sexuality, religion, land rights, and other factors.[331]

The second theme, 'Decolonising our Minds', deals with Africa as a focus, especially the complexity of the decolonisation process that has been underway in different African countries, and the impact of this process on the rest of the world. The curators of exhibitions dealing with this theme

would explore the impact of colonialism on indigenous art forms. In order to do so, they were expected to bring together art made by artists in the African Diaspora with art made in South Africa by other Diasporan communities. These artworks were supposed to explore social and political problems experienced by people displaced by colonialism or living on the boundaries of other cultures. Given the complexity of these themes, it was anticipated that a catalogue would be produced to coincide with the opening of the Biennale, and another one would be produced afterwards to reflect on the experiences of the Biennale in articulating these particular themes in practice.[332]

According to the concept document published on the Biennale's website outlining the theme - entitled 'Headspace: The Theoretical Biennale' - the intention of the Johannesburg Biennale was not to create another artistic centre, but to respond to a need to create a platform to express the experiences of those living outside the centres. These themes were also chosen because of their potential to foster exhibitions that would address both local and global concerns: a difficult task indeed. The organisers were very clear about the potential contradiction with local development needs and the potential irrelevance of a global event in the face of these needs, and it attempted to soften this contradiction through the choice of themes, methods of curatorship, modes of consultation and numerous other devices. In fact they argued:

> 'The reintegration of cultural South Africa into the international arts community is visualised as a process which must foster developmental and educational programmes so as to facilitate cultural growth and empowerment. This aspect of the Biennale will be further enriched by collaboration between international and South African experts in the field of community projects as well as by a

> series of seminars to be held at the time of the Biennale. The South African art community is, understandably, eager to begin the process of integrating South African art into the international art community: the extent and nature of the integration that occurs during the Biennale should not, however, be forecast as ends in themselves, nor should some kind of definitive re-integration be seen as the goal of the Biennale co-ordinators. The Biennale has been conceptualised, rather, as a catalyst, the most far-reaching and significant implication of which is the stimulation of discourse around contemporary South African culture both in local and international art circles'.[333]

These objectives bear a striking similarity to the 'outward-in' development logic that apartheid city managers had implemented in line with the NEM, and that was to resurface again a year later in Gear; according to this logic, greater integration with the international economy could be turned to the country's advantage and made to serve its developmental needs. The Biennale constructed the artworld outside South Africa as 'international' rather than 'global' at that stage, as the nation was an extremely important element in the making of meaning in the exhibitions; the more 'nation-states' that participated, the more South Africa could demonstrate that it was widely accepted since the demise of apartheid. The organisers were aware that reinsertion into the international cultural arena was taking place in conditions that were highly disadvantageous to black South Africans, and therefore attempted not only to rationalise the potential benefits in terms of the RDP, but also sought to introduce practical devices to make these benefits concrete for participating black artists and curators.

Foreign curators who were engaged in the Biennale programme in 1994 had been responsible for mentoring a trainee curator with the intention of

mustering support especially for black art initiatives. The experience was supposed to be a reciprocal one, with the international curators gaining as much from exposure to a South African as the other way round. The trainee curators became involved in organising the artworks for the international exhibitions, and on their return, were supposed to assist the local co-ordinators.

According to the Directorate of Culture, the Biennale office funded all the participating South African exhibitions, as well as the exhibitions from African countries and those from Cuba, Thailand and India. However, a number of companies assisted with support for smaller projects, although this support was not forthcoming in the form of money. Funding for over forty of the international exhibitions came from foreign ministries of culture, funding agencies and private corporate sponsorship.[334]

The contradictions of 'soft curatorship'

According to Lorna Ferguson, the most appropriate form of curatorship for the Biennale was what she termed 'soft curatorship'. The term was apparently first used by Bruce Ferguson at a conference at the 1994 São Paulo Biennale, in a discussion about the curatorial concepts underlying the soon-to-be-held South African Biennale. 'Hard curatorship' involves a curator choosing the artists and artworks to be represented, often around a single theme. This approach results in a conceptually coherent exhibition, but is dictatorial in nature. The second approach, namely 'soft curatorship', is a process where decision-making is subjected to a rather more democratic process, including negotiated involvement of artists and artworks. The second approach was to be found in the Biennales of Dakar and Abidjan, where - according to Ferguson - '…the concept of artists exhibiting and responding to certain thematic proposals appeared not to be

important to the organisers. It seems also, although I stand to be corrected, that artists had to apply for exhibition space in order to take part'.[335] In effect, Ferguson was implying that these Biennales were guilty of taking the opposite extreme of the Northern ones by having no thematic basis at all. Thus 'soft curatorship' places great emphasis on the process used to arrive at exhibitions.

She then noted that in view of these problems, there was a space for another Biennale that straddled the divide between the mainstream Biennale and African Biennale approaches; in fact, Ferguson did not seem to acknowledge the two above-mentioned Biennales as Biennales at all, but rather as elaborate national exhibitions. Hence, she noted that the Johannesburg Biennale that had a distinctly international focus, while '...[investigating] the current unfolding of artistic production from a developing world perspective as well'.[336] In effect, the Biennale would act as cultural filter, even translator, between Africa and the North, using its geographic advantage to access African artworks that were pertinent to the theme and present them in a manner that conformed to the prevailing discourses of other major Biennales. Ferguson held the rather patronising attitude that this straddling of both approaches made the South African Biennale superior to other African Biennales.[337]

She pursued this line in an interview with Bernd Scherer, where she argued that the Northern curators insisted on a theoretical base for their exhibitions, whereas the African curators did not; instead they pursued an approach that she described as 'more intuitive and inexperienced'. In making these statements, Ferguson implied that their curatorial approaches were untheorised, not in tune with current curatorial trends (owing to a lack of exposure and hence experience), and were by implication inferior. When called on to explain why she described their work as inexperienced,

Ferguson explained that, owing to many African exhibitions' being curated traditionally by curators from the United States and Europe, the continent lacked a pool of curators skilled in the art of curating African works and with international exposure as well. She further noted that the African exhibitions were essentially Modernist in character, but that there were exhibitions where the mould was broken, such as Angola, which involved installation work.

The inferences that could be read from Ferguson's comments are that thematic exhibitions involving installations and other works that departed from the Modernist traditions of painting and sculpture were more sophisticated, informed and in tune with international trends. Ferguson implied that the Johannesburg Biennale had a civilising mission to play on the continent, namely to bring culture as it is practiced in Northern Biennales to African curators and artists, who, by virtue of the lack of theory and exposure, were not sufficiently schooled in the theory and practice of Biennales.

This attitude belied Ferguson's commitment to soft curatorship, in that the Biennale recognised a hierarchy of aesthetic approaches. The Northern, thematic approach was clearly considered superior, with the Southern, nationally-based and consisting of largely Modernist art, being an inferior curatorial approach that would be corrected in time through exposure to the Northern approach through the medium of the Biennale. Hence the pluralist approach implied in soft curatorship masked an attempt to, at best encourage, and at worst impose, a curatorial approach that was considered by the organisers to be the only game in town when it came to Biennales.

This attempt to straddle both the nationalistic and thematic approaches had other problems associated with it, as it resulted in a conceptually incoherent

exhibition which attempted to respond to too many pressures simultaneously: pressures which in some instances were even contradictory. This point will be explored in greater depth later in this Chapter.

In the process of pursuing the 'soft curatorship' approach in relation to the South African exhibitions, the Johannesburg Biennale involved several consultative processes, with the South African exhibitions evolving from an advertisement process for exhibition proposals. The proposals received were then submitted to a committee of thirty-five representatives from different sections of the art community.[338] Priority was also given to the involvement of community art centres, with the Outreach and Development Co-ordinator, Bongi Dhlomo, organising eleven exhibitions from these centres late into the preparations. Also, according to Ferguson[339], the South African curators were given full responsibility for their exhibitions, including their budgets: consultation with the Biennale staff was optional, not obligatory.

The international curators were also engaged in negotiations by Ferguson, leading to some of them taking on trainee curators, sourced mainly from the community art centres in South Africa. The following community art centres were involved: Katlehong Art Centre, the African Institute of Art (Funda Centre), the Johannesburg Art Foundation (arguably not a community art centre, but it ran training programmes), the Independent Visual Arts of South Africa, Soweto Outreach Project, Arts for All Community Centre, Pelmama Academy of Art and Music, Beyond Boundaries and Chiawelo Art Centre. Supposedly, international curatorial proposals were evaluated on the basis of the extent to which they involved South Africans, as curators and as artists.[340] The programme consisted of an initial training period of six to eight months. Candidates were then invited by visiting foreign curators to

their respective countries for further training, and returned to assist the curator with curating their shows. The trainees also travelled with the curators to various venues, meeting with artists and discussing their participation in the Biennales shows.[341]

An overview of the curatorship programme reveals that it was confined to the following countries: Denmark, France, Israel, the United States, United Kingdom, Australia, Bulgaria, Spain, Czech Republic and the Netherlands. No trainees were placed in either African or South African exhibitions.[342] This meant that their learning experience was confined to interacting with Northern curators, their assumptions, cultural biases and tastes. Also, the black trainees could hardly be considered nationally representative, with most being drawn from the African Institute of Art at the Funda Centre. The notable exception was Sarah Tabane, who was drawn from the Johannesburg Art Foundation. Also, the bulk of the community art centres were Gauteng-based.

Why is this emphasis on Northern curators in the curatorship programme a problem? While it would be reductive to paint all the curators with the same Eurocentric brush, it should have concerned the Biennale organisers that they were not even attempting to create conditions for what Gerard Mosquera was to term South-South relationships in an article published later that year (to be discussed in more detail in Chapter Three).[343] The curator/ trainee relationship merely reproduced the very power relationships that Mosquera was to criticise, with curators from the Western centres curating while artists from the Third World provide the art (and in this instance the trainees). These curators could not be divorced from what was ultimately a colonial relationship, especially in view of the fact that they determined what to select, legitimate, promote and purchase. This relationship reinforced structural inequality in the 'international' art world

where Third World artists do not have the power that curators enjoyed to determine which art was to be legitimised by being chosen for exhibition. The promotion of South-South relations could have created the necessary conditions for these matters to be addressed from the perspective of historically marginalised countries, which could well result in an aesthetic approach that was more reflective of the interests of marginalised communities.[344]

While it is extremely difficult to discern what impact, if any, the trainees had on the exhibitions they were associated with, it would seem that most exhibitions involving curators also included South African artists as well, and attempted to relate the exhibition contents to the South African environment. The starkest example was the Spanish exhibition, curated by Octavio Zaya and Danielle Tilkin, and assisted by Tumelo Mosaka, which consisted of South African artists in the main. The exhibition was entitled 'Black Looks, White Myths: Race, Power and Representation', and included twenty four photographers, of which twenty were South African and four Spanish. What united them was a concern for evaluating critically South Africa's racist history, and critiquing – indeed resisting – racist exploitation; ironically, though, the exhibition contained scant references to Spain. Another example where South African artists were integrated into national exhibitions of other countries was the United Kingdom exhibition 'Sometime/s Brief Histories in Time', where Clive van der Bergh's drawing 'The Mine Dump Project' was included with works by three British artists; what united their works was shared concerns for the concept of time. This exhibition had two trainee curators (Nicole Kurtz and Dimakatso Mabaso). The Danish exhibition, which included assistant curator Abrie Fourie and involved a collaboration between South African-born, but Danish-bred Doris Bloom and South African-born and based William Kentridge, was also an example of an attempt at a real collaborative effort. The United States

exhibition included trainee curator Nicholas Legobye, as well as South African artist Noria Mabasa. This exhibition also integrated Mabasa with the US-based artists around the theme of the domestic domain, and the types of knowledge acquired in the domestic domain. The Australian exhibition included trainee curator Ruphus Matibe and South African artist Belinda Blignaut; entitled 'Mistaken Identities', it included four artists who have suffered mistaken identification because of their race. The Dutch and Belgian exhibitions also included trainee curators and South African artists, and attempted to relate the situations in their respective countries with aspects of the South African situation. The Netherlands exhibition also included two artists, with the other two being Dutch. However, there were also a few exhibitions that incorporated trainee curators, but did not include South African artists, nor did they attempt to relate their exhibitions to South Africa: these included Bulgaria, the Czech Republic and France.

Overall, the countries that hosted trainee curators, generally included South African artists. These exhibitions showed varying levels of sensitivity to the environment in which they were being shown; hence, their openness to include South Africans in the first place. But they represented a minority among the sixty-two foreign exhibitions at the Biennale, and should not be overstated as a feature that changed fundamentally the focus of the majority of foreign exhibitions on their own national environments (Christopher Till, for instance, referred to the inclusion of South Africans as an interactive approach allowing space for 'allegiances, common threads and convergent identities' that shifted the foreign exhibitions away from 'national-flag waving'[345], as though this shift was the rule and not the exception).

There were other problems with the curatorship programme too. According to David Koloane, the South African leg of the curatorship programme was

ad-hoc and improvised, and not based on any formal model. He attributed this problem partly to the fact that the Education Programme Facilitator, Steven Sack, and his assistant, Sydney Selepe, had no qualifications in curating and little direct experience in the field.[346] However, in an interview, Selepe noted that, in spite of the ad-hoc nature of the programme, there were benefits. He cited the fact that he and some other black artists were able to, for the first time, travel overseas and receive exposure to international art. The programme also allowed individual artists to create their own networks with international curators, that had positive spin-offs for years after the Biennale.[347]

What is disappointing too about the curatorship programme, is that there is evidence of only two participants (the trainee curator for the Netherlands and Israel exhibitions, Clive Kellner and the trainee curator for the British exhibitions, Tumelo Mosaka) continuing to practice their curatorship skills: in fact Kellner became the Project Co-ordinator for the second Johannesburg Biennale and is now the Director of the Johannesburg Art Gallery[348] and Mosaka is the assistant curator at the Brooklyn Art Museum.[349] However, Mosaka's counterparts on the British exhibitions, Nicole Kurtz and Dimakatso Mabaso, are not traceable and do not appear to be active in the artworld anymore. The others are also not traceable. The trainee curator for the Bulgaria exhibition, Sgila Mazibuko, is still listed on a South African artist's datable as a practising artist[350], as are Abrie Fourie[351] and Sarah Tabane[352] (both of whom have established international reputations). So there is evidence of a third of the original group still being active in the visual arts. While this could be considered a reasonable 'success' rate - given the apparently haphazard nature of the programme – its success rate may well have been higher if there had been follow-up support.

Interestingly enough, the two curators who continued to practice in the area

had tertiary education (Mosaka studied Fine Arts at the University of the Witwatersrand and Kellner at the Natal Technikon), and both pursued specialist qualifications in curatorship after the Biennale. This suggested that trainees with access to tertiary education had higher prospects of success in making use of their training, but also that the programme could have provided a stepping-stone for more aspirant curators if they had access to further training. So it cannot be assumed that the entry of Mosaka and Kellner into curatorship was attributable to their participation in the programme only, as there were other factors at work.

The South African exhibitions

Volatile Alliances and the role of community art centres

The South African exhibitions proved to be extremely varied. However, particular effort had been put into ensuring the involvement of black artists, especially community art centres. According to the Director of Culture's report on the Biennale, a proactive approach became necessary after an advertisement process to solicit involvement in the exhibition yielded very little interest on the part of black artists: hence the Director took a decision to form an Outreach and Development Programme. According to the Director, such a situation could not be allowed to remain unaddressed 'because of the sensitive nature of the transitional period'.[353] The Programme succeeded in securing the participation of community art centres in a number of the exhibitions, which proved to be crucial to the Biennale Committee to counter the bad publicity in the run up to the event for being a white-initiated and white-run event. Following the first curator's forum, the organisers hosted a ten-day nationwide tour of art institutions for foreign curators, which then culminated in plans for the involvement of community art centres in internationally curated exhibitions.

This enthusiasm proved to be something of a one-way street, with only four proposals coming from what Ferguson described as 'community artists' (generally a euphemism for black artists). The task of ensuring greater black involvement then fell on the Outreach and Development Co-ordinator, Bongi Dhlomo, who travelled extensively to ensure a more representative involvement in the Biennale. The easiest method of achieving this was to use the existing community art centres as organising venues and as contact points between international artists and curators, and black South African artists.[354] Ironically enough, given the belated involvement of community art centres and the paucity of financial commitment in this respect, Ferguson argued that the involvement of these centres and rural artists '…were seen to be a priority'.[355]

However, Dhlomo was more sanguine about her role, and the extent of the organiser's commitment to community art centres. At the time, Dhlomo noted that the Biennale was taking place when community art centres had been dealt some hard knocks, owing to the withdrawal of foreign donor funding coupled with innumerable internal problems.[356] While implying it, she stopped short of saying that to fund a Biennale under these conditions, was inappropriate: a statement that undoubtedly would have been difficult for her to make given her own involvement in the Biennale. However, she did see a role for the Biennale to provide a platform for South African artists to explore their commonalities, rather than to emphasise their differences.

The involvement of the community art centres in the Biennale certainly softened criticisms about the lack of racial representivity in the exhibitions. The belated emphasis on training and development also defused criticisms to a certain extent about the questionable priorities of the GJTMC and the organisers. However, their involvement was premised on a host of

assumptions about the supposedly representative nature of these centres, and their role as custodians of a grassroots South African art movement that was distinctly different from the mainstream aesthetics on show in many of the Biennale's exhibitions. The lack of critical engagement by these centres in the politics of the Biennale meant that they could be used to mitigate the 'whiteness' of the event, while leaving its fundamentals intact. In fact, according to Sydney Selepe – who was the Director of the Funda Centre at the time - the involvement of community art centres was necessary to ensure that the Biennale actually took place, given the fact that the decision to hold it was taken by the old apartheid City Council. This meant that the new Councillors drawn from the liberation movement did not feel a sense of ownership of the project, and questioned whether it should continue. Selepe noted that Till then prioritised the involvement of the centres partly to mitigate the risk of the City withdrawing its funding.[357]

Some attempt was made, though, to carve out a more reflective and critical role for community art centres, although this role did not go as far as to reject the Biennale outright. A notable international intervention on the question of the role of community art centres came during one of the sessions at the conference entitled 'Bua! Emergent Voices'; this session dealt with the question of art in communities. The keynote address was given by Dr. Amareswar Galla, the Convenor of the Cross Cultural Heritage Management at the National Centre for Cultural Heritage Science Studies, the University of Canberra. In his address[358], Galla noted that the presentation of community art and mainstream art as binary opposites was problematic as both concepts were so ill-defined, and when subjected to closer interrogation, they often began to blur into one another.

However, he noted that there were particular values that one should expect from community art centres claiming to act in solidarity with, and articulating

the aspirations of, communities. The first involved the integration of art with all aspects of cultural and artistic life of that community, rather than the pursuit of a reified, external aesthetic. The second value involved the principle of community ownership and control; these institutions should respond to immediate community needs, which may lead to them playing a complementary role in relation to mainstream art institutions like museums and galleries. The third value involves modes of interaction in relation to community art projects. These modes may take the form of simple consultation about projects that are then implemented by community activists. Participation may also be more direct, involving a strategic partnership between artist and community, where involvement is ongoing from the initial conceptualisation of the project to evaluation of its impact. The third model is the most active of all, and involves direct community control of any project involving community art centres; as a result it becomes a direct instrument for the expression of the aspirations of the community.[359]

Galla argued that a shift from passive to more active forms of participation was necessary, but certain conditions needed to obtain before such a shift could take place. He emphasised the importance of art education as a means of encouraging agency in communities, especially art education that catered ‘to the needs of both the industry and the communities’. Such education needed to prime communities to work with artists to participate in the cultural industries, but in a manner that did not compromise local artistic identity or did not marginalise local art forms that were less easy to industrialise. He also argued that more specific conditions needed to apply, such as respect for copyrights and intellectual property rights of artists, as well as arms-length relationships between donors and community art centres. Galla noted that the successful realisation of these principles and conditions would be possible only through a social contract between the

artists, community art centres, governments and art industry.[360]

Essentially, Galla articulated a corporatist role for community art centres based on the assumption that partnerships with the actors he identified will inevitably result in local development being prioritised. In promoting these partnerships, Galla did not address the potential conflict that might arise when direct forms of community ownership and control conflict with the terms of the social contract. As noted in Chapter One, the commercialisation of culture in other parts of the world - in partnership with commercial players and governments - has in numerous instances led to an alienation of artists from their communities, where artists begin to prioritise commercial concerns, and concerns for international competitiveness, over concerns for local development. Galla posited a very accomodationist attitude towards the cultural industries, as though they can be turned both inward to local communities and outward to international markets at the same time. While sounding very radical on the surface, the sort of sentiment that Galla expressed created a theoretical framework that allowed the Biennale organisers to pursue an 'export-led' approach to internal development, with international involvement being justified to develop community art centres.

The lack of cultural linkages with the communities in which the community art centres were based was starkly apparent. The South African centres clearly did clearly not heed the fact that community art centres should not leave communities behind in the process of engaging in the cultural industries. They participated on the main terms and conditions laid down by the organisers of the Biennale, especially the budgetary ones. These terms ensured that artistic development was individualised, in that it involved the identification and training of individual artists; no events, save possibly for one at the Funda Centre, sought to promote integration of artists with their

communities, and it eliminated community involvement by ensuring that nearly all of the action took place outside the townships. The few activities that did take place inside the townships were confined mainly to the Funda Centre. Sydney Selepe has described the involvement of community art centres in the Biennale as 'a performance'[361], designed to show international curators that 'things were happening'[362] at community art centre level, and that the City could take credit for these developments. He also noted that individual artists did benefit from the contact with overseas curators, as these artists took full advantage of the opportunity to network with international curators, and some established long-term collaborative working relationships. In fact, for the Funda Centre, the Biennale led to heightened international interest in the work of artists based there. Also, the Biennale office partly funded a catalogue recounting the ten year history of the Centre, which also increased their international reputation. The office also provided funding for a mural to be painted at the Funda Centre, and for several artists based there to paint other murals in Soweto. But Selepe also noted that these benefits were confined mainly to individual artists based at Funda, and did not change fundamentally the marginal role of community art centres. Funda benefited especially because the Biennale organisers placed a particular emphasis on Soweto as destination of historical interest for international curators and visitors; so Funda became the logical focus of attention when curators expressed an interest in visiting Soweto.[363]

In short, while a selected group of individual community art centre-based artists benefited from the Biennale, the community art centres acted as cultural filters for black artists in a manner that did little to promote the notion of 'art in community', and therefore called into question the founding values of the centres. The centres did nothing to contest the spending priorities of the GJTMC and the organisers in spite of the parlous state of community art centres following cutbacks to their foreign funding sources. It

is highly debatable whether unity around a set of commonalities was achieved, with community art centres acting as the vanguard of the new united culture. Rather the involvement of community art centres played a legitimising role for the Biennale, blunting criticisms about the appropriateness of a local government in transition spending so much on an internationally focussed event in the face of pressing local needs.

The benefits that Selepe claims individual artists from community art centres enjoyed are also debatable. The main initiative to bring together these artists and international artists was an international print exchange organised under the auspices of 'Volatile Alliances'. The initiative consisted of a printmaking exchange with nine countries, which culminated in an exhibition of works produced during this exchange, as well as a separate exhibition of large format prints.

With respect to the first exhibition, the intention was to promote artistic exchange between 'South Africa and the world'. In practice this involved the exchange of prints between twenty-three South African artists and twenty-two international artists, although in reality most of these artists hailed from the United States, Canada and Australia. Only one artist hailed from Africa: Atta Kwami from Ghana. The South African artists were teachers and former students drawn mainly from the African Institute for Art based at the Funda Centre, with some artists being drawn from the University of the Witwatersrand; many of these artists were associated with the Artists' Proof Studio, where the exhibition took place.

Each artist was expected to produce one print using 'traditional printmaking media', and then to produce an edition of sixty prints. In return, each artist would receive forty-five prints in a portfolio, with remaining portfolios being distributed to strategic people such as curators of travelling exhibitions and

other artists who were willing to offer prints in return. According to the exhibition catalogue[364], the event was tailored to ensure specific learning outcomes, such as the management of larger print editions than most participants were used to, and the use of multiple colour plates. With respect to the second exhibition, the large monoprints were produced as a result of collaborative workshops, facilitated by an artist and curator from the US, Peter Scott. South African participants included community art centre students and the Technikon Witwatersrand.[365]

In practice the exchange turned out to be a very literal interpretation of dialogue and exchange, which became reduced to an exchange of prints between a very limited group of 'local' and 'international' artists. This rendered the assertion of an exchange taking place between South Africa and the world rather hollow, as the claims of both national and international representivity were difficult to sustain. The exchange in practice amounted to an exchange between a group of artists mainly from three countries, and a select group of South Africans mainly from two Johannesburg institutions.

Apart from its contestable claims around representivity, the exhibition also had dubious credentials as a training workshop as well. The artists selected for the exhibition had mixed levels of skill and experience, as they ranged from newly graduated students from community art centres to well-established artists with high levels of skills and international reputations such as Durant Sihlali and Diane Victor. It is difficult to understand how a training endeavour could succeed when its target constituency had such varying degrees of skill; it could be deduced that the curators – Mona Berman, Margot Amoils, Craig Dongoski and Peter Scott – assumed that all local participants were equally unskilled, and all equally in need of the same skills.

'Volatile Alliances' was not the only exhibition involving community art centres, although it was the only one reflected in the catalogue. There were other exhibitions organised by community art centres themselves, although according to David Koloane, they were marginal to the main event. Koloane related how most of these exhibitions opened a week after the official opening (which could be attributed to the late availability of funding), and were 'located in nooks and crannies around the major exhibitions'.[366] One of the exhibitions, located in the basement of the Federated Union of Black Artists (Fuba) was apparently incompletely mounted, with some paintings leant against the wall or pillars.[367] These exhibitions also had scant coverage in the media; so to all intents and purposes, they were invisible.

South African views of international art: 'Volatile Colonies'

One South African exhibition that made no bones about being concerned with contemporary international aesthetics was 'Volatile Colonies', curated by Kendall Geers and staged at the Johannesburg Art Gallery; it also was one of the only exhibitions that had elements of a 'global' approach towards curating (where a thematic approach superseded a national approach). This was an unusual exhibition in that a South African artist curated an exhibition involving international artists only. According to Geers[368], the exhibition intended to show artworks that challenged the assumption that artists from the former colonies associated themselves with naive rather than *avant-garde* art. He noted that the artists on display, while being united in terms of their common origins in marginal countries, express themselves in art forms that transcend their ethnic origins. They were also united in their assertive relationship to the art world, and will not accept being presented as victims of prejudice.[369] These objectives were significant, as they challenged the stereotype of artists from former colonies being associated automatically with more 'traditional' forms of artmaking, like painting and sculpture, and

therefore not being capable of engaging with contemporary aesthetic developments. However, as Ivor Powell noted, their relationship to contemporary art was fraught with tension: while claiming to represent the experience of marginality, they did so ‘within the conceptual languages that dominate the international mainstream’.[370]

This exhibition presaged the Second Biennale in that it drew on themes that were to become central to the second Biennale, namely the effect of migration on the identities of artists originating from the South and the East. So even before the second Biennale, Geers’s exhibition had tapped into an established ‘global’ network of Postcolonial artists: artists whose experiences could not be captured very easily through reference to their national origins. Geers was able to organise this exhibition given the fact that he himself had exposure to these ‘global’ art networks even before the collapse of the cultural boycott: a position in 1995 that was both privileged and politically precarious.

The position was privileged in that very few South African artists had enjoyed opportunities to travel internationally, and those that did were often white with no qualms about 'boycott-busting'. The fact that Geers’s exhibition was made possible by his travels even before the cultural boycott officially ended added to the perception that the Biennale was a vehicle for white aspirations, thwarted by the political situation in South Africa.

The organisation of this exhibition could be traced back to the 1993 Venice Biennale, where the Johannesburg Biennale was announced, and where Geers was one of the participating artists. All the artists participating in Geer's exhibition also exhibited at the Venice Biennale, save for Carlos Capelan and Paul Ramirez-Jonas.[371] These overlaps with participation at the Venice Biennale also gave Geers's exhibition a rather incestuous feel,

as if a small group of artists was being recycled from one Biennale to the next. Capelan had exhibited at the Havana Biennale. Ramirez-Jonas was the odd person out in that he had not exhibited in any Biennales by that stage, but he had exhibited extensively in America and the United Kingdom since 1992.

Other artists included in this exhibition have also moved towards producing artworks for exhibitions in major Western centres, including Philippe Parreno who was born in Algeria and lives in France, where he has exhibited in several exhibitions, and Paul Ramirez-Jonas, born in Honduras and resident in New York where he has studied and exhibited. The exhibition also included the works of Rirkrit Tiravanija, who was born in Argentina and lives in New York where he has exhibited.

However, the artworks on display were not mere reproductions of others shown at the Venice and other Biennales: a number demonstrated a reflexive approach, incorporating the local environment as a crucial element of their meaning, and mitigating somewhat the feeling of sameness with other Biennales. This approach was evident in the work of one of the most well known international artists featured in Geers's exhibition, Carlos Capelan, who was born in Uruguay and lives in Sweden, and has exhibited in numerous exhibitions internationally. He is a professor at the Vestland's Art Academy, Bergen, Norway. In his work, he addresses the complexity of being a Latin American in a Scandinavian country, and more broadly, the changing cultural identity of 'First World' countries in relation to 'Third World' countries. His work in the Biennale exhibition was made especially for the event, and was entitled *Stepping out of the White Cube: A Little Song for Johannesburg* (Figure One). The work was installed in a storage room in the Johannesburg Art Gallery: in the words of Capelan, 'a place where literally the museum floor ended and the rough kind of floor started'. He

used the different floors to construct an installation consisting of a white cube placed on the museum floor and forty Mexican bandannas suspended over the 'rough kind of floor', denoting a shift from Modernism to 'recovering the unconscious part of the museum'. According to Capelan, the cube was also supposed to represent apartheid, and the bandannas - which have an 'African' appearance – were an allusion to the reclaiming of African or historically marginalised culture. The bandannas were also supposed to be symbols of the Mexican revolution, which underscored the significance of South Africa's transition in other Third World struggles.[372]

In this work, Capelan attempted to relate his artwork to the local context in which it was exhibited - and without which it would not make sense – which made it impossible for Capelan to recycle his work elsewhere. The work also exhibited a level of self-consciousness of its status as 'high art'. The work could be read as an allusion to the apartheid history of aspects of the 'official' part of the museum, suggesting that the separation between the main part of the gallery and the storage facility was a metaphor for the separation between black and white under apartheid, and also implied that this distinction between the main part of the gallery and its supporting rooms was itself a form of special 'apartheid' that separated 'high art' from 'real life'.

Ilya Kabakov was another art world luminary included in 'Volatile Colonies'. He was born in Russia and alternates between living in New York, Paris and Moscow. He trained in Moscow and exhibited in numerous exhibitions in various art centres, establishing a reputation for installation art focussing on the experiences of being a Russian in the West. Significantly, he is the only artist of a group of twenty eight artists introduced to Western markets (by Sotheby's in its 1989 Moscow auction) to have been taken up by these markets. This auction and ensuing public relations extravaganza were

organised to celebrate a symbolic ‘fall of the Berlin wall’ in relation to Soviet art. Notwithstanding his introduction to America by one of the most well known institutions of global capitalism, Kabakov has been careful to state that he does not consider post-Communist Russia to be an improvement on Communist Russia; on the contrary, he supports the Communist system and considers himself to be an exile from the current pro-capitalist status quo in that country.

Kabakov has become known for installations that draw on Poststructuralist devices to challenge the individuality, subjectivity and agency of the author (or in this case artist), in favour of a polyvocal approach. He also admits that his work has adopted an orientation towards a Western public, and has gradually moved away from focussing on work dealing with the West’s perceptions of Russia to focus on post-national subjects.[373] Kabakov exhibited an installation of debris of ladders, dried brushes, workgloves and trash swept into one corner: according to Thomas McEvilley, the installation '…was a strong symbol for a society that has torn itself down and now must re-build'.[374] Like Capelan’s installation, Kabakov’s installation was made specifically for the Biennale, and could not be reproduced elsewhere very easily. The context in which it was exhibited was a crucial component in its meaning, as it alluded to the dismantling of apartheid and the challenge of building a new society.

In summary, the artists included in this exhibition were well known and established, although not really in South Africa. Their inclusion in the exhibition introduced South African audiences to contemporary artmaking that challenged the equation of marginal art with craft-based forms of art; it therefore addressed the Biennale’s first objective quite well. However, it fulfilled the second in part as it was a showcase for international art; unfortunately, no local art was exhibited, as the inclusion of these works

could have enabled South African audiences to evaluate how local artists fared in relating to questions of global marginality; their exclusion gave the impression that South Africans had nothing to offer on these questions, and that their works were too parochial and could not possibly be considered *avant garde*. It is also difficult to see how the exhibition aligned with the other Biennale objectives, as well as how the Biennale was a vehicle - in Till's words - 'to begin a process of reconstruction and development through artistic exchange and exploration'.[375] Also it is not clear how the exhibition met the objective of providing a platform for artists outside the major artistic centres to articulate their views, as the participating artists were incorporated to different extents into these very centres. However, at least two of the artists took particular care to take the context in which they were exhibiting into account, and produced installations specifically for the Biennale. This mitigated somewhat the impression created by the choice of artists - who were 'big names' in contemporary 'marginal art' – and the absence of South African artists, that South Africa had nothing to offer the contemporary artworld.

Other South African exhibitions at the Biennale

Other South African exhibitions that focused on various sub-themes related to the two main themes were organised in conventional gallery settings. 'Objects of Defiance and Spaces of Contemplation' took place at Museum Africa, and had a specific gender focus, claiming to challenge patriarchal values and how they are reflected in art practices. According to the curator, Emma Bedford,[376] specific art genres not generally associated with art exhibitions, especially those employing everyday objects and interior spaces, were also to be prioritised. Artists included in the exhibition also concerned themselves with the gendered nature of the Internet, as well as the impact of colonial and Postcolonial history on women and the

relationship between racial and gender oppression embedded in these histories. Some artists focussed on the gendered nature of personal histories.

Another exhibition that examined racial and gender politics, but specifically in relation to the representation of the human body, was 'Taking Liberties'. This exhibition was curated by Colin Richards and Pitika Ntuli, and took place at the Gertrude Posel Gallery at the University of the Witwatersrand. Artists used the human body to reflect on the complexity of identity in South Africa. Several of the exhibits portrayed aspects of the human body very graphically; for example, Leora Farber exhibited a sculpture depicting an overdressed woman whose organs have exploded onto her dress. Reshada Crouse exhibited realist paintings of a woman giving birth, portraying all the blood and gore involved in the birth process. Stephen Hobbs exhibited vials of semen and saliva. These portrayals of the body that did not contain explicit political statements were offset by the work of Sfiso Ka Mkame, which focussed on the violation of the body by the political establishment by depicting the rape of a woman in jail. Overall, according to Mark Gevisser, the exhibition was rather sexless and too mediated; in response to this criticism, Ntuli responded '…I suppose it shows how guarded and suppressed South Africans are about their bodies. It was difficult finding something like a Mapplethorpe - something in your face'.[377]

This restraint on the part of artists and curators was evident in other gallery-based South African exhibitions. The Johannesburg Art Gallery also participated in the Biennale through an exhibition of installations entitled ‘Outside Inside’. The medium of installations was chosen because, according to Julia Charlton, they have ‘...the potential to expose contradictions inherent in the museum as both a site within which to make art and a place to view art’.[378] The reluctance of the gallery to take risks

shone through, with the curator describing the exhibition as 'hazardous' and as a new experience for them. The exhibition also included very well known South African artists, including Willem Boshoff, Steven Cohen, Leora Farber, Kendall Geers, Karel Nel and Durant Sihlali. The racial representivity of this exhibition was very problematic, with all but two of the artists being white. The curators decided to choose artists that were not included in other Biennale exhibitions, but only those that have proven credentials, as 'we needed to have faith in their ability to meet the challenge'.[379] Therefore the hazard referred to by Charlton was rather deceptive, as the Gallery took a very carefully circumscribed risk with the potential for serious disruption of the museum framework having been circumscribed.

However, some of the exhibits were rather marginal to the *oeuvres* of a number of participating artists, with the exception of Willem Boshoff's *Blind Alphabet*.[380] Schoenfeldt contributed a poster hung in a small garden space at the Gallery. According to Schoenfeldt, 'I decided I wanted to work in distribution for the time being. People tend to reduce all art to beautiful objects, but I feel it is important to emphasise what brings things about. I am questioning the act of collecting art, whereby people take something away. I'm working with what is left behind, and in so doing I emphasise the contextual'.[381] Kendall Geers cleared a room in the Gallery, and exhibited the empty room under the title 'Title Withheld: Boycott': according to Geers the 'artwork' was complex in less obvious ways in that it affected the entire functioning of the gallery, as space had to be found for the other works. Karel Nel also exhibited an installation that was sealed off from the viewer. None of these works could be considered ground breaking in terms of what these artists were capable of, though, and suggested that they did not take the exhibition too seriously.

Other exhibitions tried to broaden levels of participation in the Biennale beyond ‘high artists’ with established reputations, by offering a broader base of cultural producers space to explore concerns relevant them. For instance, 'My area’ was an exhibition involving a number of photographers associated with the Market Theatre Photography Workshop. These photographers were given film to take photographs of their own area, with the intention of encouraging people to document their own lives and environments. According to the curator, Jennifer Gordon, an ethos had developed in the Workshop that rejected an exclusive focus on the ‘famous and the extraordinary, to the detriment of everyday life and activity’.[382] This exercise in democratising and demystifying participation in the Biennale led to a series of documentary photographs covering a range of significant events.

For example, John Robinson exhibited very disturbing photographs of a child, called Louis, who has muscular dystrophy, and whose name he also used for the title of the series. The photographs communicate the care shown by the people around him, contrasted with his inability to communicate either with them or with the camera. Jodi Beiber exhibited a photo-essay documenting the activities of a police officer in Hillbrow. Numerous other photographers exhibited social documentary photographs taken in the townships of the East Rand and Soweto, as well as the depressed inner-city area of Jeppestown.

This exhibition was an exception to the pattern established by the other exhibitions in that it attempted to provide space for the expression of local experiences by people who would not otherwise have been included in an international ‘high art’ event. To that extent, it represented an attempt to democratise participation in the Biennale somewhat: an attempt that was glaringly absent in the exhibitions involving community art centres, where one would have expected such attempts to be made by virtue of the

supposedly community-based mandate of these centres.

Other exhibitions attempted to broaden participation by involving artists who were either self-taught or who had received training through apprenticeships, and were engaged in the production of 'craft'; in the process the separation of high art from craft was challenged. 'Africa Earthed' consisted of an exhibition of South African ceramics by women, and represented an attempt to bring together 'traditional' pottery by a number of black women artists and ceramics as practiced by artists such as Loren Kaplan and Suzette Munnik in a common discourse. The intention of the exhibition was to build bridges between the colonial art/ craft division in the field of ceramics – especially given the different uses that pottery is out to in the South African context, with some being produced for utilitarian purposes and others for display purposes - as well as between group work and individual work.[383] It is difficult to see how the separation of 'high art' from 'craft' was challenged simply by incorporating 'craft' objects into a 'high art' setting, in the process organising works as individual creations according to the Western canon of 'high art'.[384] Rather the 'separation' seemed to have been addressed simply by adapting 'craft' to the exhibition requirements of 'high art', which did not involve any meaningful bridges being built between the two, and which assumed an unproblematic unity amongst the various 'artists' which masked a range of disparities in access to materials, markets and other resources.

Another exhibition that sought to bring together 'traditional' and 'contemporary' media, and that raised similar questions to the ones raised by 'Africa Earthed', was 'Cavewall to Canvass'. This exhibition involved artists who were either self-taught, or who were apprenticed to artists within their communities. Some works were drawn from previous exhibitions at the Johannesburg Art Gallery and McGregor museum. These works were

drawn from the !Xu, Kwe, Naro and D/ui communities, and included paintings on canvas, exhibited alongside rock engraving associated with the precolonial 'San'. According to its statement of intent, the exhibition aimed to explore the way in which many of these works have been conflated as a single 'Bushman' tradition. The exhibition attempted to acknowledge the immense difficulty of assuming an unproblematic continuity between ancient rock art and contemporary art made by these communities, many of whom are now asserting their own identities in opposition to the totalising term 'Bushman'.[385] Catharina Scheepers-Meyer and David Morris curated the exhibition, with the Botswanan participation being facilitated through the Kuru Art Project. This project was established in 1986 by churches in Botswana as a self-help project for women, and was subsequently developed by Scheepers-Meyer into a subsistence project for people displaced by the border conflicts of the apartheid years, as well as for families of demobilised South African National Defence Force members. The Art and Cultural Project combined art workshops and community self-help projects, involving leatherwork, 'crafts' such as woodcarving and beadwork, a silkscreen fabric printing workshop and the painting and printmaking group. Their works have been exhibited in Poland, Finland, England, Germany, America, Botswana and South Africa. Several artists whose works were displayed at the Biennale have become associated with the project, including Qhaqhoo Xare, Alouis Sijaja and Thamae Setshogo.[386]

The exhibition included a brightly-coloured oil on canvas self-portrait by one of the most well known of the Collective's artists, Qwaa. This painting depicts the artist in a highly stylised form, with arms outstretched against a red background. The artist's name is also painted in bold letters on the background. Mullticoloured circles float in the red background, and his eyes are also depicted as circles with the pupils missing, giving the impression

that he is in an altered state of consciousness. Qwaa was a one-time trance dancer, and he apparently often depicted himself in this state;[387] it is possible that this is one such painting. Another piece, a linocut from a series entitled 'Eland', by Stefaans Humukwaya, depicts an eland floating above some trees, and is highly stylised, even decorative.

Notwithstanding the self-help dimensions of the Project, Sidney Littlefield Kasfir has criticised Kuru for paternalism in that its white organisers have acted as filters for what constitutes a contemporary 'San' culture, in the process constructing and authenticating their output.[388] This criticism is rather dismissive of the actual achievements of the collective, especially given the fact that it has been noted for not imposing a particular aesthetic on its members – unlike some other 'First nations' art collectives - and for giving its members the space to work according to their own creative dictates.[389]

However, in his discussion of the Kuru Art Collective's output, Mathias Guenther[390] has noted a tendency on the part of Western collectors, buyers and galleries to select works that conform to a particular 'primitivising' trope; so, works that depict nostalgic reflections of a life long past, and include veld scenes of animals like antelope and elephants, are favoured, while those with more contemporary references are not. Also, Western galleries have demonstrated a tendency of exhibiting works that link Kuru's output seamlessly to rock art, in spite of the fact that the works differ in style, content and function; this mode of exhibition contributes to the 'primitivist' aura surrounding Kuru's work. This has also been done in Southern African exhibitions too, to promote national unity, given that the San are seen as a bridge between the past and the future, as well as between divided communities.[391] The choice of works for 'Cavewall to Canvass' seem to suggest that this exhibition has fallen into a similar trap. Indeed, in spite of

assurances to the contrary by the curators, its title strongly suggests that the curators were not immune from the temptation to draw on these associations, to enable them to construct the image of an inclusive, united Southern African culture.

For and against the Biennale: the Fringe exhibitions

Some South African artists clearly felt uneasy about participation in the Biennale, given the nature of the politics surrounding it. Some decided to participate, but in a manner that protested against the use of government resources for an international event in the face of more pressing local needs. For example, Marc Edwards took his sculpture grant for the exhibition ‘Space Displace’ and bought a caravan to house a homeless person, on the basis that a proper response to the exhibition theme required a ‘real action’ that would have an impact on the lives of homeless people.[392] As he could not decide whom to give it to, he eventually donated the caravan to the Johannesburg Homeless Association, who used it at the Biennale to run an awareness campaign about the homeless.

However, most of the protest energy was focussed on the Fringe exhibitions. The Fringe was organised very late in the day to accommodate artists who had not been included in the main exhibitions. The Fringe almost did not take place owing to manner in which the organisers approached this activity. Six months before the Biennale, artist and Newtown flea market founder Wolf Weineck was approached to organise the fringe, and was offered R20 000 to bring it into being. After a few weeks he resigned in protest against what he described as the high-handed, tight-fisted management style of the organisers: a direct contradiction of Ferguson's professed approach of 'soft curatorship'.[393]

South African artist James de Villiers then took up the challenge and organised a very successful Fringe event: in fact so successful was the event that several participating artists were invited by local and international galleries to exhibit their works. The artists who participated felt marginalised by the main events by virtue of the media they worked in, such as performance art. Others flatly refused to associate themselves with the main event, given the politics around it, and organised their own exhibitions to protest against what they considered to be the re-colonisation of South African art under the guise of internationalism. The Fringe was a sprawling affair; in Newtown alone there were nineteen exhibitions, of which eight were one-person shows. The Fringe also organised its own calendar of events and its own logistics, while receiving financial support from the Biennale office. However, these events channelled the energies of largely white, practicing South African artists (and some international ones), rather than broadening of the Biennale beyond this group.

The core exhibition of the Fringe was the Laager, a vast container-based exhibition organised by Wayne Barker. The exhibition focussed on various aspects of South African identity, as well as dealing with art which is being commodified for foreign consumption. The exhibition was positioned between the two main Biennale venues, Museum Afrika and the Electric Workshop. Barker co-ordinated a group exhibition in fourteen twelve-metre shipping containers; each contained a different show. The containers were organised in a laager formation, referring to the laager white South Africans used to place their ox-wagons in to protect themselves against attack: an easily recognisable symbol in South Africa for nationalist isolation that characterises exclusive nationalism. According to Barker, the containers were also perfect symbols for the canned shows that the Biennale exhibited in the name of international art. He also intended it as a protest against the way in which inoffensive art had been selected to the exclusion of art that

may unsettle the official nationalisms on display in the many exhibitions.[394]

The laager formation held complex associations in the context of the Biennale, especially given the fact that most of the artists exhibiting in the containers were white. On the one hand, the artists could be turning their backs on the main events of the Biennale, and by inference, international integration, in favour of a 'white is right' reactionary nationalism. On the other hand, the laager association could have more progressive associations in that the exhibitions reflected critically on the nature of South African identity, including the 'laager mentality', and the misplaced intention of the Biennale to package South African art in a manner that the international art markets might find acceptable.

Artists transformed the containers in inventive ways, with a number creating visual puns in the spaces. Most interpreted the space in a negative way, with some artists associating the containers literally with burial places and coffins; others saw them as psychological spaces alluding to general states of anxiety, and physical and mental injury. For Lisa Brice, the claustrophobic environment inside the container, as well as its tin walls, reminded her of a shack, so she transformed her container into the interior of a shack. Anton Karstel turned the container into a viewing box, preventing viewers from interacting with its interior by making them stand outside and look through a hole at a prone figure lying inside. Their distance from the figure made it impossible to ascertain whether s\he was dead or merely injured. For Malcolm Payne, the container conjured up images of a mausoleum, and bricked up part of his container, placing a box of human ashes behind cracked glass. Werner Vermeulen's installation focussed on various paraphernalia associated with disabilities, accompanied by two television monitors and video recorders, with videos on the effects of war on the general population. Simon Stone panelled his container with wooden

panelling and painted directly on the panelling.[395] Wayne Barker turned his container into a mini-studio for the duration of the Biennale, calling his piece 'Work in Progress'. All these artists transformed the containers in inventive ways, and a number of them incorporated the hot, oppressive atmosphere inside the containers as a key element in the overall meaning of their installations. The exhibition was praised for its high impact; for instance, David Koloane referred to it as 'one of the most innovative Fringe displays',[396] which brought visual stimulation to a Biennale that had – in Koloane's words – 'glaring flaws'.[397] The exhibition also received high praise from Sue Williamson, who noted that Barker 'scored something of a coup'.[398]

Another eight fringe exhibitions took place at the Artspace Gallery, diagonally opposite the Market Precinct; these, too, included some highly memorable pieces. The building was divided into two spaces, with every nook and cranny being used for exhibition purposes (even the toilet). On the first floor, Anita van Tonder placed an installation of a pale figure sitting slumped in front of a television set; the bareness of the room, and the sparse nature of the furniture, created the aura of extreme loneliness and isolation. In another room Monique Rudman exhibited one of the most memorable pieces on display in the Biennale, consisting of women's' underwear made of biltong (dried meat; a South African speciality). The biltong was not entirely dry, and in fact was still rather pink in appearance, which gave the visual impression of flayed, tortured flesh. Not only was the piece visually repugnant, it had a strong olfactory dimension as well; the smell of rotting meat was so pungent that it was impossible to stay in the room and appreciate the exhibits for long. The piece juxtaposed a symbol of objectified feminine beauty (the bikini), with material that alluded to death, decay and torture, which in turn raised all kinds of questions in the minds of the viewer about the construction of the feminine ideal. Other artists

explored the darker side of sexuality as well, with works that alluded to sado-masochism. Another artist exhibited metal objects that bore an uneasy resemblance to instruments of torture, and Ingeborg Gubel exhibited cast body parts hung in small metal cages, raising allusions of torture and dismemberment.[399]

So a number of the artists participating in the Fringe used the cramped space to explore the fetishist side of sex, and were rather more risqué than many of the pieces shown in the 'official' show on sexuality ('Taking Liberties'); in the process, they embraced the true intention of Fringes in Biennales: namely the show work that would not be exhibited in the main events because they were considered too adventurous, or were made by unknown or up-and-coming artists.

Other Fringe exhibitions attempted to extend the event beyond Johannesburg to artists from other parts of the country. Durban-based artists painted murals on the outside of the building, and another exhibition showed works by Cape Town-based artists. Three exhibitions of Pretoria-based artists took place at the Absa Gallery. These exhibitions focussed on Afrikaner identity in post-apartheid South Africa and issues concerning the transition from apartheid rule to democracy; one exhibition, for example, was called 'The Union Buildings Revisited'. In fact, a strong subtext of the Fringe was the nature of white identity in view of the transition; another example was Jaques Coetzee's exhibition, focussing on the contradictions of living in white suburbia. This emphasis on white experiences gave the Fringe a rather parochial feel, as it largely failed to reach out to black South African artists, as well as to international artists (with the exception of one exhibition held at the Mega Music Warehouse, which consisted of artists from the United States).

Another noteworthy feature of the Biennale was that it incorporated some established galleries, such as the Rembrandt van Rijn Gallery, the Civic Gallery, the Absa Gallery, the First Gallery and the Karen McKerron Gallery. Their involvement led Hazel Friedman to note that usually, the Fringe is a platform for art that has been marginalised by the mainstream. However, this Fringe was marked by what she called an 'interesting inversion', where 'mainstream galleries that normally refuse to exhibit Fringe works have attached themselves to its coat tails, for reasons that obviously have less to do with art than with expediency'.[400] Also, there were numerous artists who chose to exhibit both in the main exhibitions and in the Fringe, leading to Michelle Witthaus noting that the Fringe '…had a blurred and confused identity'.[401] These characteristics of the Fringe did raise questions about the extent to which some aspects of it represented an alternative to the main event, or whether it merely became an extension of the main Biennale.

Two of the Fringe exhibitions that were seen to be the most adventurous generated a great deal of interest, especially for one artist who organised her first one-person exhibition at the Artspace, Sister Sheila Flynn. Approximately eighty percent of her works were sold, and she also received invitations to exhibit with the United Nations, and participate in workshops in Hong Kong, and was offered an artist-in-residency at a gallery in Washington DC. Sue Williamson noted that Barker's laager was vibrant enough for an invitation to be issued by Chile for the artists to re-stage the show there.[402]

In conclusion, elements of the Fringe did attempt to provide space for artists who did not feel comfortable with participating in the main events, or who were not included in these events, and a number of these events attracted international invitations, which meant that the Fringe had an enduring quality that lasted beyond the Biennale. While some attempts were made to create

alternative exhibition spaces in the Fringe – with the two most notable attempts being the Laager and Artspace - and to include artists from other urban centres, there was no evidence of attempts to broaden participation beyond a group of (once again) mainly white artists frustrated in various ways with the main events. Also, Fringe participants were not united in their wholesale rejection of the main events, and many established art galleries participated, leading to a conceptually confusing Fringe.

Nationalism and beyond: the African exhibitions

The international exhibitions consisted of a mixed bag of curators and artists, with a sprinkling of South African artists as well. Some of the exhibitions pursued a thematic approach, with others being more concerned about national representivity. However, all international exhibitions were country-based. Many of the international exhibitions were facilitated by South African High Commissions or South African embassies in different countries: in fact, both institutions facilitated a total of forty-eight exhibitions from around the world. These institutions facilitated most of the African exhibitions, leading to the exhibition becoming an exercise in diplomatic logistics. As will become apparent below, the official nature of many of the exhibitions was readily apparent through the choice of artists and artworks, with many showing signs of what Franz Fanon termed 'official nationalism'[403]. The Biennale was marked by a very large presence of African countries; out of sixty-three, twenty two were represented.

As mentioned earlier, there was an extensive representation of African artists at the Biennale. However, this representation was organised very late in the day after intense criticism by individuals involved in the preparations about the lack of African representation.[404] Broadly, three generations of artists were apparent in these exhibitions. The first were the oldest

generation who participated in, or were associated with, Africa's anti-colonial national liberation movements. Many of this generation of artists were extremely well known, to the point of being national icons, and had either studied, travelled or exhibited internationally. They had also been drawn into the nation building movements of the post-independence period, where culture was accorded a very high status, and had since been transformed into representatives of official nationalism. The second generation pursued a transcendendent Modernist aesthetic based on the utopian notion of a universal art. A third generation of artists, evident in the Angolan exhibition, drew on the thoroughly contemporary media of conceptual art and installations to explore issues relevant to Postcolonial society.

Examples of the first generation of artists could be found in the Mozambiquan exhibition, which was organised through the South African Embassy in that country. The exhibition featured the works of Alberto Chissano, Reinata Sadimba Passema and Titos Mabote. Chissano is acknowledged as being one of the most important personalities in the Mozambiquan visual arts, and has been exhibiting sculpture since 1964 after completing military service in the Portuguese army. Since then he became a national icon associated with post-independence Mozambiquan culture, and is represented in national art collections in Mozambique, as well as in public and private collections in many other countries, including Portugal, Italy and the Ivory Coast and has won numerous prizes. He has become especially well known for his organic wood portraits and animal studies.[405] The sculpture exhibited at the Biennale was an unremarkable 'fragment' of a head. The head took the form of the original shape of the wood, and was shaped around a hole, which had been used by the sculptor to depict the open mouth of the head. Other pieces on display were also largely unremarkable examples of the *oeuvre* of well-known artists, such as

a ceramic bowl by Reinata Sadimba Passema, with three figures balancing awkwardly on the rim. The works gave the impression that the exhibition was more concerned with representing the 'big names' of post-independence Mozambiquan national art as a patriotic flag-waving exercise, rather than engaging in a serious overview of this art.

However, most of the African exhibitions fell into the second category of exhibition, with non-representational or semi-representational paintings dominating. Examples of the second generation of artists could be found in the exhibitions from Sudan, Uganda, Gabon, Ghana, Tanzania, Ivory Coast, Mauritius, Morocco and Senegal. Some of the exhibitions, like Zimbabwe and Kenya, addressed particular themes, and also attempted to move self-consciously beyond typecast notions of what constituted 'their' nationally-representative art. For instance, the Zimbabwean curator Doreen Joyce Sibanda, showcased art that challenged stereotypes of Zimbabwean national art, by showing more experimental sculptures incorporating several media and found objects; in doing so, they deliberately set out to move beyond the genre of 'Shona sculpture'. The Kenyan exhibition focussed on the narrative genre of Kenyan painting, but used this particular genre to explore the sensitive theme of violence against women and the silencing of women's voices. So, while working within media and styles that may typically be associated with post-independence national art, they also refused to be confined to stereotypes.

Elements of Modernism were also evident in the Ugandan exhibition, entitled 'War and Peace': a reference to the war Uganda experienced during the 1970's and 1980's. The exhibition focussed on landscapes, as a witness to the devastation of the violence experienced during the war. The Senegalese exhibition consisted of three artists, all of who have extensive formal experience in the visual arts in Senegal, France and numerous

international exhibitions. Viyé Diba's painting, entitled *Geometries Vitales* (Figure Four), was a work in the Abstract Expressionist mode, and cotton material has been added in a manner that gives a third dimension to the picture plane. The combination of material and Abstract Expressionist painting had become a hallmark of Diba's work at the time. Both the curator and a biographer had made reference to the cotton material he used in this and other works as 'traditional African cotton', and saw its use as an attempt to add dimension to the picture plane, thereby blurring the distinction between painting and sculpture and creating '...an original combination inherent in the African tradition'.[406] The Nigerian exhibition also engaged with contemporary politics, exhibiting semi-abstract work responding to the dictatorship in the country. These exhibitions were certainly not exercises in state-building: on the contrary, they were generally highly critical of the 'official nationalism' of their respective countries.

Examples of the third generation of artists could be found in the Angolan exhibition. In his essay on the exhibition, curator Adriano Mxinge made reference to Postcolonial African artists relating to policies of many newly-independent countries to attempt to recover an 'authentic' aesthetic lost during the colonial period. The Postcolonial aesthetic should attempt to marry this 'authentic' original aesthetic with contemporary concerns. Mxinge argued that in the Portuguese speaking colonies; people were forced to forsake their culture, leading to a process of acculturation. According to Mxinge, a new generation of artists had emerged, facilitated by a union of artists established independently of the state cultural machinery. A number of these artists have returned from the Diaspora, and have trained overseas in contemporary art forms such as film and installation art. Mxinge maintained that these artists were seeking to reverse this acculturation process using art forms that move beyond the Modernism of the period immediately following independence (characterised by the use of painting

and sculpture), and that rather reflect a post-independence, Postcolonial aesthetic characterised by installations.[407] In spite of the curator's pronouncements, the works on display were extremely diverse, as they included different media from oil on canvas to installations.

The installations were made by a group of artists sharing similar histories in Angola, in that they had trained outside the country and returned to Angola at a time when post-independence movements had begun to lose their credibility in view of worsening social and economic conditions. Fernando Alvim's exhibition was entitled 'Interventions', and reflected the complexity of his personal history in the iconography of his work. He was born to Portuguese parents in Angola, and has divided his time between Luanda, Lisbon and Brussels. His work reflects Cuban, Christian and Marxist influences. However, in spite of the distinctly Diasporan reality of Alvim's life, his work displayed poignantly national concerns, especially in relation to the Angolan war. In response to a question about how he locates his cultural identity, Alvim suggested:

> 'Through life we become the consequences of many identities and ideologies. But ultimately, even though I will never be a prisoner of my roots, there is one identity that remains foremost. Ask me who I am, and I will answer: I am Angolan.'

His exhibition consisted of sculptures of corpses, crucifixes and body parts, using a mixture of sculpture and installations to invoke the horror of the Angolan war. One piece is entitled *Leg from Angola*, consisting of a sculpture of a prosthetic leg, including an exposed femur and burnt stumps of flesh and toes. Next to the leg is an inscription reading 'can anyone find my body?'. This work is a direct and literal reference to the Angolan war, in which many thousands of Angolans lost limbs in landmine explosions; in

fact the war has developed a particular notoriety for the number of limbs lost by victims. The placement of the sculpture in front of the United States exhibition space was also pertinent, given the United State's covert involvement in the conflict.[408]

António Ole also exhibited in the Angolan exhibition. Ole had already made his mark on Biennales before the Johannesburg Biennale - especially those in the South - including the Havana Biennale in 1988 and 1986, and the São Paolo Biennale in 1987. Like Alvim, Ole concerned himself with the complexity of Angolan identity, seen through the struggles of artists since Angola's independence from Portugal. Ole had trained as a filmmaker in Angola and at the University of California after deciding that film could reach a mass audience more easily than the visual arts could. The need to address mass audiences was of paramount concern to Angolan artists in the wake of the country's independence, given the need to build an united nation from the ashes of colonialism. He returned to Angola from his studies in 1985 to find that the film industry had been all but destroyed: a reality that forced him back into the visual arts.

One installation he exhibited was entitled *Hidden Pages, Stolen Bodies* (Figure Five), using materials obtained from the municipal archives of Benguela, the former centre of the slave trade in Angola. The installation consists of slave lists, maps, postcards of slave families and utensils, with masks and implements referring to life before the slave trade. The centre of the installation is formed by the video projections of the Angolan coast, the starting point from which slaves were transported to the 'new world'.

The Biennale organisers celebrated the Angolan artworks as a manifestation of a post-Modern, Postcolonial aesthetic in Africa, which suggested that African art was internationalising. However, far from ignoring

the local at the expense of the international, these artists were very deeply steeped in the problems of their country, identifying themselves as Angolans, and committing themselves to building an inclusive Angolan identity.

In summary, several African countries exhibited artists that had become famous during struggles for national liberation, and then in state-led nation building movements. These representations of official nationalism were very much in keeping with the pavilion tradition of the older Biennales, as discussed in Chapter One. They reflected the sort of official nationalism that was gradually being discredited by Postcolonial movements for being inherently exclusive. Small wonder that they did, given the fact that these exhibitions were sponsored by their respective governments, who used the opportunity to engage in what Ferguson termed 'nationalist flag waving' through the 'parading of their best products'.[409] However, this could not be said of all the exhibition, several of which adopted a highly critical approach towards the countries whose interests they were meant to 'represent'.

This critical approach was especially apparent in the Angolan exhibition. Much of the work reflected on the recent turbulence in Angola: work that in some instances was highly critical of the Angolan authorities. However, these artists still invoked a nationalist paradigm, but one that was more inclusive and independent of the official nationalism of the ruling party, given its complicity in the deteriorating social conditions that unfolded in the country. Ironically enough, given the attempts on the part of the Biennale organisers to laud the Angolan exhibition as a post-national, contemporary and Postcolonial exhibition, the reality of this exhibition was somewhat different. It gave a glimpse of a national exhibition that could move beyond official nationalism, but without effacing pressing national concerns; so the exhibition was certainly not post-national in nature, even though it consisted

of installations and was therefore much more contemporary than the painting and sculpture-dominated exhibitions of Sudan, Uganda and Senegal associated with official nationalism.

From nationalism to Postcolonialism: other international exhibitions

Other international exhibitions varied in approach from emphasising official nationalism to exploring Postcolonialism and Diasporan identity. Asian countries such as Singapore and Taiwan emphasised national representivity, selecting artists that invoked national and regional histories and artistic traditions. Several Western countries, however, seemed more concerned with the presence of Diasporan communities in their midst, and the challenges to national representivity that they posed.

There was an uneven response on the part of many countries to the Biennale, with many lapsing into the trade fair approach and selecting artists that were well recognised as examples of official national culture. Some countries even exhibited artworks that were quite old and well known in their countries of origin (and even beyond). For example, the Singapore exhibition consisted of one artist, Tang Du Wu, and was presented by the Singapore Art Museum. Wu was represented by one work entitled *Tiger's Whip* (Figure Six), part of a mixed media installation made in 1991 and which has subsequently become very well known in Singapore. The complete installation consists of a group of life size tigers made of wire mesh covered with *papier-mache*. The group of tigers run, walk and jump towards an ornate bed. The work on display at the Biennale consists of one of the tigers, balancing on the back of a rocking chair. The tiger stands on a red cloth, with the other end draped over the chair. The drape of the cloth, the curved body of the tiger and the curves of the rocking chair complement one another and ensure that formally, the different elements integrate with

one another. The tiger is apparently a ghost, which is alluded to by the fact that the body of the tiger is white, highly stylised and lacks detailed features.

The allusions in the work are not easy to access. According to Wu, the intention of the work was to address Asian audiences; in fact in relation to his work generally, Wu has noted that 'I do not worry if my works do not fit into the Western art arena'. The work is easier to understand when placed in the context of Singaporean culture, where 'Tiger's Whip' is slang for a tiger's penis. Together with the penises of deer and bears, as well as penises and horns of rhinoceroses, they are used as aphrodisiacs in various Asian countries, especially China. The work could be understood as a protest against the practice of killing these endangered animals to serve human vanity. In *Tiger's Whip*, the ghost of the tiger literally returns to haunt the aphrodisiac user. Clearly the work is meant to address Singapore audiences first and foremost, and in fact was first exhibited at Singapore's Chinatown, where such aphrodisiacs are sold.

Apart from those works that used nationally based iconography, there were those that drew on national and regional forms as well. The Taiwanese exhibition was entitled 'Conversation with the Golden Sun', and featured the works of three artists. The Taiwanese exhibits were fairly old, dating from 1979 to 1992. Loretta Yang and Chang Yi's pieces were based in the history of Chinese glassmaking. Loretta Yang became a household name in Taiwan as an actress, and left the profession in 1987 to take up modern Chinese glassmaking. During this period she studied and mastered the art of *cire pedue* (or lost wax) glass art production, where wax models are made and then melted out of casts and replaced by molten glass. The workshop she established during this period, the Liuligongfang, specialised in reviving Chinese artistic glassmaking and transforming it for contemporary use. The workshop has also branched into collecting ancient

Chinese glass, as well as collecting glasswork by internationally renowned artists.

Yang's work has been concerned with the religious philosophy of Classical Buddhism, where a fundamental tenet is that one's true nature is empty, formless and clear, and is not be found in attachments to ephemeral things or material objects. The spirit is also supposed to assume the character of crystal in its purity and flawlessness. Yang has identified glass as the ideal medium to capture these concepts, given the fact that it can be coloured or shaped without losing its essential qualities as glass. The solidity yet the fluidity of glass also brings it close to the ideal of formlessness associated with the soul in Buddhist teachings.

Yang's artwork, made in 1992 and entitled *Master of Healing Golden Tathangata Buddha* (Figure Seven), is a glass sculpture made using the lost wax method. The sculpture consists of a golden hand raised in a gesture of healing. Embedded in the base of the hand is an image of Buddha raising his right hand in a blessing. The base culminates in a white rough area, similar to a rock face or an outcrop of ice. Given the way in which the different elements are integrated, it would appear as though the hand depicting the Buddha has emerged from a formless, inchoate substance; the contrast in texture between the roughness of the base and the smoothness of the hand suggests that that the Buddha, through his healing qualities, is able to give form to formlessness. However, this form also involves the properties of clarity and fluidity referred to above, with the colour of the hand lending it a mystic quality.[410] Another glass artwork on display was made in the same workshop, using the same traditions of glassmaking. Chang Yi also stopped a career in film to purse glassmaking at the workshop that Yang had set up. Her contribution was made in 1991 and entitled *Glass Panel in Unicorn Shape*.

There were artworks in other exhibitions that related directly to themes of globalisation and Diaspora; that is they concerned themselves with global rather than international discourses. This was especially visible in relation to the exhibits of countries that were being increasingly exposed to the cultural contradictions posed by growing Diasporan communities in their midst. These artists were especially apparent in the two exhibitions organised by the United Kingdom. The first one entitled *Sometime/s Brief Histories of Time*, involved three women artists from Britain, all from culturally different backgrounds. The exhibition was organised by the Organisation for Visual Arts, established in 1992 to organise events and exhibitions around the theme of internationalism: a term which the curator Sunil Gupta describes as '... a mutating moment in art history resulting from post-war migration and the shifting of cultural boundaries'.[411]

For example, Mohini Chandra who exhibited in the Pacific Rim exhibition is a quintessential Diasporan subject in that her ancestors were taken by the British from India to the sugar plantations of Fiji, and further migrated to other islands on the Pacific Rim. Chandra herself grew up in several countries, leading to her questioning any notion of fixed identity. Her artworks also reflect concerns about travel and migration, which she explores mainly through the medium of installations.

Chandra's piece exhibited at the museum is entitled *Travels in a New World* (Figure Nine), made in 1994, and is a walk-in installation consisting of tea chests acting as light boxes. According to Chandra, the tea chests were of personal significance to her as they had been used by her parents to pack their possessions when they moved to other countries: this act of packing and unpacking, for Chandra became an act that 'unfolded meaning'. The illuminated transparencies on the tops of the boxes are family photographs

taken by Chandra on a trip to Fiji in the 1970's. The sides of the chests are decorated with images and stencils, dealing with issues of slavery, trade, religion and resistance. The installation also has a soundtrack, consisting of a voice asking the question 'where do you come from?'[412]

The second British exhibition was sponsored by the visual arts department of the British Council and featured the photographic collages of Maud Sulter. She was born in Britain of Scottish and Ghanaian parents. She exhibited the 1993 Syrcas series, which is a linguaphone corruption of 'circus' and deals with the hidden histories of people of African descent in a Western context. The circus is used as a metaphor for both the invisibility of Africans in Western culture - with the circus being a popular retreat for the socially marginalised - and their display in circumstances where a touch of the 'exotic' is needed.

Other countries concerned themselves with questions of Postcolonial identity, especially those whose funding was not drawn directly from government. Several countries have established Art Councils and other funding bodies, concerned with promoting art in line with the latest international trends, rather than engaging in crude nationalist exercises. For example, the Australian exhibition, which was organised by the Executive Office of the Aboriginal and Torres Straits, the Australian Council, facilitated the involvement of Aboriginal artists in the exhibition. The visual arts and crafts board of the Council has been playing the same role as the Institute for International Visual Arts of the Arts Council of Great Britain, promoting more inclusive national identities or even promoting a new internationalism as described in Chapter One: the rise of state-funded but independent institutions have facilitated this shift, as they have proved to be much more alive to pressures to respond to the contradictions of the official nationalisms of many Western countries. They have responded to pressure

to include artists that contest borders on the basis of their experience of migration and assimilation, and consequently these institutions have been driving definitions of art in many contemporary circles, and have fed this work into numerous Biennales. However, these definitions have tended to throw out the nationalist baby with the authoritarian bathwater, as they were based on the assumption that the only possible pro-national position was an exclusive one: an approach that was to become more prevalent in the next Biennale.

Conclusion

In 1995, the GJTMC was subjected to competing tensions with respect to its arts sponsorship. On the one hand the provisions of the RDP bound it; on the other, it incorporated a still largely untransformed apartheid bureaucracy, eager to exploit South Africa's newly acquired legitimacy in order to reintegrate with the international art world. Attempts were made to resolve these tensions by incorporating both into the objectives of the Biennale project. So the Biennale was supposed to ensure South Africa's reintegration into the international art world, while meeting a number of other objectives; these included playing an educational role while reconciling artists from 'different cultural backgrounds', and contributing to the regeneration of Newtown.

It has been argued that the first objective, namely '...to celebrate South Africa's reintegration into the international cultural arena', was prioritised above all others, and that this celebration benefited some South Africans more than others. There was a handful of mainly white artists who used the Biennale as a launching pad for their international careers, or even a confirmation of their already-existing international careers if they had already engaged in boycott-busting activities; while a few black artists and

curators were also able to use the platform in a similar fashion, the beneficiaries were overwhelmingly white. The Biennale also had mainly positive image-building spin-offs for the GJTMC, in that the event confirmed that South Africa had finally become a nation amongst nations. Small wonder given the propagandistic role the Biennale was supposed to play, that its main focus was on internationalisation rather than globalisation. In other words, the organisers benefited from having as many countries present as possible as their participation confirmed that they recognised South Africa as a legitimate nation: a political objective that could be satisfied only through adopting the national pavilion method of organisation. However, the Biennale also had to take cognisance of the latest trends in contemporary exhibitions, namely to incorporate a thematic approach; this was important to demonstrate that the country was capable of organising a cutting-edge event. The inclusion of both approaches led to a conceptually incoherent set of exhibitions that attempted to serve too many interests at the same time.

Thomas McEvilley also questioned the extent to which South Africa as a nation could be said to be reintegrating. He argued that the Biennale raised the question of whether the '…first step of redefining the community internally has been leapt over, or whether perhaps there has been a premature leap to the second step, of presenting this face to the outside world before it has been studied, analysed, criticised and redefined'.[413] While stopping short of actually saying it, he implied that this premature re-integration was inappropriate, and that the resources used on the Biennale could have been spent better. McEvilley's comments were an accurate assessment of the priorities of the Biennale, and as a result was an indictment of the Directorate's bias towards prioritising integration before engaging in local initiatives to increase access to the arts in line with the RDP. This bias suggested that the Directorate could not (and perhaps did

not want to) balance the Biennale's competing objectives, but intended to focus on the first while using the other objectives as a sop to give the project greater legitimacy and to convince the GJTMC to fund it. The GJTMC's prioritisation of international contact at the expense of local development was hardly suprising given the fact that the Biennale was an outgrowth of the apartheid-era NEM programme, which pursued integration with the global economy as an antidote to the years of isolation and internal economic stagnation.

With respect to the second objective, namely 'to act as a showcase for local and contemporary art', the Biennale succeeded in a very narrow sense. There was clearly an unstated bias towards installations and video art, at the expense of more 'traditional' art forms such as paintings and sculpture. According to Karen Preller, this implied prejudice against craft orientated art forms showed that many contemporary art practitioners practiced hypocrisy. While claiming to adhere to Postmodern principles where all forms of artmaking were deemed to be equally valid, they discouraged painting and sculpture by failing to include these media in their exhibitions, or looking down on them when they were included by country representative curators.[414] Preller argued that this 'blanket denigration of art forms which do not conform to current trends in the art world...excluded an untold number of artists and artworks'.[415] These exclusions were all the more ironic in exhibitions claiming to operate within a Postcolonial paradigm. This is so because these curators and artists engaged in the very practice of marginalisation they railed against, based on the argument that the era of Modernist media and its associations with exclusive nationalism had passed.

Preller also pointed out another factor that has become evident in an examination of the Biennale, namely that the event played to the

international art world '…rather than dealing with the realities of South African art and giving priority to South African art and artists'.[416] The inadequacy of the funding given to South African artists, especially from community art centres and the fringe, underlined the fact that South African participation was considered to be a lesser priority. All these factors led to the inevitable conclusion that the Biennale aimed to act as a showcase for local and contemporary art within a Northern Biennale paradigm, which privileged international art over local art and which privileged certain art forms over others; in the process the Biennale became an exclusive showcase with clearly-defined if often unstated boundaries and preferences. In fact, the formulation of the objective is very telling, as it implies that local art (itself a pejorative term, as opposed to South African art) is not on the cutting edge of contemporary art, and that contemporary art is to be found elsewhere. However, those South African exhibitions that did attempt to display contemporary art tended to display a timidity in their choice of artists, that led them to fall back on tried and tested South African artists; in the process, the scope of contemporary South African art was narrowed to exclude many aspirant South African artists because they might embarrass the organisers when confronted with an international audience. A few exhibitions attempted to broaden participation somewhat by allowing artists to have a more direct voice in the Biennale (such as 'My Area'), and including craft-artists. However, these exhibitions were the exception rather than the rule. The exhibitions mounted by the community art centres were all but invisible compared to the main events, which suggests that they were really an afterthought.

The curators of the international exhibitions adopted vastly different approaches towards the official nationalisms evident in older Biennales such as the Venice Biennale. A number of Asian exhibitions presented artists and media that had become national symbols in their respective

countries, with the Singapore exhibition being a case in point. The extent of African representation has also been recognised as one of the Biennale's successes. However, the African representation was organised belatedly after criticism of the lack of African involvement, which called into question the commitment of the organisers to hosting a truly African event. In fact, it could be concluded that the choice of themes and sub-themes for the Biennale was more about appropriating an African identity to buy legitimacy in international art circles than it was about developing a Pan-African event. The choice of African artists - a number of who had established themselves internationally - also called into question a further objective of the Biennale to challenge the hegemony of the established art centres by presenting marginal art. In this respect, the Director of Culture's comparison of the first Johannesburg Biennale with those of the Havana and São Paolo Biennales - namely to act as a showcase of historically marginalized art and to challenge rather than reconfirm the pre-eminence of Northern art centres - was misplaced as the unstated objective of the Biennale proved to be closer to the second objective rather than the first.

The third objective - namely 'to provide educational programmes to foster and facilitate cultural growth and empowerment' - was realised to a very limited extent. The educational activities really boiled down to the trainee curator programme, the international print exchange called 'Volatile Alliances' and the audience development activities where students were bussed to the exhibition. The first activity involved fifteen mainly black trainee curators being sent overseas to learn from foreign curators. The local curators then participated to different extents in organising the foreign exhibitions. Some artists did benefit from these programmes, and went on to become curators and practicing artists. The Funda Centre also developed an international profile through its involvement in the Biennale. But the benefits should not be overstated. Certainly the cultural growth and

empowerment that was supposed to flow from this investment in local curators was not evident after the Biennale. With respect to the print exchange, it was argued that the benefits were confined to specific individuals drawn from community art centres, with their being no evidence of a broader impact. A more general observation that could be made with respect to the developmental and educational role of the Biennale is that none of the activities - save possibly for one - promoted the integration of artists and their communities.

On the contrary, the involvement of artists, especially black artists from community art centres, was largely premised on their isolation from the very communities in which they were located. The skewed distribution of the budget, which prioritised events taking place in the city, reinforced this isolation. The education programme also had a patronising undertone that did not augur well for empowerment of South African artists, in that it ignored important differences in levels of skill: hence professional artists of many years' standing were included with community art centre-based students.

It proved to be impossible to verify the educational impact of bussing students into the Biennale, and certainly the GJTMC has not ventured an opinion on its benefits. The fact that no clear indicators of success were developed for the educational programme allowed the organisers and the GJTMC to claim successes with respect to this objective, while the actual educational impact remains unclear. The once-off nature of the event also meant that it had limited educational outcomes for the participants.

The fourth objective, namely '…to stimulate artistic and social interaction among artists from different cultural backgrounds', was achieved to a very limited extent in the print exchange and the trainee curator programme.

However, the interaction took place within a power relation that defined the mainly Northern-based artists as the teachers and South African artists as the students. The organisers were more focussed on ensuring the Biennale acted as a cultural translator between Africa and the North, with the former being shaped to conform to the artistic definitions of the latter. This focus belied one of the main themes of the Biennale, namely to 'decolonise our minds', as the Biennale could be seen as an attempt to re-colonise African art by attempting to ensure that African artists and curators pursued the conceptually superior Northern approach to Biennales. However, some African artists such as Rashid Diab and David Koloane[417] hoped that the Biennale would play to role of developing a Pan-African aesthetic, and a Southern approach to Biennales: a plea that had also been made at other Southern Biennales such as São Paulo and Havana, and that assumed renewed urgency in the light of the failure of the Dakar Biennale to play this role. However, the Johannesburg Biennale's organisers had other ideas, wishing to play the role of cultural translator to the West. The Biennale could have also played a role in defining curatorial strategies that broke with the sort of nationalist flag-waving that characterised many Biennales and a number of exhibitions – such as the Angolan exhibition and several foreign exhibitions involving South African trainee curators and artists like Spain and the Netherlands. However, these possibilities were not recognised given the Biennale's obsession with the number of countries on display, rather than the quality of their shows.

With respect to the fifth objective, namely to 'play a major role in the regeneration of Newtown area of Johannesburg', the Biennale certainly resulted in the upgrading of some infrastructure. However, upgrading emphasised those facilities that would attract foreign tourists and media coverage. Other cultural facilities that related far more directly to the city's development needs were starved of resources, and township venues

especially were neglected. Also, the regeneration of Newtown focussed only on developing the area as a district for cultural tourism, and not for local use: an emphasis that would have involved supporting a ‘mixed-use’ model, including accommodation that the new members of the GJTMC favoured. In other words, the regeneration strategy was lodged in a neo-liberal framework, leading to the regeneration that took place favouring local and international elites.

It has been noted that specific provisions of the RDP were not really met. According to the RDP, 'everyone should have access to resources, facilities and education for the production and appreciation of the arts, which should be seen as a fundamental component of development'.[418] Certainly there were attempts to meet this requirement, but the attempts were too little, too late. In many instances they amounted to mere tokenism, rather than being genuine attempts to change the structural inequalities in the distribution of artistic resources in Johannesburg.

In assessing the successes and failures of the Biennale, the GJTMC concerned itself mainly with attendance, financial gain and publicity, rather than with extent to which the event achieved any RDP objectives. These concerns reflected the neo-liberal creep that was already making itself felt in government circles. In presenting these statistics, the GJTMC left out important information that would be crucial to establishing who benefited most from the event. According to the Director of Culture for the GJMC, the Biennale marked up numerous successes. One of the main successes was the high level of attendance, although given the geographic spread of the event, it proved to be impossible to state accurately how many people attended. The GJTMC estimated that approximately 5000 people attended the opening celebration on February 28 1995. During the exhibition period, attendance was estimated at between 45 000 and 50 000 people, with

approximately 10 000 students being bussed in on educational tours.[419] These students were bussed in as part of the Biennale's education programme and involved schools, universities, community centres and technikons mainly from Gauteng. The Standard Bank Foundation provided funding for transport for school children from Soweto, Kagiso, Lenasia, Katlehong, Alexandra, Tembisa and the Vaal Triangle.[420] No breakdown is provided of the profiles of the audiences; however, given the fact that virtually none of the exhibitions took place in the townships, it could be assumed that the black people were not in the majority. The lack of more detailed statistics on audience attendance is telling, as the questions on who benefited from an audience perspective become very difficult to answer.

According to the GJTMC, the Biennale brought in R4 million in foreign exchange from exhibiting countries with each of the forty self-funding countries spending approximately R80 000 to R100 000 in bringing their exhibitions to the Biennale. The GJTMC also listed the foreign exchange earnings from the tourists who visited the Biennale as a success, although it did not venture to estimate how much the country earned from this source.[421] The report also noted the international publicity the Biennale received and the financial spin-off for South African curators and artists. With respect to media coverage, the GJTMC estimated that the Biennale received about R1.3 million worth of publicity in the print media in South Africa alone, R15 300 worth of radio coverage and R 708 300 worth of television coverage, putting the total media coverage locally in excess of R2 million.[422] International media also covered the event, much of which could also be accessed through the Internet.

However, when this income is compared against the R5.5 million budget, it is evident that the Biennale probably earned the city of Johannesburg as

much as it spent on the event. Hence the event could not necessarily be considered a remarkable financial success, although the fact that the event earned back as much money, if not slightly more, than it cost to stage it is a reasonable start for what was then a new initiative. What the GJTMC did not state was how much of this income was earned by historically disadvantaged people, venues and businesses: surely an important statistic if the Council were serious about redressing the legacy of apartheid in Johannesburg.

The GJTMC also held up as a success the fact that several trainee curators and artists were invited overseas to participate in exhibitions as an additional success, as it spread the word that South African art was worthy of international patronage. However, this patronage was extended to a very small group of artists indeed, especially students drawn from the Funda Centre. Also, while some of the trainee curators continued to practice in the visual arts, a not-insignificant number disappeared from sight.

This uncritical assumption that a combination of export-led growth and foreign exchange earnings would automatically lead to redistribution proved to be sorely misplaced. It is clear from an examination of the extent to which the exhibition objectives were met that the first objective received priority above all others, with the other objectives – especially those focussed on prioritising local development - being only partially realised, interpreted narrowly to benefit a few artists, or marginalised. However, if the first Biennale suffered from these deficiencies, it was positively progressive when compared to the second Biennale: a matter that will be dealt with in the next Chapter.

Chapter Three

Trade Routes: History and Geography

Introduction

This Chapter examines in detail the second Biennale of the GJMC[423], held in Johannesburg in 1997 and entitled 'Trade Routes: History and Geography'. The argument that will be engaged in this Chapter is that while 'Trade Routes' introduced South African audiences to a highly complex body of Postcolonial art, it did not necessarily redefine the role of the Johannesburg Biennale as a Southern Biennale, engaged with (but not reduced to) the national environment in which it was staged. What will be considered is that while key concerns of excluded groups may have been represented in many of the artworks shown, South African artist and audience participation remained limited (and in fact was more limited than in the case of the first Biennale). Instead, the Biennale largely reproduced well-established relationships in the artworld, of networks of artists and curators concerned with issues of Postcolonial identity. I will discuss how the complex vision of a post-national globalisation constructed in the exhibition was in fact marked by an unstated national bias towards a United States networked artworld (with a particular bias towards New York). As a result, the exhibition remained blind to questions of why all but a select few South African artists could participate in the construction of resistance to marginality.

What will also be considered is how the exhibition also complemented the neo-liberal turn in the GJMC's policy, which created uncomfortable tensions between its objective of addressing the interests of excluded groups and its

actual realisation. Not only did the Biennale not engage sufficiently with the local development requirements crystallised in the White Paper on Arts and Culture the year before, its anti-national approach towards global integration did not sit well with the local needs-led approach towards international co-operation articulated in the White Paper. Notwithstanding the synergies between the Biennale and the GJMC's increasingly neo-liberal vision for the city's development, the City's funding was withdrawn for the Biennale. I will suggest that this action could be traced back to the competing pressures of the RDP and Gear on government, coupled with the need to reorganise local government resources as a response to a cash flow crisis (itself a product of Gear-related cutbacks).

The government's neo-liberal elaboration of the RDP and the GJMC's arts and culture policy

The RDP is not an elaborate document when it comes to the arts and culture sector. Much more detail is provided in the 1995 Actag report and the 1996 White Paper on Arts and Culture, although both documents differ in important respects. According to the White Paper, seven crucial areas need to be addressed for access to the visual arts as a right to be realised: these are '…the provision of infrastructure, human resource development, greater access to public funds to support the creation and dissemination of art, the development of markets and audiences, integration with the RDP, increased funding for the arts, culture and heritage, and securing the rights and status of artists'.[424]

The White Paper then lays out a framework to address these seven areas. Artists would be able to access funds from a National Arts Council (NAC); the Paper accepts Actag's recommendation that support should be extended to crafts and design as well, as part of the visual arts; in the

process the net of support for creative activities would extend beyond the high arts. Museums will also be expected to broaden their focus beyond a narrow definition of visual arts. With respect to arts education, the White paper states that '…the Ministry [of Arts and Culture, Science and Technology] will actively promote the Constitutional right of every learner in the General Education and Training phase to access equitable, appropriate and life-long education and training in the arts, culture and heritage…'.[425] The Ministry also committed itself to investing in an infrastructure for the arts, culture and heritage education.[426]

According to the White Paper, the Ministry further intended to meet the twin obligations of providing access to, and redressing imbalances in, the visual arts, by establishing multifunctional, multidisciplinary community art centres in rural and black urban areas, close to where people live. However, the establishment of these centres would have been pointless without the development of new audiences for the arts: according to the Ministry, '…Current audiences are largely determined by the location of infrastructure, the availability of disposable income, and the nature of the artistic forms on offer, all of which generally reflect the legacies of our apartheid past'.[427] In order to break out of the apartheid mode of art consumption, the Ministry committed itself to implementing a four-pronged approach: introducing arts education for all children, ensuring that all South Africans (not just whites) make use of existing infrastructure, developing an arts infrastructure close to where people live and generally raising public awareness through the arts, mainly through the support of a range of arts festivals which would create greater audiences and markets for the arts.[428]

The Ministry also recognised that South Africa must reintegrate with the rest of the world after decades of cultural isolation. However, this co-operation would be pursued with the intention of ensuring that 'more South African

artists take their places on the world stage, and so that local art and artists may benefit from international experience, exposure and expertise'[429]; therefore the imperative in pursuing co-operation was to 'maximise opportunities for South African arts, culture and heritage practitioners and institutions to interact with the rest of the world'.[430] International artists would be invited to South Africa on the basis that they pass on their skills to local artists, and South African artists would be supported to go on international trips so that they could transmit these skills once they return. The Ministry placed particular emphasis on exchange with the South, especially other Southern African countries, as many in the region share similar cultural characteristics (such as mutually intelligible languages), deriving from a common history in some instances.[431] So the main purpose of international co-operation was to assist in the development of local skills, and support for such contact would be evaluated on this basis.

When taken together, these priority areas identified in the White Paper provided a necessary (if not a sufficient) basis for the realisation of popular access to the arts as a human right, as the arts were an integral component of the development of a democratic national culture. It included an outline of tasks to be undertaken to enable people to claim the means of self-expression that would enable them to participate equally in the cultural life of the nation. The White Paper also provides a useful touchstone against which to measure the effectiveness of state-funded arts projects like the Biennales in achieving what the government promised it would do with public money, including local governments like the GJMC.

By this stage, greater responsibilities for arts and culture were devolved on the provincial and local spheres of government. In 1996, the country's interim Constitution was replaced by a final Constitution drafted by a Constitutional Assembly; in both the interim and final South African

Constitutions, culture is listed as a concurrent national and provincial responsibility. However, provincial governments also sought to extend this responsibility to local governments.[432] In doing so, they used a lack of clarity in the interim Constitution, which had provided the constitutional basis for local government up to that point; this Constitution said very little about the responsibilities of local government. The Gauteng Provincial Government exploited this lack of clarity by devolving a wide range of responsibilities on the Johannesburg Council as soon as it was proclaimed in 1994: these included the onerous task of managing and developing the RDP for the area and, in fact, managing the whole transformation process. It was also charged with passing a budget for the whole Greater Johannesburg area and setting minimum standards for service delivery.[433] So the implication of this proclamation was that the GJMC became responsible for delivering on the RDP objectives for arts and culture.

However, in the same year, and one year before the second Biennale, the government adopted Gear in response to a speculative attack on the South African currency. This adoption was to have a profound effect on the ability of the GJMC to deliver on these RDP objectives. The plan was drafted for the government by a group of economists and released on 14 June 1996; it was touted as a strategy for rebuilding and restructuring the economy, in keeping with the goals of the RDP, yet taking into account the recent financial crisis. It argued that unless it brought in an emergency plan to stabilise the economy, its ability to achieve the RDP's goals would become more and more remote.

Gear was not without precedent in South Africa, and in fact could be considered to be a continuation of late apartheid economic policy, captured in the NEM document mentioned in Chapter Two.[434] Gear adopted what has been termed a progressive competitiveness approach: in

other words, the benefits of an outward-orientated private sector driven economy should be used to redress the legacy of apartheid. Gear identified a growth rate of 6 percent per annum and job creation of 400 000 per annum by the year 2000, as targets.[435] The main method of reaching these targets was to attract foreign direct investment, especially in export-orientated industries in non-gold, tradable goods, boost domestic savings, and cut government spending to increase the amount available in the national budget to service the debt. Much of the burden of social delivery was to be shifted onto the private sector. Government revenues would be boosted by a vigorous privatisation plan.[436] Gear established a complex new macro-economic environment in which all industries and sectors are under pressure to operate according to the government's priorities of liberalisation and de-regulation. In other words, government had to ensure that sectors of the economy that could contribute to Gear's growth targets were grown in line with Gear strategies, especially those that could generate exports, attract foreign investment, and cut back the state's role in economic activities and the provision of social services.

In spite of the fact that Gear was promoted as a programme to facilitate South Africa's reintegration in the global economy, it was also understood by the government as a prerequisite for achieving national unity. The link was articulated by prominent ANC member of Parliament Pallo Jordan (who was to become the Minister of Arts and Culture later on). According to Jordan, nation building is a still-necessary component of transformation in South Africa, as the 1994 elections did not resolve the country's national question. In fact, the elections merely provided a basis for starting to resolve it as it gave the ANC as the ruling party the political clout it needed to address the economic conditions of the majority of black people through the various structures of government: without a programme to change these conditions, national oppression would continue to be a *de facto*, if not a *de*

jure, reality. In Jordan's words, the national question '...is fundamentally a continuous search for equality by various communities that have historically merged into a single nation-state, or the struggle for self-determination and even secession by communities within such states'.[437] South Africa is unable to call itself a nation yet as the search for equality is still continuing. Both the black and white bourgeoisie must be 'courted' by the democratic movement to lock them into contributing to the RDP.

However, argued Jordan, the RDP cannot be implemented without concern for the constraints placed on the country by globalisation: he stated '...the RDP has been further refined as the Gear strategy, aimed at operationalising the RDP in the context of the global environment within which South Africa exists'.[438] In other words, the government's vision of nation building was entirely compatible with its current economic programme promoting the country's international competitiveness: the successful implementation of the latter would provide the resources to realise the former. This vision did not represent a mismatch between government policy and ANC policy, though; these changes to government policy were made possible by the fact that they were accompanied by changes in ANC policy. In fact, a year later (1998), the ruling ANC confirmed the fact that they had accepted the 'reality' of globalisation, and the most the country could hope for was to adapt to it: according to former President Nelson Mandela, 'Globalisation is a phenomenon that we cannot deny. All we can do is to accept it'.[439] By this stage it had become apparent that the ANC would not attempt to contest the fundamental policy positions of globalisation, and that its 'inevitability' would be used as a rationale to implement what they knew would be politically unpopular measures.

When the Interim Constitution was replaced in 1996 by the final Constitution, a Gear-influenced shift in thinking about the role of local

government became evident. This was especially so with respect to metropolitan local government, which became recognised as '...engine rooms for economic growth'[440] in South Africa; coupled with their income-generating potential, national government decided to develop strategies to make them carry the social delivery burden, and to pay for this burden from its own revenues. Hence, the list of services to be offered by local governments was greatly expanded, as was the potential for greater central government control over local governments.[441] Yet at the same time, local governments were expected to generate greater revenues from the collection of service payments, rather than relying on funding from provincial and national governments.[442]

The income-generating potential of local governments was recognised in local government policy, given their potential to generate revenue from trading services, rates and own revenues.[443] Once national government recognised the possibility of self-sustaining local governments, the former was quick to exploit the possibilities by cutting grants to the latter from 1996 onwards. Johannesburg was particularly ill placed to absorb budget cuts, given the legacy it carried from apartheid as the largest but most ill serviced metropolitan area in the country,[444] and the intergovernmental grant given to the city by the Department of Finance proved to be woefully inadequate in redressing this legacy. At that stage, Johannesburg had the largest budget of all the metropolitan areas, with its income being a great deal higher than other local governments: in fact own-generated revenue accounted for approximately 30 percent of its total revenue: about 10 percent more than for other local governments. Johannesburg was especially hard hit by these cutbacks, given that its population had nearly trebled to almost seven million people.[445]

In the same year as the adoption of Gear, funding allocations for local

government decreased by 47 percent. Councillor for the Democratic Party, Ian Davidson, interpreted this move as a 'major shifting of the responsibility for the financing of local government from the central fiscus to the local ratepayer'.[446] In effect, local governments were being forced into a 'sink or swim' approach, where they had to raise the revenues necessary to fend for themselves or risk collapse. This twin approach of devolving services from central government and fiscal restraint led to the accusation that local councils were being forced to do more with less, and raised a controversial debate about the constitutionality of unfunded mandates being imposed on these Councils.[447]

Another trend emerged in local governance during this period, namely the gradual marginalisation of the consensus-seeking forums between local government, trade unions and civil society organisations that were so crucial for public buy-in to policy changes; instead they were replaced by more authoritarian governance structures.[448] This trend was also mirrored in the second Biennale, where – unlike the first Biennale - no public consultation took place over the event.

Gear also prompted a re-think of the role of local government, especially in cities. Pro-business think tanks such as the Centre for Development and Enterprise (CDE) argued in 1996 in a 'think-piece' on the challenge facing South African cities[449], that the government could do much more to position cities as engine rooms for boosting global competitiveness, in line with Gear objectives. The Centre argued that new urban policies had to be adopted to take into account global trends in urban development, particularly the promotion of particular cities 'global cities'. It pointed out that the international message with respect to economic development was clear: cities are the prime sites for global competition, and therefore cities needed to assess their comparative advantages in the global economy and invest in

developing these advantages. One way in which South African cities could enhance their competitiveness was to transform themselves into 'cultural cities', offering a range of cultural experiences to the tourist trade.[450]

Although Gear does not mention arts and culture specifically, since 1996 the Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology (DACST) budget has been cut gradually, reaching an all-time low in 2000/1.[451] In 1995/6, the arts and culture programme represented 44,63 percent of the total budget, with science and technology accounting for 48,93 percent. By 2001, the arts and culture programme accounted for only 30 percent of the budget, and science and technology 60 percent.[452]

In response - according to a report by Hazel Friedman - the Ministry's Department stated in 1997 that funding at provincial and local government levels would make up the shortfall (in terms of the interim and final constitutions, arts and culture are listed as a concurrent national and provincial responsibility).[453] However, what was to happen in Johannesburg was a decrease rather than an increase in public funding for the arts, and a realignment of the Biennale towards the global competitiveness thrust of Gear.

The fiscal pressures on local government became evident in the GJMC's overall approach to arts and culture. In 1996, the GJMC underwent profound restructuring on the basis of an investigation undertaken by Joint Negotiating Council into the powers and functions of the GJMC. The changes were effected by a Provincial Proclamation, and led to the establishment of clusters and sub-clusters of activities. Arts and culture were included in the cluster 'metropolitan sport, arts, culture and economic development', which incorporates tourism, sport, museum and library services, and parks.[454] Vision statements were drafted for each cluster: for

economic development, the vision was to be '...to promote economic growth and job creation for all citizens of Greater Johannesburg by establishing an integrated, growing and globally competitive economy and by investment and development which will enhance the Metropole's international, national and regional hub and gateway function'.[455] The clustering together of these areas was telling, as it meant that sport, arts and cultural development had to take into account the objectives of the economic cluster, which coalesced with a neo-liberal vision for urban development outlined in Chapter One.

This clustering of economic and cultural considerations became especially evident in relation to the second Biennale. The Chief Executive Officer of the GJMC, Professor Nicky Padayachee, identified the Council's support for arts and culture as part of Johannesburg's 'localisation' of the RDP, as it contributes to the upliftment of the city. According to Padayachee, the GJMC supported the Biennale in order to develop '...Johannesburg's position on the African continent as a leader in the field of contemporary art', and 'to ensure that Johannesburg takes its rightful place among major cities of the world that have hosted and continue to host similar events'. He also noted that '...the integrated approach employed by the GJMC recognises the importance of cultural tourism to the economy of the region and the necessity for international cooperation in achieving a climate conducive to social and economic investment.'[456] This statement pointed to the extent to which Gear logic had become internalised at local government level, especially the way in which it was projected as a seamless extension of the RDP. According to the Executive Officer of Arts, Culture Development and Facilities, Victor Modise, the Biennale was supposed to put the city of Johannesburg, and the country as a whole, firmly back on the world map, in the process hitching the event to the country's drive for international competitiveness.[457]

Padayachee also stated that the 'cultural awareness and upliftment of Johannesburg' was a key objective of the Biennale project. These objectives would be realised through promoting cultural tourism, creating the sort of 'international co-operation [necessary] in achieving a climate conducive to social and economic investment'.[458] In doing so, Padayachee noted that a prototype had already been developed through the Arts Alive International Festival. Artists participated in the first Biennale because of the 'curiosity of wanting to experience a society transforming itself from a repressive regime into a democratic state'.[459] So the stage was set for the inscribing of the second Biennale into a neo-liberal paradigm.

A brief description of Trade Routes

In 1997, the GJMC held its second Biennale, entitled 'Trade Routes: History and Geography'. Unlike the previous Biennale, the Council advertised internationally for a curator after a decision was finally taken to go ahead with the event. The decision to reach out internationally was a strategic one, in that the organisers wanted to ensure that the Biennale placed Johannesburg at the helm of international debates on contemporary art, in the process moving beyond the event's original intention of celebrating South Africa's reintegration to the international community. In addition, the organisers wished for a closer connection to artistic developments taking place on the African continent.[460] Executive Director of the Biennale, Christopher Till, acknowledged that the event had to be positioned very carefully if it were to make its mark internationally, given the sheer number of Biennales and mega-exhibitions taking place by that stage. However, he also recognised that Biennales commanded an international profile that was extremely difficult to achieve through other events, and that this feature had to be exploited much more thoroughly than was the case in 1995.[461]

Another factor governed the re-evaluation of the role of the Biennale, namely the crisis around funding for the event. Until 1996, it was not clear whether funding would be provided by the GJMC, leading to profound uncertainty about whether the Biennale would continue. These uncertainties flowed from the restructuring of the GJMC in the same year, which in turn led to a re-evaluation of those activities that received local government funding. The increasing emphasis on cost recovery meant that costly events like the Biennale had to prove their worth, on pain of having their funding discontinued: hence the need to demonstrate its relevance to the image building exercise of the GJMC.

This strategic shift in focus informed the selection of the Biennale's Artistic Director, and in June 1996, the Nigerian writer, curator and critic, Okwui Enwezor, was appointed to the position. Enwezor, who has been based mainly in New York, is publisher and founding editor of *Nka: Journal of Contemporary African Art*, and has written extensively on contemporary art and artists, especially from Africa. He has also contributed to many major international art publications and has lectured in America, Austria, Norway, South Africa, Sweden, Italy, England, Germany, France and Nigeria. Enwezor has also curated numerous exhibitions, especially involving contemporary African artists, and has been especially concerned about themes of Postcolonialism, globalisation and Diasporan culture. The choice of Enwezor showed that the GJMC was alive to the currency of these themes in the scheme of international Biennales, and that they were committed to moving Johannesburg's Biennale beyond its overtly nationalist focus to embrace themes and curatorial approaches that had become increasingly apparent in other Biennales in the past two years,[462] as discussed in Chapter One. Enwezor also expressed the intention of focussing on identities that have been gained or lost through globalisation.[463] He also seemed determined to distinguish the Biennale

from Catherine David's Documenta X that had taken place a few months earlier (discussed in Chapter One); while this exhibition also focussed on globalisation, it had a distinctly Eurocentric focus in terms of how it dealt with the theme and the choice of artists. Enwezor, on the other hand, stated his intention of making his exhibition truly international.[464]

Enwezor travelled to various countries, including Austria, England, Norway, Sweden, Brazil, the Netherlands and America. In doing so, he promoted the event, canvassed potential sources of funding and identified artists. Ironically enough, given the stated intention to move beyond a nationalist focus, several governments agreed to fund 'their' artists during these discussions, including Norway, Sweden, America (in partnership with the National Endowment for the Arts), and the Netherlands. The Embassies of Brazil, Chile, Germany, Korea, Peru, China, Thailand, and France also assisted in ensuring that artists from these countries participated, underlining the fact that the international economic support structures backing artists who show at Biennales are still nationalist.

The event consisted of exhibitions in various venues, films, lectures, an education programme and a conference. One hundred and sixty artists from more than sixty countries participated. Of these, thirty-five were South African artists. Twenty-six speakers were invited to give lectures on six selected topics.[465] The exhibitions took place in Johannesburg and Cape Town, with most exhibitions being clustered in different venues in Newtown. Public sites were also used for the exhibition of artworks, such as billboards, bus shelters, bars and restaurants. A range of media was used in promoting the exhibitions, and as part of the artworks themselves, including television, radio, postcards, the Internet and an extensive exhibition catalogue.

For the exhibition, Enwezor identified six curatorial teams, headed by six

curators: Hou Hanru, Kellie Jones, Yu Yeon Kim, Gerardo Mosquera, Colin Richards and Octavio Zaya. Each exhibition explored different aspects of the overall theme. A number of these exhibitions were situated in 'informal spaces' and public areas, and also spanned Johannesburg and Cape Town. According to Till, the intention was to de-centralise the event to extend its local accessibility, and to fulfil its promise of being a South African-led initiative.[466] This approach was an advance on the one adopted in the first Biennale, which was located primarily in Newtown, Johannesburg.

The theme

The exhibition examined the history of globalisation, focussing especially on its impact on the Postcolonial world. The title of the event referred to South Africa's role in the past as a meeting point of various colonial expeditions, given its strategic placement at the confluence of trade routes on the Indian and Atlantic Oceans: so by virtue of its geographical position, South Africa has been made to play a pivotal role in facilitating the earlier phase of a form of globalisation that entrenched European domination. Enwezor used this strategic placement to explore the global traffic in culture dating from this period, but intensified through the more vigorous process of globalisation of the last twenty years.

In exploring these historical developments, Enwezor made it clear in his introduction to the exhibition's catalogue that his priority was to give voice to people who had been dispossessed through globalisation, and the discourses in which they chose to engage with globalisation. He noted in the catalogue that the identity of the 'global citizen' is easy to embrace by those who are 'insiders' to the globalisation process, and who benefit from it materially. However, for the majority of the world's citizens (especially those

in so-called 'Third World' societies), the experience of globalisation is a bitter one marked by worsening economic disparities. According to Enwezor, the existential condition of these 'excluded cultures and polities', or the 'masses of economic refugees, asylum seekers, unemployed and laid-off workers, exiles and guest workers', formed the focus of the event.[467]

Particular emphasis was placed on the themes of travel and trade as expressions of the process of globalisation, especially as experienced by dispossessed communities; so sub-themes such as migration and immigration, forced removals and the experience of xenophobia and displacement, were given priority. Enwezor chose curators and artists that he thought would best articulate this broad theme, but focussed specifically on those artists who addressed '...new readings and renditions of citizenship and nationality, nations and nationalism, exile, immigration, technology, the city, indeterminacy, hybridity, while exploring the tensions between the local and the global'.[468]

In spite of articulating a fairly open-ended theme, Enwezor made it clear that he sought to undo the ideology of nationalism associated with Biennales, based on his reading of nationalism as an outmoded concept: in fact, he contended that given the realities of globalisation, national identity is becoming associated increasingly with exclusion, xenophobia, coercion and even violence. According to Enwezor, more and more people are unable to fix their identities to notions of citizenship and nationality, given the intensifying movement of people and cultural goods; migrants are especially open to more fluid identities, which are difficult to fix to particular nations. The increasing prevalence of Diasporan communities makes identification with a single national identity unviable for more and more people. Rather the experience of Diaspora, which includes the identification with historical roots that lie outside the host nation, leads to a search for new identities that

reflect the realities of transnational life.

According to Enwezor, the failure to recognise the complexity of identity can result in violence. Ethnically inspired conflicts within old states, formed all too often through the imposition of official nationalism, have led to their disintegration and the proliferation of new states; this process has spilled over into violence in countries like Yugoslavia and Rwanda, with sectional groups propagating exclusivist nationalisms resulting in the most genocidal forms of 'ethnic cleansing'. There are also citizens who identified with particular nationalities who are thrown into disarray by the disintegration of nation-states, as they experience statelessness and the disruption of fixed national identities associated with these states. Enwezor argues that these new uncertainties fostered by globalisation point to the '...very idea that the concept of the nation is also durational and contingent'. [469]

For this reason, he wanted to explore what constitutes 'home' for Diasporan communities especially arguing that 'belonging is always a matter of choice, never coerced'. In his introduction to the exhibition catalogue, he maps out conditions for a new 'global citizen' as a 'mobile, itinerant group' that does not respect borders or subscribes to one notion of citizenship, and is therefore more closely connected to the notion of 'Diaspora'. Therefore one of the main objectives of 'Trade Routes' was to attempt to define a 'post national state of culture', based on the idea of the 'post-national subject'.[470]

Enwezor argued that South Africa was a perfect place to mount such an exhibition, given its historical significance on trade routes. He noted that Trade Routes made reference to the confluence of the Atlantic and Indian Oceans in the Cape of Good Hope, and the occasion of the opening of the sea route to India in 1498 by the Portuguese explorer Vasco da Gama, to explore questions of the global traffic in culture.

In elucidating his theme, Enwezor seems to be have been influenced by Homi Bhabha's concept of the 'borderline artist' as someone who is in a position to give a voice to the precarious new existence under globalisation. According to Bhabha, this artist develops work 'on the open border between cultures', rather than within a discrete culture, and concentrates on those people who have been marginalised by such culture's totalising projects. In doing so, the 'borderline artist' exposes the overlapping and complex identities of slaves, indentured labourers, migrants, economic, sexual or ethnic minorities, and focuses especially on the passages in between fixed identities.[471] According to Enwezor, in order to give expression to experiences of marginality, the very notion of Biennales would have to be re-invented. Given the fact that Biennales were still struggling to free themselves of the nationalistic Venice model, and veered towards elitism and Eurocentrism, Enwezor proposed that they needed to be reinvented 'not just as an exhibition site but as a new social site'. Such a reinvention would have to involve creating 'a new language of today's global exhibition': a language steeped in Postcolonial theory and that that was able to capture the experiences of people marginalised by globalisation.[472]

The theme articulated with the South African artistic, political and economic environment in ambiguous ways. On one level, the theme of the exhibition was highly relevant to the South African artworld, and the country's broader political context at the time, given the country's attempt to re-engage with the global environment through Gear. So the theme suggested that the exhibition would provide the space to explore the contradictions of globalisation in a manner that would enable South African audiences to engage with globalisation through the experiences of marginalised communities, and relate them to the South African situation. On another level, the theme jarred with the South Africa context, given that it advanced

a post-national argument when South Africa itself was still struggling to achieve nationhood. It would also appear from Enwezor's articulation of the theme that he posited a post-national identity based on a contestable notion of all national identities being exclusive in the face of globalisation, and therefore reactionary. It can be inferred that this repudiation of the continued relevance of nationality is based on certain (unstated) theoretical positions on the nature of nationalism and globalisation; namely that nationalism is bound to be inherently exclusive in the face of heightened globalisation, and it should be rejected as a reactionary force. As has been noted in the Introduction, these readings of nationalism and globalisation have been contested in the realm of Postcolonial theory too, which is significant given that Enwezor sought to justify the theoretical underpinnings of the exhibition by making a highly selective (and reductive) reading of Postcolonial theory. These tensions in the relationship of the theme to the exhibition's local environment played themselves out on many levels for the duration of the exhibition's short life.

Curatorial decisions: the post-national exhibition and the delegation of curatorial authority

As the Artistic Director, Enwezor made a number of strategic decisions about the organisation of the Biennale. One of the most significant of these involved organising exhibitions according to themes, eschewing the approach generally associated with Biennales of national pavilions representing particular countries; thus the desire for a 'post-national' event expressed in the theme affected the choice of artworks. According to Christopher Till, the thematic approach allowed the curators to organise exhibitions independently of concerns around national representivity, and to focus rather on '[presenting] a focussed and specific context within which to present the dialogue and discourse generated around the exhibition's

theme'.[473] Enwezor was also determined to make a break from what he identified as the overly nationalistic 'Venice model' for Biennales[474], and rather aimed to reorientate Biennales as 'global cultural enterprises': according to Enwezor:

> 'It was very clear to me, from the outset, that the Second Johannesburg Biennale had to take a critically different approach (conceptually and ideologically) from the first. I say this not to devalue the immense contribution of that exhibition. However, I was quite uncomfortable with the way it was put together, especially in the overtly nationalistic tone that was part of its organising structure. My refusal of this apparatus, which is part of the national pavilion tradition of Venice and São Paolo, gave me the opportunity to attempt to develop a critical paradigm for the re-orientation of Biennales as global cultural enterprises. I wanted to look at this Biennale as being antinational, to bring about a conversation in which we can ask if it is possible to make a transnational Biennale that is not naively boundaryless but that places the privileges that the nation unquestionably enjoys under a more critical gaze'.[475]

The last statement illustrated the extent to which the Biennale was reconceptualised to remove the nationalist underpinning of the previous Biennale, not only through the adoption of the thematic approach, but also through the mixing of artists from very different national backgrounds within the same exhibitions: in fact, many of the artists were itinerant in the sense that they moved from one art centre to another fairly regularly after having moved away from their places of birth.

The second curatorial decision that Enwezor took that distinguished this Biennale from many others involved the delegation of curatorial power. In

spite of the fact that he had full curatorial authority as the event's Artistic Director, he felt it necessary to de-centralise control over the conceptualisation and execution of the event by working with other curators: in the process the event became - in the words of Enwezor - a 'collaborative intellectual exercise'[476]. However, he did not remove himself entirely from a curatorial role, and co-curated the flagship exhibition called 'Alternating Currents' with Octavio Zaya.

This dispersion of curatorial power has a great deal in common with what curator and art critic Gerardo Mosquera (himself one of the curators for the exhibition) terms 'transcultural curating', [477] which should involve the curator in a critical appraisal of his or her own role as the author of exhibitions. Mosquera identified some curatorial principles to counter the increasing trend for individual curators to act as 'discoverer and transcultural czar', appropriating transcultural works based on a Eurocentric set of norms and standards. The problem had much to do with how the role of curator had been defined in Northern Centres: essentially he or she was an 'expert' graced with a set of universal tools with which to make curatorial judgements. These assumptions were inappropriate, as the curator could easily make judgements about transcultural work from a position of ignorance; yet the omnipotent, omniscient role of the curator enabled such decision-making, however inappropriate, under the guise of 'curatorial authority'. The assumptions also tended to be made by curators whose focus was on facilitating the flow of artworks from the 'South' to the 'North'[478] under the rubric of globalisation. Mosquera noted that these curators tended to ignore the importance of building South-South connections, as they were driven by colonial impulses to move artworks from the periphery to the centre.[479]

In an attempt to reverse these practices, Mosquera proposed that curators

should seek to become much more self-conscious about the assumptions they brought to curatorship by democratising the curatorial role. This democratisation could involve including specialists from the curated culture or local advisors. For Mosquera, '...according to my own experience, curating in small teams with the input of diverse advice produces more useful and sophisticated results'.[480] However, Mosquera felt that transcultural curating should not concern itself merely with democratising existing art institutions, if these institutions were based within the established circuits of high art. Rather, curatorial collectives should ensure that exhibitions involve the 'abandoned audiences' who constituted the majority of the world's population, and who were not generally addressed by art events. The building of broader audiences and producers necessitated the changing of art formats coupled with the use of the mass media. Mosquera challenged all curators claiming to operate with the interests of the Postcolonial world at heart to rise to this challenge: in his words, '[the curator's work] must aim as much for communication as for transformation'.[481]

Enwezor sought to implement these objectives by organising the Biennale in a Southern country, and attempting to address themes that relate to the experiences of globalisation by the South, or by those located in various Diasporas. He also spread curatorial responsibility amongst seven curators (including himself), and involved curators that, according to his own judgement, had demonstrated some empathy for the overall themes of the exhibition. In addition, most of the curators and many of the artists they chose were of Southern origin, with a particular effort being made to include curators of African origin. Olu Oguibe was particularly vocal about this positive aspect of the Biennale, in that, unlike many other Biennales, it did not pay lip service to Africans, but it actively involved them in the event's conceptualisation.[482] It is therefore important to measure the extent to which

the exhibition realised these objectives - especially the democratisation of art institutions and the involvement of 'abandoned audiences' that Mosquera claimed were key objectives for transcultural curating - as they were the basis on which the exhibition was organised, and the values that supposedly set it apart from the first Biennale and many other international Biennales.

However, the artworks cannot be reduced to the objectives of the curators, and their value should therefore not be measured by the extent to which they 'illustrate' the curator's objectives of reflecting the impact of globalisation on the Postcolonial world, and developing responses that move beyond nationalist narratives. As Carol Paton has observed in relation to artworks exhibited in the museum context, cultural content 'is not always or not entirely subject to sociological or political description'[483], which means that while artworks are 'producers of ideology and products of social and political interests, they are not entirely reducible to these categories'.[484] Drawing on this point, the relevance of the artworks should not be measured by the extent to which they exemplify the political and economic concepts in the theme. Gen Doy has also endorsed a non-instrumental approach towards art in his discussion on art and Postcolonial theory, and cautions against reducing the complexity of artworks when considering their relationship to Postcolonial theory.[485] In this discussion, he argues that 'much good art will be open, fluid and suggestive, rather than attempting to articulate one meaning or way of being'.[486] In this spirit, much Postcolonial art does not concern itself with illustrating notions like hybridity in a literal fashion, and therefore cannot be reducible to these explanatory concepts; rather these works communicate 'by visual suggestion and juxtaposition'.[487]

The exhibitions

Alternating Currents

The main themes of 'Trade Routes' were most clearly elaborated in the flagship exhibition entitled 'Alternating Currents'. According to its curators, this exhibition focussed on the impact of '…the new era of capitalist restructuring' on the 'non-West'.[488] It sought to examine how globalisation gave rise to new forms of colonialism or ethnocentrism, as the North sought to inscribe the Third World as well in a global monoculture. Yet, this part of the world was more concerned with claiming agency to counter the concrete experiences of globalisation, such as war, migration, exile, racism and poverty: hence the title 'Alternating Currents', which foregrounded the ways in which globalisation generated its own opposition. The exhibition was conceived of as 'a zone of encounters, as a flexible space where histories, facts, theories and various human practices and social relations tangle productively'.[489] The curators also aimed - in the words of Octavio Zaya - to create an open work '...without a privileged focus or centre'.[490] The exhibition was vast and sprawling; nevertheless it is possible to make some general comments about some trends.

The representation of South African artists was very small. The exhibition consisted of eighty-five artists, fourteen of whom came from South Africa. The other artists originated from a range of countries: in fact when the artists are listed according to country of origin, the geographic spread is wide and gives the impression of a truly global exhibition. However, a closer examination of where each artist lived and worked revealed that twenty-four of the artists lived in the United States, with most living in New York. A further twenty-one artists lived in Europe, with the majority living in London and Paris. Ten artists lived in African countries other than South Africa. Eight artists lived in Latin America, two lived in Asia, and one in Eastern Europe.[491] There are several observations that can be drawn from these

statistics. For a start, artists who lived and worked in Northern countries dominated the exhibition, and more especially, established Northern art centres such as New York. Also, many of these artists were born in Southern countries, especially in Africa and Latin America, and had moved to, and practised art in, the various Northern centres for some time.[492] So, a good number of the 'South-South' linkages in this exhibition came into being via one or the other of the Northern art centres. Given the fact that the exhibition was supposed to enhance Johannesburg's image as an emerging 'marginal centre' of culture - which in the words of Armin Medosch, 'appears to be a model for the hybridisation of the world'[493] – it is significant that in reality, the exhibition relied so heavily on 'North-South' linkages.

The influence of a number of these centres was even more evident in relation to the choice of some of the artworks. Many of the artists included in 'Alternating Currents' could be considered established names of 'marginal' art (albeit 'high art'), such as Ghada Amer, Eugenio Dittborne and Cho Duck-Hyun. A number of the artworks shown had been shown before, and even written about as pieces that had an enduring quality as they rose above being mere 'illustrations' of the contradictions of globalisation. Therefore, there was value in showing these works again in the context of the Biennale as examples of 'best practice' in Postcolonial art. Yet the focus on well-known artists and artworks also led to criticisms that the exhibition relied too much on recycling work legitimised in the North, in the process contributing to the homogenisation of Biennales referred to in Chapter One, rather than presenting a fresh perspective on globalisation. These criticisms (to be dealt with in more depth later) were mitigated somewhat by the fact that the artists concerned had not been exhibited in South Africa before.

For example, Yinka Shonibare's installation *Victorian Philanthropist's Parlour* (Figure Ten), which dated back to 1996 and was exhibited before,

portrays a living room.[494] Shonibare, an artist with an international reputation, was born and works in London, although he spent much of his youth in Nigeria: as has been noted, this dual nationality or '....the feeling of not sitting squarely within either culture, is central to his work'.[495] He has exhibited mainly in London, since the late 1980's, and has participated in numerous Biennales. Shonibare's work has ranged from painting and photography to sculpture and installations, with the artworks sharing a common theme of the cultural influences of colonisation - especially the 'civilising' mission of Western powers from Victorian times - both on the colonised and the colonisers. From an early stage in his work, Shonibare used the motif of West African textiles, which, ironically, originated from Indonesian batik and was produced in Holland and England for markets in Africa, to examine assumptions about the originality and authenticity of African identity and African culture. This he did by using a 'commonsense' expression of African culture - namely wax print material - in a variety of contexts, especially in colonial settings.

Shonibare's installation is based on these themes. The installation involves the recreation of a Victorian lounge, centred on a fireplace surrounded by Victorian furniture, and decorated with colonial bric-a-brac and pictures of various British exhibition venues. The coverings on the furniture and the wallpaper are extremely similar, and could be taken at face value to be African batik material.[496] The material is overlaid with images of a black soccer player. In this piece, these colonial references to 'African identity' are treated as window dressing in a domestic colonial display.

The artwork resonated well with the theme of the exhibition in that it challenged the politics of presenting African identity as mediated by colonial needs and interests, and it critiqued the colonial presentation of African identity through irony by challenging the viewers' assumptions about what

constituted authentically African material. However, the inclusion of Shonibare's by-then well-know piece also provoked controversy. Eddie Chambers, noted that – from the perspective of a black person with strong identification with South Africa's apartheid legacy - he felt that Enwezor and Zaya's selection of artworks was 'quite a lazy one'[497], with little evidence of proper research. This was because the inclusion of the work of Shonibare, as well as other 'accomplished and successful artists'[498] from London (who he refers to as the 'London contingent'[499]), hardly constituted an original selection as their work was 'already doing the rounds'.[500] Chambers goes on to argue that '…it is not sufficient to fly in a safe and predictable selection of "international" artists who are already taking part in these mega-exhibitions left, right and centre. Black South African artists within the country need to be respected, acknowledged and, above all, included'.[501]

Anther installation that had been exhibited and written about before, and that raised similar problems to Shonibare's, was Pepón Osorio's installation entitled *Badge of Honour.* Osorio was born in Puerto Rico, and lives and works in New York. The installation dates back to 1995, when it made its debut in a vacant store in downtown Newark and was subsequently installed in the Newark Museum.[502] The installation consists of two adjoining 'rooms': one inhabited by a father (Figure Twelve) and the other by his son (Figure Eleven). The left room is a nearly bare prison cell, with the only piece of furniture being a bunk bed attached to the wall. The cell is home to the father, a man of Latino origin. Several family pictures are pasted on the wall at the foot of the bed. Clothes are folded neatly at the head of the bed, with a pair of sneakers below the bed on the floor. A film is projected onto the left hand wall of the cell; in it, the father asks why his son does not come home on time.[503] The right-hand room, the son's bedroom, is in stark contrast to the bleakness of the cell. The room is gaudily decorated with 'popular culture' consisting of pictures of pop stars, film idols, baseball and

basketball players, as well as American and Puerto Rican souvenirs. Even the bed is encrusted and adorned with decorations and pictures as well as an upholstered Puerto Rican flag. The gaudiness of the room is made even stronger by the reflective tiling on the floor, which mirrors the myriad decorations in the room. On the left hand wall of the room, the wall opposite that of the cell, a film of the son speaking to the father is projected; in it he responds to his father's questions by asking him why he spends so much time in jail.[504]

The juxtaposition of the two cells is open to numerous interpretations. It suggests a deep level of alienation between the father and son; they are literally in opposing worlds. Yet the son's world is more an escape into fantasy than reality, steeped as it is in the excesses of idolatry; his conversation with his father suggests that it is in direct response to the harshness of his father's circumstances, and in rebellion against what he perceived as his father's desertion of him. The dialogue between father and son confronts the viewer with the impact of the cycle of poverty, crime and imprisonment on individual relationships, and therefore helps to understand the experience of marginality from the perspective of affected individuals.

Osorio's explorations of Puerto Rican and American-Latino identity, including the impact of crime on these communities through the use of popular culture is a convention in the artist's body of work dating back to the early 1990's. By that stage he had established his interest in exploring the experience of displacement and political marginalisation experienced by immigrant Puerto Ricans in the United States: an interest that apparently found an outlet given the artworld's heightened interest in 'multiculturalism'. His trademark style involved the use of domestic objects encrusted with American and Latino 'kitsch'.[505] In these installations, he turns the objects into powerful symbols that challenge the boundaries between what is

generally accepted as ‘high art’ and ‘popular culture’, and relates the unsettling of these boundaries to the unsettled nature of the Puerto Rican immigrant community in America. Osorio continued these explorations using this approach in numerous exhibitions throughout the 1990's. So by the time ‘Badge of Honour’ was displayed at the Johannesburg Biennale, the conventions used to explore this variation on the theme of Diasporic marginality were well established and acknowledged.

Another artist with an established reputation was Esko Männikkö, who lives and works in Finland where he was born. He developed this reputation through numerous exhibitions in Finland in the early 1990's, and then began to exhibit in America. He specialises in photographic portraits of Finnish men in rural settings - generally in their own homes - and frames the photographs in old gilt-edged frames, focussing on the experiences of these men of marginality. Reportedly, Männikkö would spend days living with his subjects before taking the photographs, to ensure that they represented the reality of their lives accurately. Most of Männikkö’s photographs focus on individuals and on men. The subjects are portrayed largely in their homes, which are generally quite barren and box-like, enclosing their occupants with an air of claustrophobia; these surroundings suggest the extreme loneliness of these men and the barrenness of their existence. The subjects are not glamorised in any way; on the contrary Männikkö portrays the men as generally unkept, with untidy hair and old clothes, reflecting the decaying nature of their surroundings.

The lack of homely detail is evident in *Kuivaneimi* (Figure Thirteen), where a man sits, arms crossed, in the middle of a settee. Although the man is clearly the focus of the photograph, he is seated quite far away from the photographer which allows Männikkö to include a great deal of detail of the room. His placement on the settee and in the room, which encloses and

dwarfs him, emphasises his aloneness in the room while suggesting a feeling of being boxed in. The photographer's inclusion of particular details are also significant, such as the bare light bulb, the exposed wire leading to the television aerial, the bare table and the piece of cloth strung across the window as a makeshift curtain. These features point to the functional nature of the subject's surroundings, where care has not been taken to decorate the room: a lack of attention to domestic detail that suggests the absence of a family environment.

In his photographs, Männikkö returns constantly to the themes evident in *Kuivaneimi*, namely the marginality of rural Northern Finland and the loneliness and isolation of the men who inhabit this area. Männikkö's exploration of these themes is well established; in fact many of the photographs shown in 'Alternating Currents' were already four years old and had been exhibited in international exhibitions before and had received critical acclaim in art publications.[506]

Other photographs shown in the exhibition were even older. The black and white photographic portraits by Seydou Keita date back to the 1950's[507], pre-dating the very contemporary themes addressed by the exhibition. Keita was born in Mali, and has been practising photography since the 1940's, although he stopped from the mid-1970's to the early-1990's. Since the end of the 1980's, Keita's photographs have been exhibited in Arles, Birmingham, Copenhagen, London, Paris, Rouen and other European cities, and many of his work are in European collections.[508] In his images, Keita focussed on the colonial tradition of the posed photographic portrait, in the process raising explicit questions about the impact of this mode of representation on the identities of the colonised.

Unlike the above mentioned artists, other artists made pieces specifically for

the Johannesburg Biennale, but did so by adapting well-developed (and well-publicised) styles. For example, Chilean-born and based Eugenio Dittborn adapted his concept of airmail 'paintings' for the Biennale, which he pioneered as far back as 1984 to keep contact with a friend who left Chile for Australia in the wake of the then-President Pinochet's brutal repression. The concept also arose in protest against the treatment of Santiago as a marginal art centre, so the making of mobile artworks could be used to transcend spacial and cultural marginalisation: in the words of one commentator '...these mobile visual messages are free to go anywhere and initiate an evolving dialogue with their global audience'.[509] These 'paintings' were in actual fact collages of paintings, silk-screens and founds objects stitched onto a ground of brown wrapping paper.[510] They were then folded up and placed in envelopes and mailed from Dittborn's hometown, Santiago. Since then, Dittborn had expanded his focus to include pieces on the history of colonial dispossession in Chile. Called *Southern Cross* (Figure Fourteen), the piece on this exhibition consisted of his trademark envelopes - this time addressed to the Biennale in Johannesburg - exhibited next to their contents, namely large cross-shaped pieces of cloth adorned with images relating to slavery and colonial expansion on the African continent.

South Korean artist Cho Duck-Hyun also elaborated on a by-then well know style involving the use of colonial Korean portrait photography incorporated into installations[511]. Like Dittborn, Duck-Hyun had established both his themes and his visual vocabulary by the early 1990's, rising to become '...a leading artist of a new generation of Korean artists'. Duck-Hyun has attracted international acclaim, especially through having been exhibited in a range of international art exhibitions. Possibly the most recognisable aspect of his visual vocabulary is the use of the commercial portrait photography, which became extremely popular during the period of Japanese colonial rule. These photographs are contradictory historical

markers. On the one hand, they capture Korean families for posterity (hence the focus of nostalgia and family history). On the other hand, they serve to remind Koreans of the invasive nature of the Japanese colonial values embedded in the genre's history in Korea.[512]

In his larger works, Duck-Hyun blows up photographs to life-size and imposes them on canvass. The canvass is then set into large dark wooden frames or metal-plate boxes, giving the photographs monumentality. He also uses colourful thread knots spaced at regular intervals across the canvass, emphasising the flatness of the picture surface, and hence - despite its life size - the artificiality of the image. All these elements are present in his piece exhibited in 'Trade Routes', entitled *Our Theory of the 20th Century* (Figure Fifteen). The installation consisted of a circle of six large crates, five of which contained life-size sepia portrait photographs of several generations of Koreans. Two of the photographs are highly stylised, posed studio portraits of Koreans in Western dress. Two others are photographs of a woman and twin daughters, posing in a natural setting. The fifth photograph is of a man dressed in a labourer's outfit. When grouped together, the photographs suggest a drawing together of different generations into a single artwork, all reflecting different positions in, and attitudes to, the Korean colonial hierarchy. The sixth crate contains a blank canvass, suggesting a history that has yet to be captured in images. The work is noteworthy for the multiplicity of responses to colonialism that it gives voice to.

Ghada Amer, who was born in Egypt and lives in New York, is another well-known artist with a distinctive, easily recognisable style and set of themes. She focuses on stereotyping of women, using the 'traditionally' female medium of sewing. Using plain canvass, she sews repetitious images that relate to society's stereotypical images of women.[513] Her piece called

Untitled (Figure Sixteen) was made in 1996, and forms part of the Annina Nosei Gallery collection in New York. In *Untitled*, Amer has sewn images on raw, stretched canvass; the images are repeated in two sets of rows across the canvass. The first row depicts a woman bending over and opening her vagina to the viewer. The second row depicts one woman performing cunnilingus on another woman. The repetitious nature of the images, coupled with the prominence of the thread (the ends of the thread are left loose and are clearly visible across the canvass) emphasise the artificiality of the images: they are literally constructs, or stereotypes, made using one of the most stereotyped media of all in relation to women. In making these images, Amer draws on a tradition of feminist embroidery art practised by artists such as Judy Chicago and Kate Walker, which for decades has challenged the boundaries between craft and art.

Vivan Sundaram's installation entitled *Great Indian Bazaar* (Figures Eighteen and Nineteen) is a more outrightly critical piece, as it is an explicit examination of the effects of globalisation on India; however, the piece does not descend into being literal. Sundaram is no stranger to the 'marginal' art circuit. He has been described as one of the more prominent artists in India today, and credited with 'bringing' installation art to India.[514] Sundaram made the installation specifically for the Biennale, and subsequently exhibited it in Delhi and Mumbai in India, in Amsterdam in 1999 and in Bangalore in 2000.

The installation consists of number of objects associated with industrial mass production - including tin boxes carrying photographs of decrepit Singer sewing machines - arranged in a ring around a series of offset printing plates attached to a wall. The sheets are stamped with 'Made in India' industrial production stamps, with superimposed texts from Indian anti-globalisation economists Prabhat Patnaik, Utsa Patnaik and C.P

Chandrasekhar outlining the effects of globalisation and trade liberalisation on the third world generally, and India specifically. These texts focus on the way Indian labour is paid starvation wages in the interests of globalisation and international competitiveness. The installation also includes a pile and a stacked pillar of photographs framed in red steel frames bought in a market. The photographs were taken by the artist at a Sunday market near the Red Fort, and depict used goods. The work focuses attention on the multitude of bazaars in India that recycle and re-sell consumer goods, many of which have been discarded by more well off consumers in Indian society; it intimates that the producers of consumer goods - who by inference make globalisation possible - are forced through exploitation to live off recycling the very goods they made for the beneficiaries of globalisation. In the same way that the exploited labourers of India are forced to live from these products, they are also made to consume images recycled for global middle-class consumption.

The above mentioned artworks shared the characteristic of being allusive, rather than literal 'illustrations' of the exhibition theme. Some of the other works on display tended towards being didactic and literal, though. In fact, some degenerated into being mere illustrations of the theme in a very obvious manner. For instance, Theresa Serrano's video entitled *The Grass is Always Greener on the Other Side of the Fence*, (Figure Seventeen) consists of two sets of images fading into and out of one another; these images are projected onto three screens. The first set consists of swarms of insects (mainly butterflies) migrating from one open space to another. These images then fade to be replaced by another set of images depicting the mass migration of displaced African people: the precise identity of the displacees is not clear. The video could be read on the most didactic level as dealing with the exhibition theme of displacement and immigration, comparing the migration of displaced people seeking a better life with the

migration of insects seeking a more conducive climate; however, the comparison is also open to a less flattering interpretation, given that the artist could be accused of dehumanising her subjects by associating their movements with the 'herd' mentality of swarms of insects.

Carlos Uribe exhibited rows of 'wooden boxes for trading and sowing' (in the artists words) under the title *Landscape 1:* a form of installation that dates back to works produced in 1992.[515] Most of the boxes are filled with seed, with a rough diagonal row of boxes containing crude oil cutting across the arrangement, suggesting the life and death role that oil has come to play in global trade. Peter Spaans's grouped photographs draw unremarkable parallels between different cities in their juxtaposition of 'old' and 'new' architecture, pointing to the ways in which globalisation creates urban spaces that are increasingly similar to one another in appearance. Spaans has been taking such photographs for a long time, with some photographs dating back to 1982.[516]

A number of these artworks shared the common characteristic of exploring the lived experiences of marginalised communities in the context of globalisation and the earlier phase of colonialism, often assisting the viewer to understand the individual impact of these processes; as explorations of the darker side of globalisation, they are generally highly critical of its effects. The personal toll of colonisation was also developed in exploring the theme of 'home', interpreted with varying degrees of literalness in works by artists like Pat Motlau, Zwelethu Mthetwa and Esko Männikö. This element of nuance allowed one critic to praise the exhibition as 'international art at its most profound', and as 'state of the art' work that required 'a little more intellectual engagement than toe-tapping to *Do You Wanna Be My Lover?*'[517], the implication being that even though the host was a local government, it had the foresight to support an exhibition that rose above

being a simple government propaganda exercise: indeed this was one of the second Biennale's main strengths. Yet it could also be agued that the critical tone evident in a number of these artworks interacted in complex ways with the GJMC's attempts to project Johannesburg as an outward-oriented city eager to shed its parochial apartheid-era skin. While prompting audiences to think deeply about the professed benefits of the very process of globalisation that the GJMC was now required to embrace, their critical tone did not necessarily disrupt this exercise in image building, though. In fact they could serve this purpose even better than celebratory ones, as the former could be used to portray the event as a platform representing marginal interests, and an event with a critical 'edge' could play this role better than an outrightly propagandistic one. As a result, one critic could comment that, in the light of the 'potential for social explosion in South Africa today', given the still-existing apartheid legacy of economic inequalities, '...Johannesburg seems ideally suited to bring into focus the problems of globalisation'.[518]

Also, the trade-off of exhibiting existing 'state of the art' artworks was that a key intention of transcultural curating – namely to break out of the established circles of 'high art' to make spaces for excluded groups to express themselves – was blunted, in that the curators demonstrated a tendency to recycle already-existing work, possibly assuming that they would be unknown to South African audiences. Some participants also went on to use the Johannesburg Biennale as a marker of their relevance in the marginal stakes, and even to recycle their works for other 'global' audiences: for example, Sundaram made work specifically for Johannesburg Biennale, but then proceeded to exhibit it over and over again for years after the Biennale.

In itself, the re-exhibition of well-known artworks did not neutralise their

significance; as examples of Postcolonial art, a number of the artworks mentioned above were exemplary, and deserved further exposure beyond their original contexts. Also, the re-exhibition of non-site specific installations can actually challenge some of the more problematic assumptions of art-making. This point has been made by Claire Bishop in her discussion of the installations of Cildo Meireles, where she argued that the transportability of these installations into new contexts - rather than being tied to a specific site - has '[worked] against the aura of the unique work of art'.[519] But this practice does raise particular questions about whether the recycling of work exhibited in the North represents the most appropriate use of the scarce resources available to Southern Biennales, and whether this practice does not contribute to the homogenisation of Biennales.

Rasheed Araeen has commented on this practice in the context of the Johannesburg – which he termed 'mimicry' of Western exhibitions - and argued that it is a dubious use of resources that could have been put to better use. According to Araeen:

> 'Enwezor's own curated show, along with other shows particularly in Johannesburg, were the kind of shows which could have taken place anywhere in the world. What was the point of gathering all these artists in Johannesburg, most of whom were already being shown around the world through international exhibitions and Biennales? Instead of developing and asserting its unique identity, different from other Biennales, formed by the dynamic of its own historical conditions, [the] Johannesburg Biennale ended up mimicking what was happening in other parts of the Western world. The Johannesburg Biennale, in my view, was a failure. It was a case of a missed opportunity for which South Africa had to pay a heavy price, in terms of its intellectual energy, efforts and economic resources which could have been used

for much more useful purposes'.[520]

These questions were to emerge in relation to other exhibitions as well, as discussed below.

Important and exportant

The tensions between the claims of the curators and the actual contents of the exhibition they were curating were also evident in Gerardo Mosquera's exhibition 'Important and Exportant'. The exhibition consisted of eight 'mini-exhibitions' of different artists, and was based in the Johannesburg Art Gallery. According to Mosquera, the approach of the Biennale towards artists of international importance needed examination, as it ensured that participation was restricted to those artists who '...have been developing a substantial corpus of work in these directions'.[521] He noted that notions of who is considered important tend to rest on assumptions about the universality of art: assumptions that often disguise the construction of hegemonic values based on apartheid-style practices. So a small group of 'importance-makers' select certain forms of art and shut others out, based on the needs of the mainstream art world.

In response to this ranking system, Mosquera selected seven artists from different parts of the world, some of whom were 'very well known', and some who were not. This he did in an attempt to explore the assumptions behind labelling certain artists important, as these terms tend to be '…related to the mainstream or broad international recognition, which, in its turn, depends on established circuits'.[522] Instead, the exhibition strove towards a more diversified, 'international' definition of importance, while working inside the structures [of the exhibition], but against the mainstream'[523]. He selected these artists because, in his words, '...most of

these artists' lives were transformed by desired or forced migrations, or were conditioned by travel of diverse kinds...More importantly, they produce works that are crossroads of diasporas as well, involving shifts of different sort, multiplicity, intermingling, transculturation.... in a complex range of interactions. The metaphor of "Trade Routes" applies here to the process of the very works'. [524] The curator deliberately restricted the exhibition to photographs and installations because he considered these media to be the most able to deal with the '...contemporary kaleidoscope and its slippage of sense'.[525] He noted that '…all artists here [in the exhibition] work in ways that take advantage of these morphologies' possibilities, and simultaneously subvert them'.[526]

It is not clear, from the group of artists assembled though, that these objectives were realised in practice. For instance, it is difficult to see how the inclusion of artists who enjoyed varying degrees of recognition from the mainstream art circuit at the time of the exhibition, like Ana Mendieta, Sophie Calle and Frédéric Bruly Bouabré, could be seen as a subversion of mainstream 'importance-making'.

The exhibition also reduced the complexity of the field of installation art, and barely acknowledged far more adventurous and even subversive trends referred to in the Introduction, in spite of its curator's claims to the contrary. The fact that the exhibition focuses on photography and sculptural installations (with some pieces being photographic installations) is also noteworthy, as this emphasis reinforced the 'high art' assumption of art being primarily a visual experience.

Mendieta's inclusion in the exhibition was especially noteworthy, as her relationship to 'the mainstream' had been complex even when she was alive, given her attempts to reconcile her Cuban background with her art

training in an American university. This she attempted to do by using her acquired skills in performance and photography to ‘become one with the earth’, where her body, or representations of her body, are inscribed on the earth in sites in several countries outside America, including Mexico and her birth-place, Cuba (some of these works were shown in the exhibition). However, the way in which she constructed these images – especially the use of problematic gender stereotypes – called into question the extent to which she ‘worked against the mainstream’; these problems become evident through an examination of the works included in the exhibition.

From 1972 to 1974, Mendieta was a graduate student in the Intermedia Department of the University of Iowa, which exposed students to the most experimental fine art, including the performance and installation works of Vito Acconci, Hans Haacke and Robert Smithson. At that stage she drew on the performance conventions championed by these artists, and used them to explore gender identity through manipulation of ‘feminine’ modes of appearance. Mendieta then organised a series of performances based on the themes of violence against women, using mixtures of blood and red paint to make body prints. She also captured in photographs the staging of a rape and murder of a student on campus, as well as other performances re-enacting violent acts. Mendieta also began to use her body to create tracks on walls, floors and sheeting, which again were captured in photographs. This work formed the basis of the *Silueta* series, with an added element involving references to pre-Columbian cultures and their use of natural elements to make art.

The photographs on exhibit date back to a series of performances undertaken in the 1970's, which are documented in highly colourful photographs. These photographs are part of the *Silueta* series,[527] undertaken between 1973 and 1977, and combine earth art, body art and

performance. The photographs are based on Mendieta's body as a silhouette that is marked or drawn on the landscape in a variety of ways, including being carved in stone, moulded from earth or snow, shaped with rocks, or outlined with flowers, pigment, blood or fire. This temporary, or in some cases permanent, marking of the earth with her silhouette evokes images of the 'earth mother' stereotype, as well as biblical visions of birth and death involving coming from, and going back to the earth. The photographs also portray different modes of connection with the earth, which imply different emotional states. For example, one photograph portrays a ring of Bougainvillea flowers, similar to a wreath, in a sunken area surrounded by rocks. To the left of the 'wreath' is the entrance to what seems to be a tomb. This photograph does not include Mendieta's body at all, but makes reference to it by its absence, creating a strong impression of death, burial and remembrance.

Another photograph evokes mixed messages of violence and feminine connection with the earth. It is taken on a soft sandy area, where the impression of Mendieta's body has been sunk into the sand. The impression portrays a figure with its arms up, evoking the poses of pre-Columbian earth goddesses; it is also deeply etched into the sand, implying that an extremely heavy body made it (further reinforcing the earth goddess associations). The impression is laced with red dry pigment from the waist down and from the neck up, which suggests another reading of the splayed arms, namely that the impression is that of a murdered woman. These associations of violence against women and death on the one hand, and a celebration of women's connection with the earth through an evocation of female cult figures on the other, are complex and even contradictory. They relate to a variety of emotional states that cannot be reduced to a simplistic and escapist celebration of the earth.

The exhibition also included a number of photographs from her *Rupestrian sculptures* series (Figure Twenty). The series involves black and white photographs of silhouettes carved into the Cuban landscape. The series documents Mendieta connecting to Cuba in a very direct way by inscribing her image on the earth. In these images, Mendieta subverts the post-nationalist intentions of the exhibitions by seeking to resolve problems of Diaspora by literally connecting with the earth of the country from which she is separated: a nationalist act if ever there was one.

Mendieta has been criticised for reproducing stereotypes about women's and 'primitive culture's' connection to the earth: a criticism that has currency in relation to the above mentioned works. The visual associations between women and the earth evident in these artworks have even been referred to by critic/ painter Mira Schor as a form of 'feminist essentialism'. These associations, according to Juan Vincente Aliaga, present serious obstacles for womens' emancipation in that the old binaries of women equal nature and men equal culture remain, leading to women running the risk of '...being dispossessed of their political sting'.[528] Certainly her explanation for the *Rupestrian* and *Silhouta* series gives no cause for comfort in this respect: in a grant proposal for the former project, she noted the following:

> 'It was during my childhood in Cuba that I first became fascinated by primitive art and cultures. It seems as if these cultures are provided with an inner knowledge, a closeness to natural resources. And it is this knowledge which gives reality to the images they have created. This sense of magic, knowledge and power found in primitive art has influenced my personal attitude towards art making. For the past twelve years, I have been working out in nature, exploring the relationship between myself, the earth and art. I have thrown myself into the very elements that produced me, using the earth as my

canvas and my soul as my tools'. [529]

This excerpt betrays an alarming romanticism about 'primitive cultures', which opens the door for her work to be appropriated as an expression of exotic 'non-Western' culture. In fact it could be argued that Mendieta attempts to resolve her own displacement as a Cuban by using problematic primitivist stereotypes to connect with her 'motherland' and other 'non-Western' locations. Also, the fact that she aligned her work with feminist and Hispanic communities of interest '...led to her work to be seen as fulfilling two minority quotas [ethnic and feminist], and the U.S. mainstream's quota system accounts for the velocity of her short career'.[530] Mendieta has become one of a group of artists associated with the early feminist movement who have been recently 'rediscovered' by the mainstream artworld, starting in America and then spreading further afield. Her work, and the work of other artists such as Carolee Schneemann and Hannah Wilke, have come to the attention of the very 'importance makers' that Mosquera criticised. They have been referred to as a 'heritage' for much of today's experimental art focussing on gender and the body, giving a historical context to the work of artists such as Cindy Sherman, Sue Williams and Lorna Simpson. In fact, Michael Duncan has noted that '…with an inexorable rush, feminist art from the past seems to be at last entering the mainstream art world'.[531]

It is highly debateable whether the work of artists such as Mendieta formed the historical basis for later feminist works in a causal fashion, but clearly her work served a useful purpose to provide historical legitimacy for the later artists; also, the manner in which her ethnic background was depoliticised through the use of non-threatening stereotypes of 'mother nature' could have made this process easier. Mosquera largely effaced these difficult questions of appropriation. The curator also did not engage sufficiently with

the venue in which the exhibition was held (the Johannesburg Art Gallery). Given that a museum is generally taken to be a key institution in the conferring of the status of 'importance', one would have thought that Mosquera would have found ways of exploring the tensions of holding an exhibition dedicated to artists working against the mainstream in this venue.

Sophie Calle has also been recognised as a major artist by the 'importance makers', albeit for much longer than Mendieta; in fact she has been referred to as a cult figure in her native France. Calle is one of the few artists whose main concern is not related to Diasporic identity. She has practised in a variety of media; while her work in the early years was exhibited mainly outside the gallery context, she has received recognition since the 1990's in major mainstream art venues, such as the Boijmans in Rotterdam and Leo Castelli in New York. She has specialised in photographic installations documenting real life scenarios in minute, even voyeuristic detail. For example, in 1981, she followed a man on the streets of Paris, whom she then followed on a trip to Venice. She documented this trip in detail using photographs and text that she then published in a book. She has also posed as a chambermaid in a hotel, and documented the rooms she cleaned to the point of photographing the guests' dirty laundry. She also created an artwork out of an address book she found in the street, where she interviewed everyone in the address book, and had the interviews published every day for a month in the French newspaper *Liberation*.[532] Calle has also produced works associated with the loss of culturally significant objects, such as the 1991 work *Last Seen*, where she interviewed staff of the Gardner Museum in Boston about their recollection of stolen artworks.[533] So while she has received much recognition – and therefore could easily be considered 'important' – it is not at all clear from this brief account of her artistic history that she could be considered subversive of the mainstream. An examination of the work on display in the

exhibition does not to clear up this confusion.

Calle's installation in Mosquera's exhibition was made a year before. It drew on this theme of absence, as well as the meticulous documenting of individual responses to particular situations. The installation entitled *The Detachment* (Figure Twenty-One) is a series of photographs accompanied by booklets secured below each photograph. The photographs and booklets are arranged around a room in the gallery. The sequence starts with a text on the wall stating the following:

> 'I visited places from which symbols of the former East Germany have been effaced. I asked passers-by to describe the objects that once filled these empty spaces. I photographed the absence and replaced the missing monuments with their memories'.[534]

One of these symbols was a memorial statue of Vladimir Lenin, which stood in front of a block of flats. Calle interviewed one of the residents of the block; the interview is transcribed in the booklet displayed below a photograph of the block of flats showing where the statue was situated. In the photograph, a ring of rocks and streetlights clearly mark where the statue was situated. Apart from the interview, the booklet also contains a black and white photograph of the statue *in situ*. According to the interviewee, the statue was unveiled in 1970, and dominated the view from the flats since then; in fact the statue was so tall that it blocked the view of the interviewee from the eleventh floor of the block. S/he described with some resentment the domineering nature of the statue, and foreignness of it and the way, therefore it represented '...the problem with all the big shots in politics'.[535] S/he also expressed great relief at the fact that the statue was removed, although s/he resented the fact that - as with the erection of the statue - they were not consulted about its removal, which showed that the

Western system of capitalism was as unconcerned about their views as the system they had lived under.

Another part of the installation focussed on the change of name of a street. The street was originally named Wilhelm Pieck Street, after a member of the Social Democratic Party of Germany who died in 1960. He was also a co-founder of the Communist Party of Germany and became its Chairman in 1935. He became the President of the German Democratic Republic in 1949. A street was named after him, which was then re-named after the fall of East Germany. The colour photograph depicts the street sign, which is positioned right in the centre of the photograph. Buildings and barricades can be seen in the background, positioned in such a manner that they frame the street sign. The signpost still carries the old sign, which has been crossed out with a black and red line. Above the old sign is the new sign, with the street name Torstrasse (which translates as Gate Street). According to the person interviewed by Calle, s/he felt divided about the re-naming as Pieck was reportedly a likeable politician, and effacing his name did not efface the fact that he was a crucial part of East German history. S/he argued that the old names were important as reminders.

A third part of the installation related to an insignia of the German Democratic Republic, which was partly dismantled in 1990. The insignia was above an entrance to a railway station. The insignia consisted of a large circular frame containing a stalk of barley, a hammer and a pair of dividers. When the insignia was dismantled, all the elements save the circle were removed. The colour photograph shows the insignia framed by a large window, which visually emphasises the emptiness of the circle. According to the interviewee, whose transcript is placed below the photograph as with the other pieces, the circle looks ridiculous without the other elements, and '…now its gone and with it the possibility of remembering'. While s/he

expressed ambivalent and times contradictory views about the removal, but was firm in the fact that s/he did not want to see the circle replaced by Coca-Cola signs.

Overall, the installation is an extremely revealing, but subtle, reflection on the social contradictions accompanying the fall of the Berlin Wall. It exposes the complexity of attitudes held by East Germans to the integration with West Germany, and points to the fact that this was not the panacea to the country's problems as many had hoped. It also makes space for a range of voices to be incorporated into the artwork, not just the artist's, and therefore differs from Mendieta' self-involved approach. While this work does not relate to themes of Diaspora and forced migration, it certainly fits in, in a loose way with the broader themes of 'shifts of different sorts', given that it maps the rapid changes in East German society. Its nuance also set it apart from many of the other literal 'illustrations' of globalisation exhibited in 'Trade Routes'. However, it is significant that Calle is represented by this work, which established her reputation in Germany as a major gallery-based installation artist, thereby marking a departure from her earlier participatory work outside the gallery system.

The complexity of incorporating broader participation into gallery-based installation art is highlighted in the work of two other artists, Cildo Meireles and David Hammons. At the time of the exhibition, Brazilian artist Meireles was no stranger on the international art circuit, having produced and exhibited art since the 1960s. Meireles exhibited an installation consisting of a dock surrounded by a sea of books open on colour photographs of the sea (Figure Twenty-Three). A recorder chants waves of voices repeating the word 'water' in many languages. According to Mosquera, the installation referred to the strategic historical and geographical position of the Cape of Good Hope in the process of global integration. The installation was set in

the corner of the museum, partitioned off from the public so that the public could not interact physically with the work.[536]

The prevention of interaction with his work was a far cry from his original intention in making installations. According to Meireles, he began making installations in the early 1970s in protest against what he has described as the 'authoritarian' nature of more traditional media like painting and sculpture, where artists produced objects that were then easy to buy and sell as commodities. These media also did not lend themselves to audience participation (other than the rather passive act of viewing). Inspired by the radical vision of the 1968 uprising, coupled with the increasingly repressive situation in Brazil, Meireles aimed to develop installations into a politically engaged, interactive form of art that could not be commodified as its existence was fleeting. He pursued this form of work for the next two decades, gradually becoming more and more inscribed in the mainstream international art scene.[537] The tension between the original intention of embarking on installations and the end result in Mosquera's exhibition – namely a museum-based installation that the public could interact with in a limited fashion – was apparent, and typified the sort of institutionalisation of installations that Coulter-Smith referred to (in the literature review on installation art in the Introduction).

At the time of the Biennale, David Madalla was an artist with a well-established reputation, and in fact had exhibited internationally since the 1960s. Originally from the Philippines, he travels to different parts of the world engaging the people he meets on his travels in artmaking. Like Meireles, Madalla also had a strong interest in participatory artmaking that challenged traditional relationships between audiences as passive spectators and artists as omnipotent makers of meaning. During the late 1960s and early 1970s he made a series of 'participation works' involving

audiences stitching artefacts to large cloths in public spaces, and entitled *A Stitch in Time*. (Figure Twenty-Four).[538] For Mosquera's exhibition, he revived this old series, and engaged museum audiences in a performance involving them bringing any objects they wished to 'trade', and then stitching them to the cloth. While this was possibly the only installation on show that attempted to put the notion of audience participation into practice, the participants would be restricted to the gallery-going public. It is also difficult to see how the inclusion of his work amplified Mosquera's theme, given the fact that the 'importance' of the series that Madalla exhibited had long been established.

Another artist who received a great deal of prominence in the exhibition has also become well known in the mainstream art world is Frédéric Bruly Boubaré; he has also been associated with the 'art brut' movement. Since 1994, his work has been exhibited in Tokyo, Paris, London and Berlin, and at the São Paulo, Venice and Sydney Biennales. Boubaré was born in 1923, and worked as a government official in the Côte d'Ivoire, for the French Institute for Sub-Saharan Africa. Boubaré began exhibiting in the museum attached to the Institute, and then began exhibiting in France when interest developed in his work. His series entitled *Knowledge of the World* (Figure Twenty-Five), consists of extremely detailed drawings on postcards, using a ballpoint pen and coloured pencils.

In short, it is not clear from the above overview of the artists on display[539] what it is about their inclusion that constituted gestures against the mainstream, as envisaged by Mosquera. Certainly, most of the artists originated from art practices that attempted to incorporate audiences as participants, and to this end had begun their artmaking careers working outside the gallery system, but the output of a number of these artists had in fact adapted to the gallery system as the years went on; so while they may

have been ‘exportant’ at some stage for engaging in ‘gestures against the mainstream’, it is difficult to see how this term could be applied sensibly to the artist’s works as a whole. Mosquera’s statement seems to be more of a symbolic statement to give the exhibition an aura of currency on the marginal circuit, rather than a statement of intent to be realised in practice. The above overview points to ‘Important and Exportant’ being an exhibition that did not examine its own assumptions, and which reproduced accepted notions of importance rather than critiquing them. Particularly contestable is Mosquera’s contention that these artists use installations to both invoke and subvert the morphology of the artform. In fact, it is apparent that the artworks discussed were mainly sculptural installations largely attuned to a gallery setting, and that did not question sufficiently the morphology of this form of installation: as a result, Mosquera presented the exhibition as being more *avant-garde* than it actually was.

Hong Kong, etc and Transversions

This lack of critical enquiry was even more pronounced in other exhibitions, especially *Hong Kong etc.*, where the curator Hou Hanru almost acted as a praise singer for Hong Kong as a model Postcolonial global city, and therefore a ‘metaphor for a universal future’. *Hong Kong etc.* was a multimedia exhibition, involving installations in galleries and public spaces, and text and image presentations and discussions on a website, much of which was developed into an electronic downloadable book.

According to Hanru, Hong Kong is a metaphor for contemporary hybridity as articulated by Homi Bhabha, given its history as a gateway between the East and the West; in addition, its reversion to Chinese rule in 1997 means that it has truly become a Postcolonial city. The geopolitical changes following the Cold War have led to Western-style capitalism penetrating

countries that were previously cut off from its influence. In the process of expansion, the capitalist market has extended its interests to 'other' cultures outside its traditional frame of reference; at the same time, these 'other' cultures are themselves in a process of flux, as they embrace more and more aspects of capitalism. According to Hanru, these changes are also affecting major cities, with 'old' global cities like New York, Paris, London and Tokyo, being challenged by the emergence of 'new' global cities such as Hong Kong, Johannesburg, Beijing, Shanghai, and São Paulo. These 'new' cities now have to grapple with how to articulate their older traditions with the technological revolution engendered by globalisation. According to Hanru,

> 'These new global cities represent the erection of new economic, cultural, and even political powers which are bringing about a new world order and new visions for our planet. What is the most important thing is that with their own specific legacies, these cities become new and original spaces in which visions and understandings of Modernity, and new possibilities of "Utopian/ Dystopian" imagination, can be elaborated and invented. It is perhaps the most decisive aspect of the global mutation that we are experiencing at the end of the millennium'.[540]

In another tract on the exhibition theme, Hanru described Hong Kong as a 'metaphorical departure for thinking about the global and the technological, and on the dialectic between the global and the local, while searching for effective ways towards the realisation of the global city'.[541] One of the key features of Hong Kong is that it turns on international travel; in fact large numbers of Hong Kong residents travel internationally on an ongoing basis, and a large amount of business is conducted on an international basis. Its status as the most dynamic metropolis on the planet (according to Hanru)

has also rendered the idea of the nation-state meaningless: an identity which mainland China would have wanted to impose on Hong Kong to legitimise a recolonisation process. In any event, argues Hanru, national identity would have no resonance on a population that has been subjected to so many dramatic changes and diverse influences down the decades. The extreme density of inner-city Hong Kong living, with its hurly-burly collision of different media, signs, images and information, has become a model for de-territorialised urban identity.[542]

Hanru has also drawn parallels between Hong Kong and South Africa, arguing that the latter is experiencing a similar transition in terms of political, historical, cultural and economic movement, and furthermore shares the experience of a colonial past with Hong Kong. He notes that Johannesburg is at the epicentre of this transition, in that it is experiencing urban restructuring similar to Hong Kong, including the transformation into an information-based society. This transformation in turn is affecting art, architecture and the intellectual life in the city, which has provided much of the impetus for the holding of the Johannesburg Biennale.[543]

From this passage, it is apparent Hanru embraced the global city 'model' uncritically. While on one level, the themes rhyme well with the overall themes of *Trade Routes*, they contradicted them on another level. For example, Hanru openly advocated a post-national culture, with Hong Kong acting as a model. However, the fact that truly addressing the needs of 'excluded cultures and polities' - as per the objectives of *Trade Routes* – sat uncomfortably with the global city development framework was not addressed in Hanru's explanatory notes on *Hong Kong etc.;* in fact, the conceptual mismatch between Hanru's notes and Enwezor's theme was not even acknowledged.

This mis-match was even more evident in relation to the exhibition catalogue which - apart from the exhibition texts - contained a critical essay by the Professor of Urban Planning at Columbia University, Saskia Sassen. The essay entitled 'Whose City is It? Globalisation and The Formation of New Claims', focuses on the centrality of place, and especially cities, to the constitution of globalisation. She argues for the introduction of cities into the analysis of economic globalisation, while recognising that cities are highly contested and even contradictory spaces. Sassen draws on political economy critiques of global cities, noting that these cities are never truly global in that they consist of centres and peripheries. She further argues that cities have become battle zones between capitalists and working class communities. The former use these spaces to advance their version of globalisation, while the latter - who may be as de-nationalised as urban capitalists given the dynamics of migration - fight for resources. She notes that, by virtue of these struggles, today's cities are becoming the hothouses of Postcolonial discourse, in that they are generating cultural work that gives expression to these struggles around the distribution of resources in the global economy and the place of increasingly transnational populations.[544]

This sort of analysis is markedly absent in Hanru's writings on *Hong Kong, etc*., as well as in the curatorial decisions he took about the exhibition. Notwithstanding the critical edge that Sassen brings to *Trade Routes*, she does not address who she considers to be the primary change agents in overcoming the contradictions she identifies, and what the methods of effecting that change would be to ensure a more equitable distribution of urban space. As a result, it is not clear from Sassen's article precisely which communities she thinks should be showcased in an exhibition claiming to represent 'excluded cultures and polities'.

Hanru's exhibition consisted largely of very obvious, even literal, illustrations

of his theme. The photographs of Andreas Gursky are a case in point. Gursky has established a reputation for his digitally altered photographs of the urban public spaces of late capitalism. His photographs portrayed a transport terminus in India, shot from above (Figure Twenty-Six). The aerial view of the terminus lent the photographs a strong graphic quality, which was reinforced by the strong linear patterns created by the buses and cars moving around a traffic circle. The fact that the commuters were so far away from the viewer reinforced the abstract nature of the photographs, as they were reduced to elements in the overall pattern. This treatment also depersonalised the commuters. Seemingly, the photographs represented an extremely busy transit point as an illustration of the hurly burly world of travel that the exhibition theme addressed, but they did very little to assist the viewer in understanding the human experience of travel and transit.

Other works were included as literal illustrations of the exhibition theme, such as Bodys Isek Kingelez from Kinshasa. He became known for his painstaking construction of models cities and aspects of cities (often imaginary), from cardboard. [545] His models contained tremendously detailed renditions of buildings, especially skyscrapers (Figure Twenty-Seven). The buildings were often highly decorated, with details being made out of cardboard or tin foil and stuck on, or drawn on in a highly stylised fashion. The works bore a strong resemblance to the architectural models produced to assist in the design of urban building projects, save for their decorative nature that lent them a fantastical air. They also appeared to be quite childlike, reminding the viewer of Lego sets or mini cities built for the amusement of children.

The inclusion of Kingelez in this exhibition was quite telling, given the controversy surrounding how he came to be exhibited in mainstream art circles. His first solo exhibitions were in Paris and Berlin, and his work was

then exhibited in the *Africa 95* festival, in the Serpentine Gallery's *Big City* exhibition. The dominant theme of this exhibition was enigma and fantasy, and was curated by André Magnin. His work was then reproduced in a survey of African art undertaken by Magnin and Jacques Soulillou, and entitled *Contemporary Art of Africa*. Both the exhibition and the survey have proved to be controversial in that they excluded artists with academic training almost completely. Of the approximately sixty artists they surveyed, nearly all were trained through apprenticeships, workshops or by self-experimentation. The authors justified this approach by stating that academically trained African artists favour a form of hybridisation that leads to a 'fuzzy aesthetic in which confusion reigns, which refuses to strike out into unknown territory'.[546] Magnin and Soulillou have played an extremely important role in exposing academically untrained artists (who have been termed 'autodidacts') and arguing that they represent a more 'authentic' African aesthetic than trained artists. Their role in this respect has been likened by Sidney Littleford Kasfir to those curators criticised by Gerardo Mosquera for effecting a recolonisation of Postcolonial art by acting as '…an advance guard, which used to scout territories and sign treaties with indigenous communities before settlement (and consequent displacement) took place'.[547] They have defined aesthetic taste in African art by reproducing the 'nature/ culture' divides, where untrained artists - being closer to their natural imaginations - should be prioritised over artists who have entered the realm of (Western) culture through academic training.[548] The inclusion of Kingelez in Hanru's exhibition implied that urban development and all its trappings were a natural part of the contemporary impulse.

Huang Yong Ping adopted a slightly more critical, if literal, approach to urban development than the above-mentioned artists and the curator. Ping produced an installation entitled *The Doomsday* (Figure Twenty-Eight),

which was drawn from a solo exhibition of the same name held in Geneva in 1997. The installation consists of large cones - resembling large china bowls - with images of various buildings of colonial and military occupation inscribed in coloured crayon on the outside. Outside the buildings are flagstaffs flying the flags of the various European colonial powers. Inside the bowls are packets of foodstuffs produced by these countries; many of these foodstuffs would qualify as 'junk food'. The inference of the installation is not difficult to understand, hence the criticism of the work being fairly literal: the consumer society of these cultures is the product of the period of colonial expansion of the European superpowers, and is therefore nothing to be celebrated.

Videos were also prominent in Hanru's exhibition, which was not surprising given that video art was a booming art form in China and Hong Kong. Hanru also included a video by well-known London-based artist Keith Piper. The video is entitled *The Exploded City* (Figure Twenty-Nine), and dates back to 1994. The video installation consisted of three panels, on which three separate but related videos are projected. The main video is projected onto the centre panel, and focuses mainly on a woman who narrates the theme of the video. She draws parallels between the fragmentations, even violence, in the modern city with the fragmentation of meaning when the Tower of Babel was built. These parallels are made visually in the three videos, which, while focussing on different aspects of the theme, repeat the same motifs on occasion. One of the strongest motifs is the Tower of Babel, which swirls around a fulcrum. It alternates with images of London, and British police breaking up 'race riots'. The message of the video is clear, and is delivered through very strong visual and audio messages: the exclusive national identity of the British has been exploded by the multiplicity of influences engendered through immigration. As much as the British authorities have attempted to quell claims on British identity through

violence, the singular identity of a city such as London has been 'exploded' and the multiplicity of 'languages', as per the Tower of Babel, is now the new reality of the city. However, the juxtaposition of these videos implies the new global city is not characterised by unity around the new reality of globalisation, but fragmentation, violence and authoritarianism.

It should be evident from this discussion of some of the works shown in *Hong Kong, etc*., that while the curator has approached the exhibition in a highly uncritical fashion - embracing even those elements of globalisation that have been earmarked for critical examination in the overall theme of the Biennale – not all works on display could be reduced Hanru's celebratory message: in fact in the case of Piper and Ping, they to a certain extent contradict it. However, the exhibition also contains works either as uncritical of the exhibition themes, or open to appropriation to its uncritical ends. It is hardly surprising, then, that Rasheed Araeen described the exhibition as the worst on show.[549]

The extreme naivety evident in Hanru's approach to *Hong Kong, etc.* was also evident in Yu Yeon Kim's introduction to his exhibition *Transversions*, where in exploring the incredible speed of life ushered in by the digital revolution, he stated that 'it is no longer a question of cultural dominance, or even multicultural dilution, but of transactions that elude geographic, historical, political, and time-zone limitations. In the digital age we have all become colonisers and are in return colonised'.[550] The naivety of this statement possibly explains why this exhibition is the most unfocussed and conceptually disorganised of all. It was also ironic that this exhibition took place in Museum Africa as the same time as an installation on the history of apartheid. There were no obvious attempts on the part of Kim to engage with the significance of the venue as a museum aiming '…to preserve and present a balanced view of South Africa's history'[551] and to 'tell the story of

Southern Africa from the Big Bang to the Computer Age'.[552] The exhibition appeared to be disconnected not only from its venue, but also from the locality where questions of cultural dominance and colonisation are still very much alive.

Like *Hong Kong, etc*, *Transversions* contained works that either were vague on the negative impact of globalisation, or did not relate to this theme at all, or were openly celebratory; as a result Kim's exhibition did not appear to fit in well with the critical approach towards globalisation that Enwezor articulated in the exhibition theme. The exhibition contained works by some very well known artists, including Osvaldo Romberg, William Kentridge, Alfredo Jaar, Les Levine and Dennis Oppenheim; however, there was no obvious thread that linked their works together (much less the exhibition theme). Another curatorial weakness was that at least one work, by New York-based artist Dennis Oppenheim, pre-dates the current debates around the digital age as elucidated by Kim, in that 'Gingerbread Man', was made in 1970-1971.

In addition, like *Hong Kong, etc*, and *Alternating Currents,* the exhibition also contained one work - by Les Levine - which portrayed in a literal fashion groups of migrating people. The work consists of a long blown up black and sepia strip photograph, portraying movement of peoples. The photograph is shot from an aerial view, which brings Gursky's photographs to mind. As in Gursky's photographs and Theresa Serrano's video *The Grass is Always Greener on the Other Side*, the aerial dimension emphasises the sheer magnitude of movement or migration, but at the same time dehumanises the people being portrayed by reducing them to mere specks in the image.

A similar treatment of subject matter was evident in Sabine Bitter and

Helmut Weber's *On Formation* (Figure Thirty). This work, consisting of a room-size photographic strip image of people in transit presents the viewer with a well-worn illustration of transit or migration. It is similar to Gursky's photographs of transit points in that it is shot from an aerial view, which reduces the subjects to mere flecks on the landscape. This depersonalisation of individuals is also similar to Serrano's treatment of migration in that the subjects are depersonalised and dehumanised by being likened to a swarm of insects. While it could be argued that these images reflect the dehumanising way in which migrants may be seen in some countries, they do little to help the viewer to understand the experience of migration from the position of the migrant (as one of the 'excluded cultures and polities' that *Trade Routes* intended to give a voice to).

New York-based Alfredo Jaar's installation piece, entitled *The Eyes of Gutete Emerita* (Figure Thirty-One), was something of an exception in the exhibition in that it dealt with questions of migration in a much more personalised way, in the process relating directly to the human dimension of the tragedy of displacement. The piece was part of a broader project on the tragedy in Rwanda, undertaken by Jaar from 1994 to 1998. The project dealt with the systematic murder of Tutsis by Hutu death squads in the spring of 1994. In August of that year, Jaar went to Rwanda and took thousands of pictures, and developed the project on these pictures. This installation deals especially with Gutete Emerita, a young woman who witnessed the murder of her husband and two sons, and who escaped with her daughter by hiding in the swamps for three weeks.[553] Jaar's work drew on earlier experiments with exhibiting photographs imposed on light boxes, and he developed two light boxes against which words and images were imposed on screens.

The work involves a sequence of words and images, starting with a description of who Gutete Emerita is and what had happened to her. The text then explains the impact the massacre had on her, and the fact that she had returned from the swamp because she had nowhere else to go. The text then notes Jaar's comment that 'I remember her eyes. The eyes of Gutete Emerita', and the next slide shows images of her eyes on both screens. The piece, viewed in darkness, is extremely effective in bringing home some of the human dimension of the tragedy as it focuses the attention of the viewer entirely on the only visible part of the installation, namely the slides. However, the extremely slick way that the images are presented has led to Jaar being accused by Lu Wei of aestheticising tragedy, and by acting as an uninvolved, dispassionate witness to the aftermath of the events. As a result, Wei accuses Jaar of having '...portrayed the miseries of the Third World from the position of the First...[which is] full of pitfalls and betrayals, always susceptible to the charge of exploitation and voyeurism'.[554] This criticism is significant in that it raises the question of who has the moral authority to speak about the conditions of the marginalised. So the concerns of 'excluded cultures and polities' are not addressed properly merely by having sympathetic artists located in the First World speaking on their behalf. Rather for the Biennale's objectives to be met, attempts would have to be made to ensure that while Northern artists are included, those who are at the coalface of this exclusion would have to speak for themselves: otherwise the exhibition risked reproducing rather than challenging the sorts of exclusion that concerned Enwezor so much.

The Cape Town exhibitions: Life's Little Necessities and Graft

Two of the Biennale's exhibitions took place in Cape Town, and as such they were somewhat removed from the main events. However, they link into

the exhibition themes by providing specifically South African and gender dimensions. The first exhibition, *Life's Little Necessities*, was housed in a venue that was of direct relevance to the themes of the exhibition, namely The Castle. The Dutch East India Company (VOC) built this building from 1666 onwards as a fortress at the time of the first colonial settlement in the Cape. The Castle is the earliest surviving building built by the colonists in South Africa, and its construction took thirteen years. It has also been used as a prison, but today it is home to a military garrison, a museum of military history, and a wing of three floors has been opened for temporary contemporary art exhibitions.[555]

Life's Little Necessities was a focussed exhibition, dealing with installation art by women in the 1990's. Each artist was offered her own individual 'gallery' room to create a space of her own. The title was derived from the old saying 'necessity is the mother of invention', which, for the curator (Kelly Jones), was an aphorism that provided the basis for exploring two ideas in the exhibition: the current state of art by women, and the extent to which explorations of womens' identity fit into the broader questions of globalisation. Jones selected the medium of installation to explore these themes because it is located in the 'locale of the theatrical...[and] a setting for the activation of creative relationships'.[556] It empowered audiences, according to Jones, by encouraging them to interact with the works to the point where they can become agents in the creation of meaning. The process of constructing an installation also paralleled the construction of a woman's gender identity, and also contains a deconstructive impulse similar to feminism, in that it, in the words of Jones, '…specialised in taking apart societal, institutional and cultural formations and exposing them to critique'.[557] While Jones did not address the matter in her introduction to the exhibition, the Castle proved to be a highly provocative venue for an exhibition about gender and installation, given its male associations with

conquest and control.

Like in *Alternating Currents*, the exhibition betrayed a bias towards well-known American-based artists, which belied Jones's intention to focus on images of oppression that 'affect women on a global scale'.[558] For instance, Lorna Simpson and Jocelyn Taylor hail from, and are based in, New York; other artists such as Fatima Tuggar and Valeska Soares were born elsewhere and then moved to America. Simpson originally practised photography, moving into installation in the 1990's. In spite of her professed commitment to focussing on the oppression of women generally – which would have had to involve exploring themes on a range of personal, social, political and economic levels - the artworks were confined to two main stereotyped areas of activity for women, namely the sexual realm and the home.

For example, Simpson's video entitled *Call Waiting* (Figure Thirty-Two), involves a series of characters engaged in sexual small talk in different parts of the world. The characters speak in a variety of languages, and interrupt one another's calls to take the next call, leading to a circular verbal sexual game developing amongst the group of protagonists. In setting up this global small talk network, Simpson is relating in a fairly obvious way to the broad Biennale themes of globalisation and post-national communications, but it is hard to see why Jones would consider this piece as being relevant to an exhibition on women's oppression.

Jocelyn Taylor's piece was more directly relevant to the exhibition theme, though, as it referred to the complex interplay of racial and gender oppression. She has been concerned for some time with producing imagery that portrays the black female body in a positive light, and as an object of healthy sexual desire, rather than as a focus of fetishism. Like many other

pieces on display in *Trade Routes*, her installation piece had been exhibited before. Entitled *Alien at Rest* (Figure Thirty-Three), it was made in 1996, and exhibited at Deitch Projects in the same year. The installation consists of three panels, on which video images of her body are screened. In the central screen, Taylor walks and runs down a New York City street, wearing nothing but shoes and sunglasses. In a reference to the Lady Godiva myth, Taylor shows off her body in public in a blatant display of exhibitionism. In the other two panels, Taylor is portrayed taking a bath in slow motion. The 'in your face' sexually explicit nature of the installation, based as it is on the exhibition of a black female body, is a direct challenge to patriarchal notions of modesty. The title of the installation also infers that she is an alien by virtue of her immigrant status, as well as by virtue of the fact that she is a black woman in what is still a very white country.

Fatima Tuggar's pieces exemplified the theme of women and domesticity. In the exhibition, she showed numerous digitally altered photographs and altered found objects relating to domestic 'womens' work'. Tuggar is one of a number of artists included on the exhibition who were born in Africa and work in the United States (where she has had numerous group and solo exhibitions). She specialises in works that explore the relationship between stereotypes of what is considered 'modern' and 'traditional' in relation to African culture. Her most striking pieces involve the manipulation of everyday 'modern' instruments to include elements that refer generically to 'traditional' African domesticity, in the process creating visual puns; for example, she has taken a grass broom and wired it up to an electric 'on-off' switch (Figure Thirty-Four). In another piece, Tuggar has taken a hand-held mixer, and replaced the blade with a porridge mixer (Figure Thirty-Five). A third piece involves a ceiling fan with the blades replaced with small straw mats (Figure Thirty-Six). In a fourth piece, Tuggar has taken a record player and replaced the records with straw mats. These pieces play on the notion

of the cross-pollination of cultural influences, based on visual stereotypes of what may be considered ‘Western’ and ‘African’.

Tuggar’s digitally altered images also play on the relationship between the ‘traditional’ and the ‘modern’, often in a highly ironic manner. For example, in an image entitled *Kitchen* (Figure Thirty-Seven), Tuggar places several African women in ‘traditional’ dress in a modern designer kitchen, using its facilities to carry out their work. In *Working Woman* (Figure Thirty-Eight), a woman in ‘traditional’ dress sits with all the paraphernalia of the information society, including a rather old analogue telephone, a computer with a SoundBlaster and a cell phone. The scene is reflected in the computer screen, and then again into the reflected screen, creating an infinitely recurring image.

While these pieces exemplify how the themes of the exhibition are treated, it is difficult to see how these works address the stated objective of empowering audiences and in what manner they take apart social, institutional and cultural formations; rather these seemed to be grandiose claims that could not possibly be achieved. Jones relies heavily on art networks based largely in, and mediated by, the United States artworld. Jones’s focus on gender, and very specific – even stereotypic – themes at that, and ran the risk of merely inscribing gender issues as part of the mainstream ‘marginal circuit’, rather than unsettling patriarchal assumptions. As with Mosquera’s exhibition, while it claimed to focus on installation art, in reality it reduced to field to sculptural installations.

The second exhibition to be held in Cape Town took place at the South African National Gallery, and was called *Graft*, curated by Colin Richards. The exhibition was markedly different from the others in that it was made up exclusively of South African artists, although a number of them do not live in

the country. The work crossed the spread of art forms, including installations, site-specific performance and paintings. The works were selected based on the extent to which they exemplified the theme ‘graft’.

The term related to several concepts, including the cutting of one plant and its merging into another, which made it an appropriate metaphor for the contemporary concern with hybridity, while acknowledging that the process may be disruptive, even violent. In the process, the exhibition repudiated the liberal notion of multicultural pluralism that other South African curators have attempted to invoke in the wake of the country’s transition to democracy. Richards also invoked other possible meanings of the term in his introduction. He noted that graft can also refer to labour, which in its artistic expression in ‘traditional’ genres like painting, was ‘under siege’ from forms of art like installations.[559] Richards also intended to address the tensions between the local and the global in the context of globalisation, and the instability of identity in South Africa, as well as another association with the term 'graft', namely the notion of illicit work and corruption. So while relating to the overall theme of the Biennale, Richards also intended to ground it in South African post-apartheid reality. In order to explore these themes, he chose the works of young South African artists.[560] He also chose the South African National Gallery in Cape Town, in view of the fact that it was a national museum associated historically with European historical art.[561] So unlike Mosquera – who made no reference whatsoever to the significance of the museum he organised his exhibition in (the Johannesburg Art Gallery) – Richards was more self-conscious of his exhibition’s context, and was therefore able to address some of the complexities and tensions of exhibiting in a museum context.

A number of the works included in this exhibition were of a highly personal nature, although they linked the personal to broader questions of South

African identity. For instance, Pitso Chimzima exhibited a work entitled *Attacking Family Pleasure* (Figure Thirty-Nine), consisting of the chassis of Beetle motorcar, cut into four pieces and attached to the gallery wall. The chassis is marked by patterns and graffiti made by blowtorch: the artist intended the patterns to invoke African batik fabric.[562] The reference in the title to family pleasure relates to the pleasure Chimzima's family had from the Beetle, although the pleasure was short lived as the Beetle broke down. By turning it into an artwork, Chimzima captured both the pleasure derived from the vehicle, and the violence he felt it brought to the family when the pleasure came unexpectedly to an end. The scoring of the surface with graffiti and patterns evoke contradictory visions of disfigured and discarded waste and aesthetic appreciation: the car is both junk and artwork at the same time. While being based on a personal experience, the artwork implies how easily pleasures can be ephemeral in the South African context, and the work that needs to be undertaken to keep the memory of those pleasures alive.

Bridget Baker exhibited a mixed-media installation entitled *First International Exhibition - 1997, 2nd Johannesburg Biennale, South African National Gallery Cape Town* (Figure Forty). The installation consists of a row of embroidered framed photographs of the artist and her family at important occasions in her life such as graduation, baptism and her mother's second wedding.[563] The frames are reminiscent of mass produced cheap frames made for the purposes of display on mantelpieces. The title is ironic, in that it invokes a naïve excitement on the part of the artist: she is drawing the viewer's attention to the fact that she is exhibiting in her first 'international' exhibition. So the installation becomes part of her records of milestones in her life, along with the photographic records that make up the display.

Antoinette Murdoch's installation also explored the interface between

personal and political identity in South Africa, using direct references to her family. Entitled *Gereformeer* (Figure Forty-One), the installation is located in a corner of the gallery, 'wallpapered' with pink tissue paper bearing a pattern of butterflies. On one wall, she has mounted a plastic mould depicting a pair of praying hands, and has laid a wreath of artificial flowers on the floor. The installation also includes a postcard that was handed out to visitors with her family tree in English and Afrikaans. A South African viewer would probably associate the pink tissue paper, praying hands and artificial flowers with a particular brand of Afrikaans 'kitsch'. The reference to her family tree also links her personal history to this institutional history. Yet the title of the installation, coupled with the praying hands, can be read in two contradictory ways: it invites associations with the Dutch Reformed Church, it implies that she has been 'reformed'. This installation could be read as a reflection on the complex, even contradictory, location of Afrikaans identity in the 'new South Africa": an identity that is located in a past cushioned by the niceties of Afrikaans kitsch, while pleading to the outside world that it has been reformed.

Tracey Rose's two installations, entitled *Span I* and *Span II* (Figure Forty-Two) also reflected on the politically loaded nature of her personal history. In the first installation, Rose sat on a television monitor inside a display cabinet. She was naked and had a shaved head; she sat knotting pieces of her own hair. The television displayed a picture of a reclining nude. According to Rose, the knotting of the hair was supposed to invoke a childhood activity of counting rosary beads while praying, as well as being a reference to working with one's hands. The juxtaposition between the 'ideal' nude image portrayed on the television screen, and her real-life nakedness suggests a critique of the 'ideal type' of nude associated with the brand of Western art history that the Gallery was initially set up to preserve. Far from being presented with this image in the Gallery setting, the viewer was

confronted with the reality of an actual woman, who had chosen to reject a female stereotype relating to long hair by shaving off her hair. Yet not being content with having done so, she then worked her own hair in a manner that alluded to a Catholic ritual of penance, as well as an active re-making of her own self. As Rose noted in an interview: '…the work is a cleansing act, a coming out. The knotting not only invokes the rosary beads of my childhood, but also the working with one's hands, and the meaning of this handiwork as a form of empowerment'.[564]

Not all works confined their frames of reference to South Africa, though. Angela Ferreira exhibited two pieces, entitled *Double Sided Part I, The Chianti Foundation, Marfa, Texas,* and *Double Sided Part II, Johannesburg Biennale, 1997* (Figures Forty-Three and Forty-Four). These installations included photographs, text and constructions. These texts gave a background to the works, explaining that they were drawn from a two-part project attempting to connect the works of two artists, namely Helen Martins from Nieu Bethesda, and Donald Judd, from Marfa, Texas. In drawing parallels between the two artists, she intended to explore both the connections between them and the disparities between their personal circumstances and the continents on which they worked. According to Ferreira, she was intrigued by the visual similarity between the landscapes in which they worked, in spite of the fact that they were on different continents. Yet at the same time, they were extremely different individuals. Martins was an isolated artists, devoted to transforming her own house (the Owl House) to reflect her own personal fantasies, and Judd was a successful American artist with an international reputation: so while their environments looked similar, one was locked into her environment and the other used the environment as a background for his international career. Ferreira intended to explore these similarities and differences by installing works in Nieu Bethesda and Marfa, to 'ground' the work of each artist in the

environment of the other. She had already attempted to re-create an environment inspired by Martin's Owl House at the Chianti Foundation in Marfa; she included photographs of this environment in the installation.[565]

Richards's exhibition was recognised by Enwezor to be an exception to the rule in the Biennale, in that it chose to recognise and explore the national question in South Africa. The exhibition countered what Richards termed the approach of 'multinational pluralism' evident in many other South African post-apartheid exhibitions, by actually dealing with the nagging questions of South African identity rather than glossing over them. However, while the exhibition's content explored the complexities of South Africa's unresolved national question, it did not engage sufficiently with the form in which the matter was explored artistically: namely through gallery-based installations adapted to varying degrees to a museum setting that was still struggling with questions of accessibility to the very public it claimed to serve.

The Biennale's public? The role of the Biennale's education programme

As mentioned in Chapter Two, one of the most important aspects of public policy in the arts was audience development: according to the RDP and the White Paper on Arts and Culture, access to and participation in the arts as a right rather than a privilege could not be realised if publicly-funded art events did not invest in creating new audiences**.** The question of audience for the second Biennale was clearly a crisis; in fact, one of the most severe criticisms of the Biennale was the inaccessibility of the themes and artworks to anyone other than artists and audiences familiar with, educated into and interested in contemporary art forms (especially installations). The fact that the works were overwhelmingly multi-media installations, videos and photographs - and in fact all the Trade Routes exhibitions steered away

from 'traditional' media like painting and sculpture - contributed to the exhibition's contemporaneity. However, the virtual exclusion of painting and sculpture - as media that are arguably more popularly accessible as 'art' - was heavily criticised by a variety of local and international critics alike, writing for newspapers and specialist art journals.

For instance, Robert Leary and Dan Bailey, writing in the Sunday Independent, described the exhibition as 'neither demotic nor democratic.'[566] Manthia Diawara, writing in *Artforum*, described the exhibition as alienating to South Africans[567]. In *De Arte*, Karen Preller accused the Biennale of 'excluding an untold number of artists and artworks', apparently in an attempt to conform to 'valid' international exhibitions such as Documenta.'[568] Also writing in *De Arte*, Wilma Cruise argued that the exclusive thrust of the Biennale was reinforced further by the overtly verbose theoretical manner in which the underlying concept was presented, referring to it as 'scholasticism gone rampant.'[569]John Dewar, writing in the *Business Day*, referred to the writings accompanying the exhibitions as 'over-intellectualisation' that could leave '...John Citizen...gasping for clarity'.[570] These charges, made not only by art critics writing for more general newspaper audiences, but for specialist art audiences as well, raised questions about the extent to which he succeeded in achieving on the main objectives, namely to 'make spaces for excluded cultures and polities' (with the exception of a number of artists from the South and the Diaspora, many of whom were in any event largely incorporated into the mainstream artworld). So the attention of both sets of audiences was drawn to mismatch between the stated objective and the actual reality of the exhibition content.

The organisers attempted to mitigate this contradiction through educational activities linked to the Biennale. According to the organisers, 'a

comprehensive education programme, geared to meet the needs of a diverse public, is an integral aspect of the second Johannesburg Biennale 1997. This programme is intended to foster a greater appreciation and understanding of contemporary art practice as represented by this Biennale, amongst as wide an audience as possible'.[571]

The organisers appeared to be confused as to who constituted the Biennale's public. In an attempt to straddle a number of interests, three sets of audiences were identified as targets for the programme: the student body, including secondary and tertiary students, community art centres, as well the 'public at large' and overseas visitors. These audiences were to be reached through workshops by participating artists, who would focus especially on those art forms which - in the words of the co-ordinator - 'were not yet fully accessible to the average art student', such as video, installation, performance and photography. Seminars at various tertiary institutions were also promised. In addition, the programme also trained guides, drawn from volunteer students, affording artists-in-the-making an opportunity to participate in the event. A user-friendly bus shuttle system and school buses were also investigated to facilitate access to the event.[572]

The Education Department of the Biennale acknowledged at the outset that they would face an uphill battle justifying their activities, in view of the fact that they were not the norm in other Biennales around the world, and that they could be considered as expendable. In spite of the lack of precedent, the co-ordinator argued that educational activities had to be treated as the 'key to access, the means of creating aficionados, supporters, even future funders...'.[573] According to the Education Co-ordinator, Severa Rech Cassarino, these activities were frustrated by a number of factors. They included a lack of funding, coupled with a lack of co-operation on the part of artists who did not see the value in running educational workshops.

Information about the content of particular exhibitions was not given to the Education Department timeously, making it difficult to execute the planned activities.[574]

The organisers of the Biennale were accused of treating the education programme as an afterthought, rather than as an integral part of the event. The lack of funding was not the only factor that pointed to the programme's peripheral role; the fact that the event was organised at the end of the year made it practically impossible to secure institutional involvement as many institutions were either winding down for the year, or had closed. Attempts to involve teachers, lecturers and students also proved to be extremely difficult as they were either marking or writing exams. Many students who had finished writing, and who lived in outlying areas, had travelled home. In short, the timing of the event trounced many attempts on the part of the Education Department to run an effective programme, but it is possible that the timing was not ill considered. Rather it suggested that the organisers prioritised the calendars of overseas travellers rather than those of local art institutions: had the latter been considered a priority, the holding of the event at the end of the year could have well been ruled out.

Another problem that was identified was that there was no continuity between the education programmes of the 1995 and the 1997 Biennales, which robbed the latter of the experiences gained through the former. This gap was felt especially in relation to the trainee curator programme, where longer-term plans had been implemented; in spite of this, none of the trainee curators from 1995 participated in the 1997 event, which led to criticism of the organisers for failing to involve them to ensure continuity. This lack of planning led one participant in the programme to speculate that the organisers implemented educational activities as a condition for securing funding from a particular donor or donors, rather than as an

expression of a heartfelt commitment to art education.[575]

In spite of the logistical difficulties, there were individual successes. Educational guided tours took place as a free facility, with twenty-two block booked tours taking place four weeks into the duration of the exhibition. Participating artists also visited community art centres and some tertiary institutions that were available, affording teachers and students the opportunity to interact. These interactions were not without their problems though, as they were reportedly marred by the fact that students had not seen the works of participating artists, as visits to the event had not been arranged beforehand. It also proved to be very difficult to commit artists to these events, given the pressures of setting up for the exhibitions; these problems pointed to the fact that the time needed for artists to participate in educational activities had not been factored into the overall planning, and that curators had not been engaged sufficiently on the fact that there would be competing demands on the artists' times. This lack of curatorial involvement meant that the Education Department did not have the 'buy-in' from the 'gatekeepers' between the event itself and the artists, leading one education officer to comment that they were deprived of '...the tools with which to engage with the community in a constructive way'.[576] Even participating artists bucked the notion of educational work, which called into question their own commitment to the intention to involve 'abandoned audiences'. When some of the artists who did agree to participate in the outreach programme were accused of 'elitism' and inaccessibility by lecturers, they responded by accusing the lecturers of paternalism and of assuming a 'dangerous, politically correct attitude' which undermined the capacities of 'ordinary people' to engage with their work.[577]

Approximately fifty volunteer guides participated in the event. Involving the guides proved to be very difficult, given the fact that the lack of money

meant that they could not be paid. Also, many were writing exams. Both factors led to a great deal of absenteeism and a lack of commitment to the event. No provision had been made for the proper training of these guides, especially in relation to the content of particular exhibitions, and no attempts was being made by the organisers to turn this activity into a proper educational programme with long-term objectives. Nor was provision made for written information to be made available in a range of local and international languages, and the plans for the shuttle-bussing system did not come to fruition in view of the lack of funds. These frustrations led Cassarino to place blame at the door of Enwezor, accusing him of not taking the Programme seriously, resulting in its disempowerment.[578]

In summary, it was clear that the organisers and the curators largely did not take the educational dimension of the Biennale seriously, and undermined it in various ways. These actions (or non-actions) suggest that attempts to mitigate the largely 'high art' nature of the event were considered to be a waste of time, and that it should remain the preserve of the small coterie of artistic avant-garde audiences. The education programme could have provided a good opportunity to engage potentially new audiences in more participatory forms of installation-making – rather than confining installations to gallery setting; in the process, attempts could have been made to demystify this contemporary form of artmaking. However, this was not to be. There was also no programme for children or for that matter one which targeted the 'public at large'; the activities that did take place targeted the most easily reachable constituencies who were already involved in art education, namely students and teachers.

The GJMC's commitment to the Biennale: why the contradiction?

As discussed, the artworks discussed in this Chapter related in complex,

even contradictory ways, to the phenomenon of globalisation. While the thematic approach allowed room for more systematic exploration of the relationship of art to globalisation, the suppression of the 'national' as a conceptual category allowed the GJMC to promote Johannesburg's credentials as a marginal centre far more effectively: after all, it was not using its own platform to build the images of other countries through the hosting of national pavilions. The city's credentials were further enhanced by playing host to an exhibition that has been described as '…a model of South-South curating', which apparently gave life to Gerardo Mosquera's plea for the movement of art '...to be South-South, so that we can establish dialogue without mediators, as well as South-North, so that we can offer our own views to the centres'.[579] Yet as should be evident from the discussion above, in achieving these ends, 'Trade Routes' remained blind to the ways in which 'South-South relations' were made possible largely through mediators (both artists and curators) based in the North. Critic Jen Budney also noted that questions of class barely surfaced in the exhibition, except in relation to one or two performances that were '…excessively ignored'.[580] According to Budney, had these questions been more prevalent in the content of other works and the themes of the exhibition generally, they could have been used to trigger a discussion about how a Biennale should be conceptualised in the South. The claim that the event represented the interests of excluded cultures and polities should have been examined critically, especially in relation to the event's accessibility.

While what constitutes 'accessible' art is clearly a vexed question, the very nature of the event's claims meant that the question should have been posed rather than ignored. For example, the exhibition failed to engage critically with the extent to which the preponderance of installations, videos and photography excluded all but the most informed audiences when it came to contemporary art. It has been argued that by incorporating the

language and content of contemporary visual culture, these art forms are easier for viewers to relate to than paintings, drawing and sculpture.[581] These 'traditional' art forms have also been identified with Western imperialist culture, given their canonisation as 'art' in the Italian Renaissance period; hence their being treated with a good dose of scepticism by Enwezor. However, the turn away from these art forms has led to another set of contradictions, where the alternatives risk being appropriated by the art world as a '... a closed shop of aesthetic intrigues and jangling politics'.[582] The ability to understand the tenets of contemporary art also requires ongoing access to education and information about these trends, which in turn requires resources that working class audiences would find much more difficult to access than middle class audiences. These complexities were not foregrounded to any significant degree in the Biennale: as a result, the event's silence on the question of access, and the class basis on which it rests, meant that the organisers failed to distinguish themselves sufficiently from the neo-liberal interests of the host.

In view of the ideological role that the Biennale played, why was the GJMC so shaky about its commitment to the Biennale, resulting in it closing the exhibition early and discontinuing plans for future Biennales? One would have thought - given the Biennale's sophisticated image-building role for Johannesburg - that it would have been much more committed to its continued existence. In fact, Biennale staff had argued for ongoing support in language that government should have understood, given its current direction. For example, its Project Co-ordinator, Clive Kellner, said that the Biennale could be used to build an alternative to Johannesburg's image as a crime-ridden city. Instead, by pursuing a 'export-led' growth approach through the project, the city could be presented through the Biennale as a place that offers culture 'in a civilised metropolis'. According to Kellner:

> 'It increases tourism and offers employment in areas related to the Biennale. It brings professional people from various parts of the world. This in turn creates opportunities in which South African art and artists can be promoted; their work then reaches a larger audience via published articles and overseas exhibitions. The demand for South African art thus increases often providing new impetus for commercial galleries. What all this means is that a viable, sustainable infrastructure can be developed.'[583]

In spite of the fact that Kellner and others argued that the Biennale could complement rather than contradict the government's current macro-economic framework, the project was put on hold by the GJMC for financial reasons.

In fact, even at the time of 'Trade Routes', the GJMC's financial commitment to the project was in doubt, with its contribution being cut from the R5 million for the first Biennale, to R3 million. According to the organisers, the budget was certainly not sufficient to do justice to the Biennale, and key functions like publicity and education suffered as a result.[584] To compound the problem, the GJMC announced several weeks before the Biennale's closure that its funding to the exhibition would be terminated, which reportedly would have saved the Council between R670 000 and R1 million (although these amounts were disputed): the closure was averted when the Biennale staff managed to raise sufficient funds to keep the exhibition going.[585] Several commentators criticised the GJMC at the time for its bad judgement in withdrawing the funding, as the image crisis it would cause for the city far outweighed the saving it would make.[586]

Why the seeming contradiction in attitude? According to Victor Modise,

some project staff mismanaged Biennale funding, resulting in a shortfall that the GJMC did not budget for.[587] However, the problem began even earlier than this, as fundraising for the event began in earnest only in September 1996 and continued until February 1997, which was clearly too short a space of time to raise the necessary funds. By the time that the event's financial situation was reported on to the Executive Committee of the GJMC, it was clear that there might be a shortfall. This shortfall came about because Council funding for the event had been erroneously transferred to Transitional Metropolitan Council and the four Metropolitan Local Councils (MLC's). While the bulk of the money was recovered from the TMC, an amount of R1 571 000 still had to be recovered from the MLC's. It was noted by the Executive Committee that if the negotiations with the MLC's failed to recover this money, then the shortfall would have to be borne by the TMC.[588]

However, much of the problem also had to do with the GJMC's own internal organisational instability; an indication of the extent was that nine organisational reviews were conducted in eight years (from 1989 to 1997). During that period, the number of councils was reduced from thirteen to seven in 1994, and then to five in 1995. Each change was accompanied by restructuring, redeployments and retrenchments, leading to low staff morale and reduced service delivery. Hence the future of these projects could not be guaranteed as they depended on the vagaries of different restructuring exercises. This was the case with the Biennale project, which was implemented through the 1995 restructuring exercise, and then cancelled through the 1997 one.

The background to the 1997 exercise is important to map out. The GJMC had been experiencing financial difficulties since 1996, as it struggled to deal with the huge backlog in service delivery with inadequate government

grants. According to a study conducted for the Department of Constitutional Development, Gauteng's budget increased by 14.4 percent from 1996 to 1998, yet it shrunk for the GJMC by 3.6 percent over the same period.[589] Financial difficulties came to a head in the latter part of 1997, precipitated by a number of short term and long term factors. Over the long term, officials and politicians did not practice fiscal austerity, and developed unrealistic budgets based on the assumptions that increased revenues generated from taxes would cover any shortfall. At the same time, non-payment of taxes increased, leading to expenditure outstripping income, in spite of the fact that accountants in the Council recognised that their budgeting system was flawed. The Council also lacked effective credit control policies or practices.[590]

Some of the short-term factors that precipitated the crisis involved the unaffordable and unrealistic structure of the GJMC; in fact the five councils introduced by proclamation in 1995 had drained the Council's coffers. The Council had also transferred billing responsibilities to each of the four sub-structures, leading to the breakdown in an integrated cash management system. As a result, the sub-structures developed a life of their own, spending their income with impunity and not paying it over to the Council; in the process, water and electricity debts grew. In an attempt to correct the situation, the Eastern Metropolitan Sub-Structure hiked rates in predominantly white areas, leading to a rates boycott taking place in the Structure's cash cow, namely Sandton. A combination of these factors led to a major cash flow crisis, with the Council experiencing a negative cash flow of R130 million per month. In addition, the metropolitan account to electricity parastatal Eskom was three months in arrears. Such was the magnitude of the crisis that the Council would have been insolvent by February 1998.[591]

In an attempt to mitigate the crisis, the Gauteng Provincial Government stepped in in October 1997 and issued a Proclamation requiring the Council to implement a number of financial and administrative measures to ensure that the Council became financially viable and self-sustaining. [592] The Proclamation required that certain short-term financial matters be dealt with, with numerous tasks being set for implementation within three weeks.[593] After conducting these initial investigations, the GJMC set about introducing stringent fiscal discipline, and began preparing certain 'non-core' services for management through public/ private partnerships or full privatisation; client/ contractor splits were also introduced, where service provision was separated out from service planning and co-ordination. Non-core services were to be conducted on an arms-length basis, with the legal status of these government-owned service providers being changed to that of section 21 companies.

The review and resulting restructuring process were heavily criticised even within the GJMC for being top down, non-transparent and excluding full debate, including debate with the Arts and Culture section of the GJMC.[594] The impact of the above mentioned proclamation was evident in the GJMC Executive meeting that took the decision to curtail the Biennale's funding. This decision was qualified with a directive that '...the Executive Officer: Arts and Culture Development and Facilities ensures that future Biennales be sponsored on a Public/Private Partnership basis in which the Council plays a facilitative and co-ordinating role involving minimal funding.'[595] To interpret such a move as a 'lack of commitment' is incorrect: rather the project was being brought into line with Gear thinking, which states that '…[Municipalities] main task should not necessarily be the operation of such services but, instead, their regulation'.[596] The GJMC then had to decide on the future of the Biennale project in the context of these broader institutional shifts.

According to Modise, no Biennale would take place in 1999, as the GJMC did not have funds to organise one. The GJMC was also sensitive to the public criticism of the project, and Modise expressed concern that it had done very little to transform itself to serve all Johannesburg's residents: these factors also influenced the decision not to fund another one. If the project was to be revived, then Modise envisaged that it might have to be set up as a Trust, Foundation or Section 21 company. Both the government and the Biennale's private sector sponsors would be represented in the company as partners, which could run a range of developmental activities culminating in a Biennale once every two years: in other words, the Biennale needed to be re-cast in a 'progressive competitiveness' mould to qualify its blatantly outward-orientation. Another GJMC-funded festival, Arts Alive, may also be run on this basis.[597] In Modise's words, the GJMC would act as a facilitator of cultural activities, but the activities themselves would take place outside the government bureaucracy. These developments implied that funding for arts and culture would be pared down to a bare minimum, and those activities relating to the GJMC's public mandate would be 'privatised'.

It seems to be highly unlikely that the project will be reinstated, especially given the fact that Gear failed to meet most of its stated targets (the deadline for achieving these targets was 2000). The deadline for the successful implementation of Gear expired in 2000, with most of its targets not having been met.[598] As a result, the preconditions for local government funding for activities for projects like the Biennale have also not been met. Why did Gear fail to meet most of its targets? The policy was criticised for its analytical incoherence, inappropriateness and tenuous economic assumptions. One of the shakiest of these assumptions was that economic growth would automatically lead to redistribution, which would be effected

through the creation of more jobs.[599] So economic growth did not necessarily translate into greater equity or redistribution from the rich to the poor: in fact, it had the opposite effect.[600] Also, a greater export-orientation began to distort the economy in that it pursued specialisation in productive goods and services for the global market, rather than for local needs.[601] Gear also pegged its success on the country's ability to attract private investment: hence the need to create a macro-economic environment attractive to investors, where inflation was contained.[602] Gear's methods of containing inflation, most importantly the retention of high interest rates, exacted a heavy toll. The lowering of tariffs resulted in substantial job losses, especially amongst women.[603] Gear was based on an assumption that a mis-match between skills and the economy was a key reason for the high unemployment rates: workers needed to re-skill themselves to become marketable in the changing South African economy.[604] However, it proved to be impossible to create a sufficient number of jobs to really address the unemployment crisis as high-skill jobs were created in capital-intensive sectors (which is generally the case). In fact the pursuit of this path set the country on the path to consistently high levels of unemployment, underlining the argument that unemployment is a structural problem, especially in developing countries.

These dismal indicators led Patrick Bond to argue that Gear was effectively the cause of the economic instability being experienced by the country, rather than its cure.[605] These developments led to calls for more financial and capital controls, coupled with '...[reclaiming] the nation-state as the site at which democratic contestation of public policy can succeed'[606]: hardly a prospect that Enwezor would have relished.

Conclusion

‘Trade Routes’ was a significant departure from the first Biennale; an important feature of the exhibition was that it challenged South African audiences to think more deeply about the nationalistic assumptions that underscored the previous Biennale (and other Biennales around the world, for that matter). This was an important set of assumptions to challenge, as all too often the nationalism on show at such exhibitions was a form of official nationalism that tended to reduce the complexity of identity experienced in particular countries. There is no doubt that the destabilisation of ‘the nation’ as an organising category in Biennales needed to take place; the question that arises is whether the wholesale disavowal of nationalism in favour of a post-national exhibition was an appropriate response to the overly nationalist tone of the first Biennale. In spite of the fact that the exhibition theme could have been highly relevant to a country seeking global integration, there were indications of it being poorly received in South Africa.

In an interview with Carol Becker, Enwezor admitted that the response from South African audiences was disappointing. He noted that while artists had responded enthusiastically to the call to participate, '…the question of audience, however, is more difficult'. More tellingly, he admitted that '…I'm not really able to put my hands on what it means to frame the subject of globalisation in South Africa. I am seeking durable transformations in the attitude of the media and of art institutions, and I want a very diverse public to come and see this exhibition. But that hasn't really happened yet.'[607] This statement implied that the Enwezor was aware of the dubious politics of importing a discourse on globalisation, and then ‘illustrating’ it through artworks, without engaging with the local discourse on globalisation sufficiently. This lack of sensitivity was also evident in statements he made at a press conference before the Biennale’s opening, where he stated that South African critics of the exhibition were expecting too much, and that it

was inappropriate to expect an exhibition to address the country's reconstruction and development needs. Enwezor appeared to want to have it both ways: create an exhibition that addressed the interests of 'excluded cultures and polities', while failing to address these interests sufficiently in the very locality where the exhibition took place.

It is hardly surprising then, that Enwezor was subjected to large amounts of criticism for the Biennale. For instance, Linda Givon of Linda Goodman Galleries criticised Enwezor for ignoring South Africans and prioritising international artists; she was also very critical of his accusation of xenophobia in response to such criticisms; she argued that '…his lack of confidence in us has been both marginalizing and humiliating'.[608] Jen Budney has also referred to the criticism inside South Africa of the exhibition, but cautioned that some of it could have been self-serving; as she noted, the Biennale brought international artists, critics and curators into contact with the wider South African art scene, '…not just the Linda Goodman gallery'[609], implying that Givon's criticism may have been motivated by resentment at having lost her gatekeeper role. Like Enwezor, Budney suggested that an element of xenophobia could have been at play in these criticisms, as his prominence combined with the fact that he was a non-South African, but an African, led to many resenting his presence.[610]

While Budney's reduction of the criticisms to xenophobia was rather simplistic, one person who could not possibly be accused of harbouring such motives, and who levelled possibly the most stinging criticism of all, was Rasheed Araeen. He accused Enwezor of using the Biennale as a stepping stone for his own career advancement, which peaked when he was appointed Artistic Director of Documenta 11. Araeen revealed that he was a member of the committee that selected Enwezor to direct the Johannesburg Biennale, partly on the basis that Enwezor was African and

should appreciate the fact that – given its history – South Africa's and indeed Africa's aspirations should come first in the Biennale. He expressed extreme disappointment that the opposite happened, and in fact Enwezor organised an exhibition premised on South Africa listening to the West. He chose a highly contemporary theme (globalisation) and selection of artists to further his career in the West, leading to Araeen asserting that he would never have been appointed Director of Documenta 11 – which took forward the theme of the Johannesburg Biennale – had he not directed the Johannesburg Biennale in the manner that he did. In the process, the Biennale failed because it did not ground itself in South African concerns first. In Araeen's words, '…He proved himself to be a good boy, the prize which was indeed Documenta XI'.[611] This criticism implied that Enwezor used the Johannesburg Biennale opportunistically to entrench his reputation as what Sholette referred to as the 'curatorial class' who build their mainstream reputations on the fact that they represent marginal interests.

The role of the second Biennale was rather different from that of the first one. The first Biennale was concerned with announcing South Africa's arrival back into the global arts arena: hence the 'inter-national' nature of the exhibitions was important. The second Biennale, however, was organised at a time when fiscal crises had led to local government restructuring, and an emphasis on financial viability. The need to project Johannesburg as a global city with global relevance, coupled with developing cultural tourism as an economically sustainable industry became far more important to the GJMC than the need to project a united South African nation to the world. Hence the state of resolution of South Africa's national question became less relevant to the GJMC as a promotional theme, while clearly neo-liberal and pro-globalisation motives assumed more importance given their interest in constructing a picture of globalisation as a reality. However, by then the White Paper on Arts and Culture was in

place, so there was direction in terms of making the South African artworld more nationally representative. In spite of the fact that the Biennale received public funding, it did not attempt to engage with the objectives of the RDP and then the White Paper, especially those around education and audience development. Unlike the first Biennale, community art centres did not contribute any art to the exhibitions, and had a marginal role in the education programme. These were significant weaknesses in how the Biennale was organised.

These neo-liberal intentions were not immediately apparent in the conceptualisation of the Biennale, which drew its theoretical inspiration from a stream of Postcolonial theory that was hostile to nationalism, and did not consider critiques of this position even within Postcolonialism itself. The main intention of the Biennale, according to Enwezor, was to challenge the exclusive nature of the Northern artworld by making space for Southern concerns. It is debateable from the above discussion whether this intention was realised; in fact, the curators and many of the artists were well-established on the 'marginal circuit', which by that stage was heavily inscribed into Northern art circuits. Most of the artists, while originating from the 'Third World', were actually based in New York, leading to the ironic accusation of the curators being 'New York-centric'.[612] So, ironically, in spite of the attempts at repressing national references, the pull of particular national polities was still very evident, especially the United States, France etc, leading to the conclusion that even in Postcolonial art, as defined by Enwezor, these centres still underwrite the margins.

With the exception of one exhibition, the 'post-national state of culture' that was achieved was effectively a state that was artificially constructed through a careful suppression of nationalist symbols and exhibition methods, to be replaced with another construct – globalisation – that was presented by

some curators and artists in a highly simplistic fashion. However, in spite of these attempts the national question - or the question of who in the South African nation was served by the event, and at the expense of whom - was a question that refused to be buried. The contradictions between the national distribution of artistic resources and the global focus of Biennales was not unique to the Johannesburg event: as was noted in Chapter One, these contradictions were evident in other 'marginal' Biennales, especially Havana and Kwangju, and struggles have played themselves out over all these Biennales in relation to the global being promoted at the expense of the national and even the local. Sabine Marschall has termed the approach that Enwezor and his team of curators adopted 'colour-blind', where artistic merit and exemplification of a particular theme governed selection of South African artists. According to Marschall, 'There was no apprehension among the organisers about the fact that many of the South African works emanated from privileged spaces.'[613]

Disarticulations and contradictions between exhibitions and between exhibitions and overall theme of Biennale remain unexamined by the curators. For example, the contradiction between the open celebrations of globalisation and the global city versus the need for the Biennale to address excluded cultures and polities, was not really addressed. In this respect, Enwezor's position *vis a vis* 'Trade Routes' is open to the same criticism as Bhabha's expositions discussed in the introduction, in that their articulations of Postcolonialism are voluntaristic. They intend to address the politics of marginalisation and exclusion, without identifying the lever that will redress marginalisation and exclusion, resulting in both Enwezor and Bhabha turning their backs on national liberation struggles. In addition, it is clear that Enwezor's understanding of nationalism in terms of the exhibition was also idealist, in that it was viewed as a state of mind that could be wished away, rather than an irrepressible part of the material conditions of many Southern

countries.

Bhabha elevated the position of the literary critic to that of change agent, without elaborating on the material conditions that enable the critic to play that role: in other words, criticism had revolutionary potential but in a vacuum. Similarly, according to Enwezor the Postcolonial and Postnationalist artists - who foreshadow the new global citizen - were engaged in revolutionary activity by creating spaces to practice their art on a global basis. This voluntarist approach was open to appropriation by curators such as Hou Hanru, who used the same language, and even the same platforms, to pursue vastly different agendas which were not concerned with addressing globalisation's 'collateral damage'.

The focus on sculptural installation (rather than the total field of installation art), photography and video art, marginalised producers and consumers associated with a broad array of craft based forms of creativity. Enwezor conceptualised an exhibition that narrowed rather than broadened out the definition of what constitutes art.

Gerardo Mosquera's guidelines for transcultural curating, namely the need for South-South connections, and the inclusion of 'abandoned audiences', was invoked with no attention to the real implications of these guidelines for the theory and practice of Biennales: even Mosquera himself failed to interrogate the assumptions of his own curatorial practice. The curators failed to explore the people with whom these South-South connections are made and what interests they represent. In short, it is questionable whether Mosquera's noble objectives were met. Enwezor went some way to meeting them by delegating curatorial authority, but such authority was delegated to people who were tried and tested in terms of the marginal mainstream art circuits. In fact a curator such as Hou Hanru promoted values that were

blatantly anti-marginal, in that he celebrated the creation of new marginal centres without any concern for the peripheries being created within and around these centres. Hanru demonstrated a complete lack of critical engagement with how the spacial geography changes when Southern countries engage with globalisation, especially the ways in which new centres and peripheries are created within and between cities, and between cities and rural areas, as well as a lack of critical engagement with resulting de-industrialisation and pauperisation of people who are left out of the globalisation loop. In fact, it could be argued that the delegation of curatorial authority - in line with Mosquera's vision - did not lead to a more participatory exhibition, rather it led to a more incoherent one.

These contradictions were not lost on the GJMC, which led to conflicts within the GJMC itself about what to prioritise, and related to tensions between RDP and Gear. Notwithstanding the longer-term ideological role the Biennale could have played in projecting Johannesburg as a 'global city', fiscal austerity led to short term decisions being made: decisions that did not favour the continued existence of the Biennale.

Conclusion

Is another Biennale possible?

In this research, I have explored the tensions between nation building and globalisation in relation to contemporary visual arts projects sponsored by the GJMC. More specifically I have explored whether attempts to internationalise and then globalise South Africa's art world were compatible with the achievement of the nation-building objectives for the arts captured in the RDP. This exploration homed in on the Biennale project of the GJMC, considering the rationale behind its birth, the confluences and contradictions between the first and second Biennales, and the reasons for its termination in 1997. The Biennale project was an ideal case study in that - like Gear and its predecessor, the NEM - it attempted to use its external focus on integrating with the 'global' art world to achieve the nation building objectives of the RDP, an 'export-led' approach towards domestic development. I have shown through this thesis that this objective was largely not achieved through the two Biennales that took place.

In this conclusion I will draw the main findings of the three Chapters together, and will seek to show that, to different extents, both Biennales exhibited a key contradiction of the Southern Biennales discussed in Chapter One, and reproduced the very 'First World/ Third World' divisions that the authors of the RDP warned against in the nation building principle. In doing so, it perpetuated this division rather than narrowing the gap or even eliminating it, as it was required to do as a state-funded art project; so the Biennale project had the effect of dividing the nation, rather than uniting it. I then adopt a forward-looking approach, considering the alternative approaches the GJMC could have considered in using its funds to organise an international exhibition.

Bringing the Chapters together: a comparative analysis of the first and second Johannesburg Biennales in the light of international trends

From the discussion in the first Chapter it emerged that in the 1990's, a number of Biennales in the South adopted a largely uncritical approach to a discourse and practice developed in Northern Biennales such as Documenta X and the Venice Biennale. This curatorial shift complemented attempts by their host cities to use Biennales to enhance their global competitiveness by putting them on the tourism and high art map as avant-garde, global cultural cities. In the process these Biennales became contested terrain, with local artists, audiences and critics subjecting them to increasing pressure for privileging the global at the expense of the local. The one Biennale that did, in its early forms, attempt to contribute to building an inclusive national culture – namely the Havana Biennale – also began to suffer from the same contradictions in the 1990's. Chapters Two and Three then explored the Johannesburg Biennale in the context of these international shifts in the roles of Biennales; these shifts were also evident in Johannesburg, where they led to the Biennale moving further away from developmental objectives the state intended to achieve through public funding of the arts.

From the discussions in Chapters Two and Three, it also emerged that there were significant differences between the first and second Biennales; these differences are important to consider as they may discount the possibility of drawing generalised conclusions about the project.

The first Biennale adopted mainly an 'international' approach and the second a 'global' approach, in line with the shifts in other Biennales discussed in Chapter One. The first Biennale was much more embedded in

networks of national public institutions than the second. While the first Biennale used these networks as conduits for organising events and facilitating participation of artists, the second Biennale was much more independent of these national institutions, relying more on a tightly-knit group of institutions funded by the private sector to facilitate involvement of artists. This shift from public to private sector assistance paralleled broader changes in the city's economy, where the city accessed the global economy directly rather than using national institutions as the gatekeeper.

Enwezor also implemented a very different curatorial practice from the one used on the first Biennale: a 'hard' curatorship approach as opposed to the 'soft curatorship' of Lorna Ferguson. The choice of artworks also differed markedly in the two Biennales. Overall, there was a greater variety of artforms in the first Biennale than the second one, with the latter consisting almost entirely of installations. Neither Biennale was particularly concerned about prioritising South African artists, though. The exclusion of painting and sculpture in the second Biennale also excluded untold numbers of artists and played a role in alienating audiences as well, with many finding the exhibition unintelligible (according to numerous critical reviews written at the time); the fact that there was no priority given to the education programme exacerbated these problems, as there were scant resources for programmes that attempted to demystify these artforms (by including participatory approaches towards installation making, for instance).

While the first Biennale attempted some level of public participation in shaping the exhibition, the second Biennale was characterised by an elimination of public participation. This mirrored a general slippage in democratic politics in the city and the country, involving the marginalisation of participatory forums in many aspects of government, including the GJMC. The first Biennale also had a fringe to provide an outlet for artists who did

not want to participate in the main exhibitions, however the second did not. While both Biennales had education programmes, the programme was taken less seriously in the second Biennale, which made Enwezor's claims to be addressing 'abandoned audiences' rather hollow.

The first Biennale also attempted to concern itself with racial and geographic representivity - although not very successfully - mainly through the involvement of community art centres (with all its attendant problems). In the second Biennale, the centres played no role, and no attempts were made to de-centralise the events and hold them in any of the surrounding townships. In addition, no attempts were made to engage South African artists in participatory art making with members of the South African public.

The first Biennale had many distinctly South African exhibitions, and some attempts were made to use the event to achieve an inclusive national identity; however, the many contradictions in the Biennale reduced the effectiveness of these endeavours. With the exception of one exhibition, the second Biennale simply ignored the question of a national South African representivity in the choice of artworks, and in the process reinforced structural (mainly racial) inequalities. The anti-national bias of the Second Biennale flowed mainly from the fact that the curators concerned themselves with an anti-national stream of Postcolonial theory. As a result, it also suffered from the contradiction identified in relation to this stream, namely that it pensioned off the national experience prematurely in the light of heightened globalisation. The post-national message of the second Biennale was especially inappropriate in the South African context given that huge disparities still remained in South Africa generally (including in the artworld), and therefore the country could not - in the words of Thomas McEvilley – 'confront the international artworld as a nation.'[614] Had Enwezor attempted to ground the Biennale in South Africa's experience of

globalisation, it may have enjoyed greater local resonance given the continued relevance of the national question in the country.

Discontinuities between the two Biennales were apparent on other levels as well. Most curators and artists that featured in the first Biennale did not feature in the second, especially the trainee curators that the first event had invested in training. In fact, in reviewing the Biennale project over a two-year period, there is no sense of a learning project. The organisers of such a project could have learned lessons from the mistakes of the first Biennale, and used them to build a different kind of Biennale project in future; it has been argued that they did not.

However, overall there were significant continuities in approach between the two Biennales. The GJMC used both Biennales to promote Johannesburg as a global city; in the process the City attempted to use to global prestige gleaned from the project to regenerate the inner city (and specifically Newtown). However, in reality the Biennale led to the GJMC gentrifying aspects of Newtown, especially the exhibition venues. In both Biennales (although more in relation to the second than the first) the use of state resources on the Biennale project had the effect of creating a small layer of artistic insiders – who participated as artists and audiences – coupled with a huge layer of artistic outsiders who remain unaddressed by the Biennale. Both Biennales also located themselves firmly in the Western tradition of 'high art', although the first Biennale did attempt to include more popular elements by incorporating some 'craft'. Both Biennales drew largely on a pool of well-established artists, and both tended to relate to Southern art networks through the North, rather than creating new networks in communities marginalised through the globalisation process.

Part of South African culture was internationalised through the first exhibition and globalised through the second exhibition - namely the-then still largely untransformed practice of high art - but the large majority were left behind as the Biennale failed to address the related projects of popular art and popular culture. As a result, both Biennales were bedevilled by questions of relevance to South African audiences in spite of the fact that both claimed to be concerned with themes of marginality: as Eddie Chambers put it 'this attempt to integrate South Africa into the so-called "international arena" is at this stage in the country's history, akin to opening your home to legions of visitors when you have not done any building maintenance, cleaning or housekeeping for fifty odd years'.[615] While both Biennales had audience-building activities, these activities were largely ill conceived and marginalised from the mainstream of Biennale activities. These problems deepened from the first Biennale to the second in spite of the fact that the GJMC – which gave rise to and provided funding for the Biennale – was under a policy obligation to address the demands of building an inclusive nation.

I have therefore concluded that – in spite of significant differences between the two Biennales – the project as a whole was largely not compatible with what the RDP directed the government to achieve with its funding for the arts, namely to promote national unity while respecting the country's cultural diversity, redress imbalances of the past in access to the arts, and promote culture as a component of South Africa's development. The government remained under this obligation for both Biennales, although Gear was in force by the time the second Biennale took place; after all, the government considered Gear to be an extension of the RDP, as it was meant to stabilise the economy to provide a sound basis for the delivery of RDP targets. In fact, the White Paper on Arts and Culture - released in the same year as Gear - re-committed the government to the objectives of the RDP, so the

RDP was still as relevant a yardstick for the second Biennale as it was for the first. The fact that concerns raised by the RDP were even less evident in relation the second Biennale than the first, was an indication of the hollowness of the government's argument about the compatibility of the RDP with Gear. The RDP remains an important benchmark given the fact that the liberation movement, led by the ANC, has used it as a basis for making promises to the electorate, and their performance should therefore be judged against this document.

Both Johannesburg Biennales reproduced the dialectic of economic inclusion and exclusion endemic to the political project of globalisation, leading to the creation of economic and artistic 'insiders' and 'outsiders' akin to the 'First World' and 'Third World' divide that the RDP warned against in its principle on nation-building. The South African artists who were privileged to be 'insiders' benefited from the internationalisation of the first Biennale and globalisation of the second Biennale, at the expense of the outsiders whose artistic needs were supposed to be addressed through public funding as a national priority. So the Biennale project reinforced rather than narrowed divisions in access to the arts nationally, which meant that the project was an inappropriate use of state resources for a country struggling to move away from a past where such resources were a preserve of an elite made up of high art producers and consumers.

This division, largely (but not completely) following apartheid lines, became even more evident after the implementation of the pro-globalisation economic restructuring of Gear; this was hardly surprising given the fact that Gear led to a narrowing of the number of 'insiders' in the mainstream of economic activity. As it had done in relation to economic policy, the GJMC imported uncritically an international and then global exhibition form associated with the discourse of globalisation from

the North, notably from Venice and Kassel, and applied it in a situation where it was simply not appropriate. This wholesale importing of economic and artistic ‘solutions’ was done in an attempt to address a growing financial crisis nationally and locally using a ‘one size fits all’ set of policy prescriptions falling under the rubric of neo-liberalism, including culture-led methods of enhancing a city’s global status to attract foreign revenue.

The GJMC also did not learn lessons from the contradictions experienced by Biennales in the South, in spite of the fact that both exhibitions attempted to locate themselves in topical discourses about Biennales. In particular, Enwezor proved to be unconcerned about the fact that the adoption of a pro-globalisation, anti-national approach, designed to make Biennales globally relevant (and hence competitive), was also accompanied by growing discontent in these countries about the elitist nature of these events, which were increasingly unable to relate to realities in their own localities. Enwezor's suppression of nationalism on the basis that it is a reactionary force in the era of globalisation reinforced these problems as - like in other Biennales internationally - it prevented the Biennale from addressing disparities in its own backyard. It could be inferred that Enwezor believed that such a focus was outmoded, as it was based on narrow national concerns. For instance, effacing national backgrounds of artists disguised the disparities in between those able to become an artist and those not. In South Africa at the time of the Biennales, the ability to become an artist in the ‘high art’ sense was heavily influenced by the apartheid legacy in the arts, where access to the visual arts was a privilege enjoyed mainly by whites. The introduction of more black artists has diluted this structure of privilege, but it has not necessarily eradicated or even transformed the essentially elitist nature of ‘high art’. Rather class has replaced race as the defining feature of inclusion or exclusion in the high artworld.

Why did the Biennale project evolve in such a chaotic fashion over the two short years of its existence? The answer lies in the broader political economy that shaped the Biennale project, and ultimately killed it. The first Biennale was initiated by the old apartheid order, and was driven by its interests and priorities first and foremost. These priorities involved the need to establish Johannesburg as a world-class city (that is a city that entrenched the economic stranglehold of the mainly white elites) (but this aim is still being pursued by the GJMC via their agents the JDA and others), and the specific need of South African 'high' artists to establish their international reputations. These objectives did not sit easily with the new democratic order that was by that stage still struggling with the implications of the RDP and the Actag recommendations. Clearly there were elements within government that did not take full ownership of the project of democratisation.

However, the second Biennale took place in a different political economy, characterised in reality by the marginalisation of the Keynesian aspects of the RDP by Gear, in spite of government protestations that the two documents were complementary and that the RDP remained in force. By then, officials within the GJMC had begun to recognise that the 'world class city' approach of the first Biennale actually had a place in the overall objectives of the GJMC, as it amounted to the localisation of Gear. However, the GJMC was still in the throes of neo-liberal restructuring, which meant that activities that were considered to be non-core were at risk of being either privatised or discontinued: hence the schizophrenia. In an attempt to balance these contradictory macro-economic objectives, the Biennale curators tried to face many ways at the same time, succeeding only in being bad at RDP objectives and undervalued in terms of Gear objectives.

At the heart of the decision to kill the Biennale project was what the CDE termed ‘incomplete globalisation’ in a study of Johannesburg.[616] They argued that Johannesburg’s integration into the ‘global’ economy was stalled by the fact that, for many years, there have been competing models for the development of the city. The CDE argued that Johannesburg experienced ‘stalled globalisation’ because it made wrong choices that prevented further insertion into the global economy on the basis of its strengths; these wrong choices included persistent attempts to revive the CBD and invest in inner city development nodes such as the Newtown Cultural Precinct. In effect, the city’s managers did not know what they wanted.[617] This lack of focus was reflected in the number of restructuring exercises that had taken place since 1994. Each restructuring exercise led to about-turns in relation to aspects of the GJMC, including the Biennale.

According to the CDE, Johannesburg was moving beyond this schizophrenic situation, recognising what it needed to do to re-start the globalisation process, which included growing its financial and information technology sectors.[618] The CDE praised the plan for the city’s development released in 2003 - called 'Joburg 2030' - as being the most coherent plan for the city yet produced. In effect, this plan eliminated the above-mentioned contradictions in favour of an outrightly neo-liberal version of development.

For the purposes of ‘Joburg 2030', arts and culture fell off the radar, which led to the corporatisation and privatisation of venues and activities such as the Johannesburg Civic Theatre and the Arts Alive Festival. In view of these developments, it seems highly unlikely that the Biennale project will be revived.

Moving beyond a divided artworld: towards alternatives

To different extents, both Johannesburg Biennales built on existing divisions in the artworld, and exacerbated them. Moving beyond a divided artworld is but a small part of a broader challenge of addressing inequality in South African society. If left unaddressed, this inequality could lead to the unravelling of the country's peaceful negotiated settlement as those who remain on the outside of the economic mainstream may lose patience and revolt against the very government they brought into power. It is also possible that such a scenario could be accompanied by the violent balkanisation of the South African nation along old apartheid faultlines as unscrupulous leaders mobilise sub-national identities to maintain old privileges, or claim new privileges.[619] It is therefore of the utmost importance that, as far as possible, state resources are used to unite the nation, not divide it.

It is out of concern that sub-national divisions may be used to perpetuate apartheid that nation building was recognised by the RDP as a key policy objective, in spite of the-then emerging realities of heightened global integration; in fact, nation building, is, according to the RDP, a precondition for meaningful participation in the 'world community'. As has been argued, the Biennale project largely did not achieve this objective.

It is hardly surprising that the Biennale project turned out the way it did, as the GJMC had a political interest in promoting the city's re-integration into the international community (in the case of the first Biennale) and building a competitive edge in the tourism and cultural industries as a means of enhancing the overall international competitiveness of Johannesburg (in the case of the second Biennale). As the Biennale project was a brainchild of the GJMC, it was driven by the Council's interests (and ultimately shut down

by its crises); the project was not set up on an arms-length basis as a publicly-funded but independent initiative, and as a result it was subordinated to the twists and turns of the GJMC's political and economic direction. This direction was shaped by the NEM in the dying days of apartheid, with a brief developmental spell in line with the RDP, culminating in the reinstatement of neo-liberalism with the implementation of Gear.

As noted in the introduction, there is nothing natural or inevitable about globalisation: it is not driven by hidden laws that cannot be changed. Rather, it has been argued that the extent and influence of globalisation has been exaggerated in order to convince electorates that an export-led approach to local development is necessary to ensure healthy, sustainable growth in the future. A simple analysis of the basic indicators of globalisation proves this argument to be a sop peddled by government to justify the imposition of desperately unpopular policies. A full appreciation of these arguments is necessary to wage a proper struggle against the supposedly non-negotiable policies of the government, including the GJMC.

Within this struggle, there is a need to carve out an alternative vision for arts and culture, incorporating the best features of the Actag report, the RDP and the White Paper. In the process of developing this alternative vision, the following question will need to be asked: can there be an alternative 'international' exhibition that uses international exchange to grow and develop local art in a manner that promotes access to art as a basic human right rather than as a privilege? An exhibition that recognises the largely national reality that many in the South still live in, and that does not efface these realities in favour of an abstract notion of 'globalisation'? To simply dismiss Biennales as an extension of neo-liberal government policies is undialectical and not in the best traditions of critical theory, as it discounts the possibility that an international exhibition held on a regular basis is

capable of radical change if it were conceived of differently. Certainly, since their heyday in the mid to late 1990s, Biennales have become what Ann Wilson Lloyd has termed a 'troubled form'. The proliferation of Biennales has led to these events becoming homogenised, which in turn has blunted their effectiveness in creating the very sort of uniqueness that some cities hoped for in supporting these events. In some Biennales, city managers began to supersede artists in shaping Biennales; in fact tussles between artists and managers reportedly led to the near-collapse of the 2003 Venice Biennale. These trends led Lloyd to predict what she termed a 'countermovement against globalism', involving a scaling down of these events, and possibly a re-thinking of their underlying tenets.[620]

Glimpses provided by a number of Biennales suggest that this exhibition type is not necessarily a doomed species, and that 'another Biennale is possible'. What would an alternative Biennale look like? The emphasis of the project would be on broadening and popularising local access to the arts rather than on reproducing ‘high art’ uncritically: a process that would culminate in an international showcase of the fruits of this work. This exhibition would also be used to share similar experiences internationally and would emphasise the fruits of international exchange that have taken place between exhibitions: an ‘inside-out’ approach to international exhibitions based on greater local capacity building. The Biennale would be a platform to exhibit works of other countries grappling with similar problems around access to the arts; thus its mission would be to promote international cross-pollination rather than global competitiveness.

The organisers of an alternative Biennale would need to be mindful of the three core values of the RDP in relation to the arts, namely unity within diversity, redress of cultural imbalances and culture as a component of development. These values imply that publicly-funded art projects would

need to promote a diverse range of artforms, based on an expanded understanding of what art is. For instance, support should be extended for artforms that were not really recognised as such under apartheid, such as those generally associated with 'craft'. As mentioned in the introduction, Janet Wolff has argued that the definition of what constitutes art has been historically determined[621], and it therefore is subject to change to include a range of culturally and aesthetically significant objects; in South Africa's case, expanding the definition of 'art' would be necessary to reflect the first two of the RDP's values. In the process, truly popular artforms would emerge. Public support should enable such an evolution to come about, so that more people who engage in cultural activities can benefit from such support, not just 'high artists'. However, the intention should not be for the government to support those artforms that 'reflect' a national culture – thereby imposing a particular content on the works - but rather to create the material conditions for the South African nation as a whole to produce and appreciate a broad array of culturally significant artworks and practices.

The third core value enjoins the government to support art projects that are embedded in attempts to redress inequality in society generally: an approach towards relating art to the conditions of daily life that has come to be known internationally as 'community cultural development'. According to Don Adams and Arlene Goldbard, this movement is '…global, with a decades-long history of practice, discourse, learning and impact'.[622] In this movement '…the heart of the work is to give expression to the concerns and aspirations of the marginalized, stimulating social creativity and social action and advancing social inclusion'.[623] The emphasis on 'culture' rather than 'art' in this field is to '…indicate the generous concept of culture…and the broad range of tools and forms in use in the field'.[624] This approach allows for a tremendous range of approaches, styles and outcomes, and does not privilege one art form over another (installations, for instance, over painting

and sculpture).

These values should be translated into terms of reference to guide public support for art, including an alternative international exhibition. Public funding should be divided equally across four broad, overlapping areas: infrastructure support for art centres, production and exhibition venues; education; public awareness and audience development activities; and direct support for specific (individual and community) projects. Support should be granted in such a manner that these activities are mutually reinforcing. A publicly-funded international exhibition held on a regular basis would fall into the last category of support, and would complement rather than contradict support for the other categories, as local participation would be built on the networks established through the other areas of support. The ultimate objective of these terms of reference will be to ensure that anyone in South Africa who wishes to undertake creative work, whether for public exhibition or private enjoyment, as 'art for art's sake' or as part of other community initiatives, should be free to do so. Such choices should no longer be available only to a select few on the basis of their race or class position in society.

In practice, public funding should be used to support both group and individual creativity. Activities that challenge the narrow institutional base generally associated with the production of 'high art', and that involve public participation in their development, could also be supported. Funding should also be extended to individual creative projects, bolstered by a range of production and exhibition venues where people live (such as community halls and community art centres), thereby making them more physically accessible. The artforms supported in this regard would include a broad spread ranging from painting and sculpture to individually-generated installations and 'new media' activities. Individual projects would probably

(but not necessarily) flow out of the community cultural development activities, as people who develop an interest in creative work, and who want to pursue their interests further, may wish to do so on an individual rather than a group basis. Particular emphasis should be placed on supporting art that may not be exhibited in the commercial gallery system, because the artist concerned may not be sufficiently well-known, or because the work has been rejected by the system itself as being too risky and adventurous for the commercial circuit. But publicly funded arts should at all times avoid the danger of replacing one sort of instrumentalism with another, where public support for 'high art' is replaced by support for art that must demonstrate its ability to achieve a more just and equitable society: an approach that may promote artistic mediocrity.[625]

Support should also be extended to initiatives that involve 'high artists' engaging in skills transfer in community cultural development activities. Preference should be given to long-term collaborations rather than short-term projects. While it is arguable that the involvement of 'high artists' in such activities would qualify them as being truly community-based, they should receive support if a community-based project showed that they shaped the involvement of such artists themselves, possibly to augment resources that the project lacked.[626] According to Arnold Aprill, the community cultural development field has supported networks of educators, artists, parents and young people who have worked through many disagreements about the nature of art in society, including questions about whether community-based approaches stifle individual creativity, or whether they are too utilitarian in nature to even qualify as 'serious art' at all; in the process, new and inventive collaborations have emerged where both artists and communities benefit.[627] South Africa clearly has a great deal to learn from this field, and public funding should support such learning experiences. An international exhibition should showcase the international 'best practice'

in this regard, drawn from an ongoing exchange of artworks, educators and project co-ordinators, artists and documentary material.

With respect to infrastructure support for art centres, production and exhibition venues, community art centres could be used as bases to foster individual and group work, and support additional local creative spaces. Each municipality should have at least one centre that should then be used as a hub to support a network of venues and a cluster of community-based interdisciplinary activities. However, community art centres in South Africa have a long way to go in transforming themselves into community-based creative hubs; as noted in Chapter Two, the extent of the embeddedness in the very communities these centres claim to serve has been open to question, although the problem could be attributed partly to insufficient funding. From an overview of DACST's budget, there is no evidence that this scenario will change in the near future. According to a comprehensive survey of existing community art centres conducted by Gerard Hagg and Suzan Selepe for the Department, '…most respondents questioned the commitment of DACST to make the centres survive. The centres do not feature in the 2002-5 Department of Arts and Culture (DAC) strategic plan and the 1998-2001 rolling budget does not make provision for the operation of the centres'.[628] As a result of a lack of support, these centres had suffered many capacity problems, including insufficient linkages between the centres and communities. Hagg and Selepe's study has shown that while several centres were set up with the involvement of large numbers of community members, this involvement tended to dwindle over time. If a community art centre is to be defined in terms of involvement in the governance, management and use of facilities by a broad spread of members of a geographic community (rather than a community of interest), then such involvement is uneven.

However, Hagg and Selepe also noted that there was a lack of conceptual clarity about the definition of 'community', but some definitions that were proffered during the survey included individual members of a community, organisations, households and other interest groups. This lack of clarity can give rise to situations where artists and students using the centre's facilities start to consider themselves a community in their own right, leading to a culture of entitlement developing. There is also a lack of clarity about the role of the community underpinned by a lack of clarity about who constitutes 'the community', and hence appropriate levels of involvement. In order to address these problems, they advocated direct funding to community art centres, but linked to training on governance and community involvement, the setting of standards in this regard, and the development of monitoring and evaluation tools to measure (amongst other things) the level of community participation. [629] Such moves may well assist these centres to address weaknesses in how they understand the notion of 'community'; international exchange of ideas and projects could expose these centres to initiatives in the international community cultural development movement that are grappling with, and possibly even resolving, similar problems. Hagg and Selepe alluded to this possibility in the report when they recommended the twinning of South African centres with centres abroad, and the setting up exchanges between them.[630] They also advocated the establishment of clusters around art centres to '…develop partnerships in capacity building and service delivery that are mutually beneficial', possibly even linking art centres to science and telecommunications centres to increase their sustainability and relevance.[631] If these centres could become embedded in the communities in which they are based, they could play a key role in shaping their modes of participation in international exhibitions, rather than having them defined in a largely top-down fashion, as was the case in relation to the Johannesburg Biennale.

With respect to education, the RDP and the White Paper maintain that art education is crucial to increase access the arts and to embed art in communities. However, from an audit completed in 2004,[632] it would appear that South Africa is very far from realising the most basic commitments made in these documents. The audit was conducted for the Department of Education, and painted a dismal picture of the state of arts education in the poorest areas of the country (identified as 'education poverty nodes' by the Department). According to the audit, most schools in these areas do not have sufficient or appropriate resources for arts and culture, and there is a dearth of educators.[633] Arts education was introduced as a compulsory part of the curriculum from 1997 onwards, both as a stand-alone subject and as an activity integrated into other subjects in the curriculum; while some gains have been made in Grades One to Nine, a disturbingly high number of schools reported no participation at all in arts programmes. Between 77 and 93 percent of schools noted that they had no dedicated facilities for 'arts and crafts'.[634] The report also noted that the situation was much better in non-nodal schools, which were located in relatively more advantaged (generally urban) areas. The authors also argued for the importance of involving professional artists in education processes, and to that end advocated for each school to host an artist-in-residence, but very little progress has been made in this regard.[635] It is clear from the report that inequalities in access to arts education are stark. The serious problems that have manifested themselves in relation to art education and community art centres underline the fact that – with regard to arts access – South Africa still remains very much a divided nation, and make the case for the continued relevance of nation-building as a guiding principle in addressing these divisions.

With respect to public awareness and audience development, these activities are largely contingent on the successful delivery of infrastructure

support and art education. As noted above, both delivery areas have been found wanting in post-apartheid South Africa, and would need to be improved if audiences are to be extended beyond a small layer of South Africans who frequent 'high art' events. However, one practical way of building public involvement in the arts, is to increase public participation in projects that receive state support. This could involve decentralising the production and exhibition of artworks to ensure greater physical accessibility. Also, greater public involvement in the production of art should also foster greater interest.

An example in this respect involved *Set-Setal,* an urban regeneration youth movement that used art to reclaim public spaces in Dakar by painting hundreds of murals, erecting sculptures in public spaces and planting public gardens and even re-naming streets if their names dated from the colonial era.[636] By 1992, the Dakar Municipality decided to support the efforts of the group, and began to subsidise associations and local artists associated with this movement. While the work of the *Set-Setal* movement has been documented in international exhibitions[637], it appears to have had scant impact on the Dakar Biennale, which should have tapped into the wave of popular energy to embed the Biennale in its local environment. Instead, like other Biennales, it has been accused of promoting international contact while largely ignoring local creative activities.[638] However, mural-making can all too easily fall into a trap of drawing uncritically on tried and tested visual conventions, and also does not provide much scope for individual expression.

There are examples of other public art projects, especially participatory art projects that adopt more experimental approaches to artmaking, including performances and installations; at the same time, they use group activities to generate interest in contemporary forms of artmaking, and create the

space for individuals to engage in more focussed, critically-engaging work should they wish to. For instance, the Village of Arts and Humanities, which is a community-based arts, education and neighbourhood development organisation in the inner city of North Philadelphia, seeks '…to reclaim abandoned space and rebuild a sense of hope and possibility in their neighbourhoods'.[639] The Village includes a cluster of parks, community gardens, educational facilities and art workshops. Inner-city dwellers engage in sculpture parks, plant vegetable gardens, and then become involved in the production of individual artworks for exhibition in Village-run venues. Similar work has also taken place with a community living on a garbage dump in Kenya, who transformed an abandoned church using sculptures and murals.[640] Another example involved a 'high art'-trained artist, Gwylene Gallimard, who in 2000, drew on public funding in South Carolina to set up a participatory art installation in Charleston's Old City Jail, focussing on the shared cultural links between First Nations on the North American continent (Figure Forty-Five). The work began when Gallimard travelled along the Yukon river from Canada to the Bering Sea collecting visual images of her encounters with the communities living on the river. She then worked with school classes and community centres, as well as with other 'high artists' and teachers to create the elements of the installation, at the heart of which was a metaphorical 'river' linking Alaska and America, and consisting of these elements. Also included on the third floor of the jail was an exhibition of artworks by people who had been engaged in the process and who wished to make individual contributions, as well as participating professional artists. In total, approximately 300 people participated in the project.[641] While the project made space for both individual and group creativity, Gallimard also used participatory artmaking as an audience development strategy: according to Gallimard, she intended to incorporate potential audiences into the process of making art as '…that involvement can enlarge the audience'.[642]

Such initiatives could be showcased in the context of an alternative Biennale; while it may not be possible to recreate the original works in their entirety, documentary information could be presented in the form of mini-installations and experiences exchanged through debates and workshops.

With respect to direct support for specific group and individual activities, other City Council-sponsored art events point to possibilities for using international contacts to develop a more participatory local approach. For instance, Mierle Laderman Ukeles has worked as a resident artist of the Department of Waste Disposal Planning in New York since 1977. During this period she has created a variety of artworks in collaboration with sanitation workers and citizens who are serviced by the workers. For instance, she created a public art project entitled *Flow City* (Figure Forty-Six), which exposed the inner-workings of a sanitation site to the public; this work intended to render transparent the operations of the sanitation facility, to promote a sense of public accountability for the waste that people generated. According to Ukeles, she adopted a socially engaged approach in reaction to the elitism of Modernist art, which 'didn't need anybody, hardly needed gravity itself'.[643] She also involved sanitation workers in photographic works and installations about the often-negative public perceptions of their role in New York. In 1993, the politically radical Council of the French town of Givors invited Ukeles to develop a city-based community art project. For one event, the Mayor released eighty percent of the city's service vehicles and most of the sanitation staff for a performance; in the performance Ukeles choreographed the vehicles in a 'dance' in a manner that transcended their normal functions.[644] According to Ukeles:

> 'I liked the idea that sanitation goes everywhere, and they never, ever stop. That's a great model for art. Art should go everywhere all

> the time. There's no special place, no special time… I am amazed at the level of co-operation, participation, and interaction I got from every single layer, office, bureau, division of an entire city agency – who were not known before as contemporary art specialists. I dreamed that I could make public art grow from inside a public infrastructure system outward to the public and that the growing would affect both the inside as well as the outside. I learned in [the Sanitation Department] that vision and will can change just about anything'.[645]

One memorable attempt that has been made to make a Biennale more locally relevant involved the first Liverpool Biennale in 1999, organised by Anthony Bond, the chief curator of the Art Gallery of New South Wales in Sydney, Australia. Entitled *Trace*, he intended to curate an exhibition that focussed on the imprint of artists' encounters with '...the real, the everyday, the social'.[646] He used venues around Liverpool to present the works of a mix of well-known and less well-known artists, who were asked to explore and respond to Liverpool's history. The works were located in public spaces and renovated buildings, as well as in art galleries. Location proved to be particularly important to these artworks (not always the case in other Biennales), which engaged with various aspects of Liverpool's past and present. For instance, Juan Munoz from Spain placed an installation of three figurative sculptures in a disused burial ground on the eastern side of Liverpool's Anglican Cathedral, parodying the conventions of Victorian tombs. Allan Sekula created a photographic installation linking the Liverpool docks to docks in other parts of the world, focussing on the impact on labour of transnational trade. Other artists followed suit and created works that linked their work in other countries with the specifics of the Liverpool environment.[647] The Biennale also included two exhibitions of British artists. A third exhibition was devoted to works from recent graduates of British art

schools and students, and toured various cities after the Biennale. A group of artists also spread out over the city and initiated a series of installations and events. In view of this strong local focus, Sussman praised Bond for '…keeping a strong curatorial focus and animating the city by installing art thoughtfully in unexpected venues'.[648]..However, while the Biennale did attempt to fuse its exhibits with the local environment, it did not really seek to dismantle boundaries between artists and non-artists on the level of production of artworks; it also did not develop from a community-driven process in Liverpool. Had Bond included some of the participatory elements evident in Ukeles' and Gallimard's work, the exhibition could have really broken new ground.

However, if such local-global experiments are to be successful, then public funding decisions should not be subjected to the twists and turns of government policy, but should rather prioritise the needs of the arts and culture sector first. The state would need to take seriously the fact that arts and culture support is both a provincial and a national competence, and it would need to capacitate provincial government to deliver on the RDP and the White Paper. This means that funds would have to be provided for this purpose, rather than dumping the arts on the provinces as an unfunded mandate (which is Constitutionally challengeable practice in any event). The provinces in turn would need to provide funding to local governments.

Actag provided a useful model for how this process could work in their final report. Provincial and local budgets must be administered independently of one another (although within the framework of the White Paper), and must also be independent from government control. The Johannesburg Biennale project was a perfect example of an arts project that was controlled by the government; as a result it was made to serve the twists and turns of local government needs, and ultimately proved to be expendable. Actag

recommended the formation of provincial and local Arts Councils, which would be represented on the National Arts Council. These Councils would then receive government funding on an arms length basis, and would also take decisions about which projects to fund independently of the government. In terms of their mandate, they would have to ensure that the diversity of provincial and local communities be taken into account, including the diversity of artforms through which individual and collective expression takes place.[649] At the same time, it would also need to upgrade the independence of the NAC,[650] which has been found sorely wanting.

As the White Paper requires international co-operation and exchange to be an important area of government support, the Councils would have the mandate to develop funding criteria to support projects that adopt an 'inside-out' approach: that is, projects use international co-operation with arts institutions to broaden involvement in the arts rather than undermining these policy objectives. As a result, international exhibitions could become rooted in the daily experiences of their host cities and citizens.

With respect to community art centres, the Provincial and Local Arts Councils would be the best conduits for these funds, as they could co-ordinate the relationship of these centres to other aspects of provincial and local development (including international exhibitions). The end result should be an integrated approach to arts and culture development, rather than the sort of fragmented, piecemeal approach that was evident throughout the late 1990's. Had the funding of the Biennale been subjected to proper scrutiny by an independent institution other than the GJMC (which had a direct, vested political interest in the instrumental use of the Biennale), then the project may have turned out very differently.

These international experiences provide some ideas around developing

‘best theory and practice’ for an alternative Biennale. However, much more will need to be done to reconceptualise Biennales as part of the above-mentioned 'countermovement against globalism', if they are to move away from perpetuating the ‘First World/ Third World’ divide noted in the RDP. With respect to state support for this local-global transformation agenda, certain minimum conditions would need to obtain.

In other words, if such an alternative Biennale is to be achieved in South Africa, and more specifically in Johannesburg, the state will have to reverse its decision to privatise arts and culture provision, and support the roll-out of artist and audience-building activities through capacity-building interventions, including community art centres that implement clear plans for embeddedness in their respective communities. The state will also need to be pressurised to re-think its initial rejection of Actag’s recommendations around the provincialisation and localisation of the NAC if access to the arts is to be realised as a basic human right (as per the White Paper). International exhibitions supported on an arms-length basis could then be free to expose 'best practice' from other countries grappling with the challenges of translating the notion of ‘internationalist nationalism’ into practice (rather than the abstract notion of ‘post-nationalism’), and therefore would be a critical component in increasing access to the arts. In the process of shaping this new form of international exhibition, an alternative agenda for such exhibitions should emerge organically from below: an agenda that relates to rather than effaces the stage of national development of the visual arts in South Africa, and that shies away from constituting South Africans as powerless subjects of globalisation. The dual challenge for critical theory in the visual arts is to clarify the theoretical conception of this ‘other Biennale’, and to critique it as it unfolds.

Endnotes

[1] 'Press Conference/ Reception: Johannesburg Biennale'. http://dialsna.edu/iat97/johannesburg/press_conf/press_conf.html. Downloaded on 21/12/2004.

[2] 'Press Conference/ Reception: Johannesburg Biennale'. http://dialsna.edu/iat97/johannesburg/press_conf/press_conf.html. Downloaded on 21/12/2004.

[3] 'Fanon.F. 'On National Culture' in Fanon. F. 1963. *The Wretched of the Earth.* London: Penguin Books. 199.

[4] See note 6 for why the term 'imperfect' is used.

[5] According to the Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary, the name *Biennale* is Italian and means "every other year", describing an event that happens every 2 years. The most important Biennale is an art exhibition that takes place in Venice, but there are others, for example in São Paulo.' See Crowther, J. 1995. *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 104. However, according to Luis Camnitzer, the term 'Biennale' has assumed a much broader meaning. Often spelled 'Biennial', it has come to refer to a range of exhibitions that take place on a regular basis (even if they take place once every three or five years). See Camnitzer, L. 'Report from Havana: The First Biennial of Latin American Art'. *Art in America.* December 1984. 43.

[6] However, this benchmark is not being used uncritically, and the reader should not take its use as a wholesale endorsement of this document. According to the RDP document, the Programme '...is an integrated, coherent socio-economic policy framework. It seeks to mobilise all our people and our country's resources towards the final eradication of apartheid and the building of a democratic, non-racial and non-sexist future'. See African National Congress. *Reconstruction and Development Programme*. Johannesburg: Umanyano Publications. 1. However, it is argued in Chapter Two of this thesis that the RDP is neither integrated nor coherent, as there are significant discrepancies between its social and cultural objectives on the one hand, and the economic programme on the other. There are also discrepancies between the statement of principle in relation to nation building and its elaboration later on in the Programme. In this Chapter it is noted that the RDP is in actual fact peppered with mixed messages, and is in certain respects even incoherent. Nevertheless, it provides an important benchmark against which to measure government

performance as the post-1994 Government of National Unity adopted it as the key policy document to redress the legacy of apartheid: so the government cannot argue that its performance is being measured against a benchmark it does not recognise.

[7] There has been some controversy about the extent of consultation in the process leading up to the final draft, as well as the manner in which the document was altered from one draft to the next. For an account of these controversies, see Marais, H. 1998. *South Africa: Limits to Change*. Cape Town: University of Cape Town Press and Zed Books. 67-71.

[8] This legacy, at the time of the 1994 elections, was complex and felt in every level of the South African social formation. Some of the key indicators identified by the RDP office included dire poverty, with more than half the country earning on average below R300 per month during the 1990's, ongoing racial bias in income distribution, with less that one percent of 'whites' and 'Indians' being defined as poor, and inadequate access to basic services, with fewer than one-third of 'Africans' having internal taps, flush toilets, electricity and refuse removal. For more information about these indicators, see Bond. P. 2000. *Elite Transition: From Apartheid to Neo-Liberalism in South Africa*. London and Scottsville. Pluto Press and University of Cape Town Press. 18-52.

[9] Bond. P. 2000. *Elite Transition: From Apartheid to Neo-Liberalism in South Africa*…5-6.

[10] Alexander, N. 'Education, Culture and the National Question', in Alexander, N. 1990. *Education and the Struggle for National Liberation*. Johannesburg: Skotaville. 70.

[11] The differences between these terms will be dealt with later on in the introduction.

[12] According to the Director of Culture, Christopher Till, '…South Africa's challenge to emerge from its recent history, heal its wounds and play a role in the affairs of the world is one which is being taken up in all fields of human endeavor. The visual arts are no exception and Africus: Johannesburg Biennale is the vehicle through which a start has been made to begin a process of reconstruction and development through artistic interchange and exploration'. Till quoted in Greater Johannesburg Transitional Metropolitan Council. 1995. *Africus: Johannesburg*. Johannesburg: GJTMC. 7.

[13] 'Arts and Culture', in African National Congress. 1994. *Reconstruction and Development Programme*. Johannesburg: Umanyano Publications.

69-70.

[14] Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology. *All Our Legacies, Our Common Future: White Paper on Arts, Culture and Heritage.* Pretoria. 4 June 1996. 6.

[15] An objective that is also recognized by the RDP. See objective 4.2.2.9 in African National Congress. 1994. *Reconstruction and Development Programme…*80. However, where Gear and the RDP differ is in the manner of integration, and the relationship of this integration process to domestic development. See Marais, H. 1998. *South Africa: Limits to Change…*67-71. Also see Michie, J. and Padayachee V. 1997. *The Political Economy of South Africa's Transition.* London: Dryden Press.

[16] For an account of the relationship between the RDP and Gear, see Marais, H. 1998. *South Africa: Limits to Change.* Cape Town: UCT Press and Zed Books. 85.

[17] Marais, H. 1998. *South Africa: Limits to Change…*85.

[18] For the purposes of this thesis, one of Roger Scruton's definitions of 'ideology' is used, namely the one that denotes '…any set of ideas or values which has the social function of consolidating a particular economic order'. Scruton, R. 1982. *A Dictionary of Political Thought*. London: Macmillan Press. 213-214.

[19] Neo-liberalism can be defined as an ideology that is based on two intersecting theoretical traditions: Neo-Classical economic theory and liberal political theory. The former based its economic philosophy on the premise that the capitalist market is inherently rational, and should be left unhindered to achieve an equilibrium between demand and supply; once this takes place, prices stabilise, full employment is achieved and social inequalities eliminated (a process called 'market clearing'). The 'Neo' in the term neo-liberalism relates to the fact that it draws on Neo-Classical economic theory to argue that capitalist markets will stabilise and provide full employment if left to their own devices. Hence the state should withdraw from economic activity: rather, its role should be to facilitate such activity rather than engage in it directly. As a result, privatisation, de-regulation and liberalisation are justified in terms of neo-liberal ideology. The ideology of neo-liberalism is closely associated with globalisation as the former drives unfettered markets in search of new opportunities; technological advances such as computerisation have enabled these markets to cross national borders and move further afield. Thus the market clearing envisaged by Neo-Classical economists is no longer bound to take place at the level of the nation-state, but rather through the creation of a single global

marketplace. So neo-liberal globalisation is a version of globalisation that promotes the establishment of a global capitalist economy based on Neo-Classical economic theory.

See Brongenbrenner, M., Sichel, W., and Gardner, W. 1990. *Macroeconomics...* G-22, Martinez, E. Garcia, A. 'What is Neo-Liberalism? A Brief Definition for Activists'. CorpWatch. http://corpwatch.radicaldesigns.org/article.php. Downloaded on 5/01/2005. McDonald, D. and Paper, J. 2002. *Cost Recovery and the Crisis of Service Delivery in South Africa*. Pretoria: HSRC Publishers and Zed Books. Bronfenbrenner, M., Sichel, W. and Gardner, W. 1990. *Macroeconomics*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 375-376.

[20] Van Graan, M. 'No Comment' in *The Cultural Weapon*. December 1997 – January 1998. 1-2.

[21] Barnard, D. and Terreblanche, Y. 1998. 'CDE Launches Major New Study on the City of Pretoria', e-Prodder-mail, Pretoria: Human Sciences Research Council.

[22] See for instance McGuigan, J. 1996. *Culture and the Public Sphere*. London: Routledge.

[23] The terms 'the North' and 'the South' are not used in strictly geographic terms in this thesis. Rather the manner in which Gerardo Mosquera uses these terms is adopted here. Mosquera uses the terms loosely, as not necessarily referring to the geographic areas defined by their positions in relation to the equator, but as references to countries and continents that are at the center of global economic and cultural activity and those that are on the periphery. So 'North' would include North America and Europe, while South would include Africa, Latin America and - presumably – Asia. When these terms are used in this thesis, they should be held to have these meanings as well. See Mosquera, G. 'Some Problems in Transcultural Curating', Fisher, J (ed). 1994. *Global Visions: Towards a New Internationalism in the Visual Arts*. London: Kala Press. 133.

[24] Possibly the most concerted effort to articulate a Southern perspective for Biennales, involving attempts to balance the inevitable tensions between a global event in the face of pressing local development needs has been made by the Havana Biennale. See 'Premises and Principles', 8th Havana Biennial. 1 November - 15 December 2003. Press Release of the Wifredo Lam Contemporary Art Center. July 2003. http://www.universes-in-universe.de/car/habana/bien8/press/e-concept.htm. Downloaded on 5/01/2005.

The Kwangju Biennale was set up in 1995 with the intention of providing '…diverse perspectives on the complex issues facing modern society, representing voices, which have been excluded from the international art scene'. See 'Beyond the Borders'. Kwangju Biennale. 1995. http://www.gwangju-biennale.org/eng/archive/review_01.asp. Downloaded on 5/01/2005.

The Dakar Biennale (known as Dak'art) was set up as an initiative of the Senegalese State, and '…expresses the political will of placing culture at the heart of development strategies in Senegal and brings its contribution to the implementation of the African Union. Dak'Art is a major event for enhancing and promoting current African creativity'. See 'Dak'art: The Biennale of Contemporary African Art. 6th Edition. http://www.dakart.org/sommaire_en.php3. Downloaded on 5/01/2005.

[25] See the following publications: Camnitzer, L. 1994. *New Art of Cuba*. Austin: University of Texas Press. Barnard, D. and Terreblanche, Y. 1998. 'CDE Launches Major New Study on the City of Pretoria'…. 'The Fifth Biennale of Havana', in *Third Text*. Number 28/29. 89-94. Powell, I. 'It's Just a Lot of Art'. *Weekly Mail and Guardian*. 10/03/1997. Greenberg, R., Ferguson, B.W. and Nairne, S. (Eds). 1996. *Thinking about Exhibitions*. London: Routledge.

[26] 'Statement of the National Executive Committee of the African National Congress on the Occasion of Year 93 of the ANC'. Umtata. 8/01/2005. Http://www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/history/jan8-05.html. Downloaded on 5/01/2005.

[27] Budget Vote 15 Debate: Speech by N. Botha, Deputy Minister of Arts and Culture. 22 June 2004. http://www.dac.gov.za/news/speeches/2004%5F06%5F22%5Fdep%5Fminister.htm

[28] 'Balkanisation' involves the division of a place or country into several small political units, often unfriendly to one another. The term *balkanization* comes from the name of the Balkan Peninsula, which was divided into several small nations in the early twentieth century. See 'Balkanisation', in E.D. Hirsch, E.D.., Kett, J.F. and Trefil, J. 200. *The New Dictionary of Cultural Literacy* (Third Edition). Boston: Houghton Miflin Company. Downloaded on 16/01/2007 from http://www.bartleby.com/59/13/balkanizatio.html.

[29] See Enwezor. O. 'Living, Working, and Traveling in a Restless World'. In Greater Johannesburg Metropolitan Council (GJMC). *Trade Routes: History and Geography*…10. Also see Lavrijsen, R. 1994. *Cultural*

Diversity in the Arts: Art, Art Policies and the Facelift of Europe. Amsterdam: Royal Tropical Institute. 31-52.

[30] See the following publications. Canclini, N.G. 'Remaking Passports: Visual Thought in the Debate on Multiculturalism'*. Third Text*. No. 28/ 29. Autumn/ Winter 1994. Clifford, J. 1997. *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century*. Massachusetts: Harvard University Press. Enwezor. O. 'Living, Working, and Traveling…'. 8. Lavrijsen, R. 1994. *Cultural Diversity in the Arts: Art, Art Policies and the Facelift of Europe…* 31-52.

[31] Oliva quoted in Hanru, H. 'Bi-Biennale: The Venice Biennale and the Biennale de Lyon', *Third Text*, 24, Autumn 1993. 94.

[32] Enwezor. O. 'Living, Working, and Travelling…'. 8.

[33] Griffin, T. 'Global Tendencies: Globalism and Large-Scale Exhibitions – Panel Discussion'. *Artforum.* November 2003. 4. http://www.findarticles.comn/p/articles/mi_m0268/is_3_42/ai_110913973/print.

[34] The term Postcolonialism is not easy to define, but can be understood as a large and complex body of theory dealing with cultures affected by the European colonial and imperial process, generally from an anti-colonial and anti-imperialist perspective.

For a general definition, see 'Postcolonialism'. Bennet, T. Grossberg, L. and Morris, M. 2005. *New Keywords: A Revised Vocabulary of Culture and Society*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing. 267-269. Also see the following publications: Bhabha, H. quoted in Clifford, J. 1997. *Routes: Travel and Translations in the Late Twentieth Century*. Massachusetts: Harvard University Press. 264. See Clifford, J. 1997. *Routes: Travel and Translations…*264. Moore-Gilbert, B. 1997. *Postcolonial Theory: Contexts, Practices, Politics*. London: Verso Books. 14-19.

[35] Meyer, J. quoted in Griffin, T. 'Global Tendencies: Globalism and Large-Scale Exhibitions – Panel Discussion'. *Artforum.* November 2003. 4.

[36] Poststructuralism is a critique of structuralist theory, and especially the argument contained in such theory that human behaviour could be explained by analysing the various sociological, psychological and linguistic structures that shaped this behaviour. Structuralism analyses its objects of enquiry chiefly by contrasting the elemental structures of the phenomenon in a system of binary opposition, in which one term is primary and the other derivative (such as male/ female, nature/ culture,

etc). Drawing on the studies of signs and sign-using behaviour (or semiotic) theory of Ferdinand de Sassure and the anthropology of Claude Levi-Strauss, Poststructuralist theorists focus on the ways in which meaning is constructed in texts (rather than texts being a mere representation of reality). They argue that the languages and cultures through which these structures are articulated are not transparent signifying systems connecting signs with 'truth' or 'reality' in a direct manner, but rather they are constructs whose internal logic may well break down when the tensions and contradictions in the binary terms are interrogated, including the often unconscious assumptions behind one term being privileged above another; this often means analyzing not only what the text says, but what they do not say (an analytical tool termed 'deconstruction'). As a result, these textual readings have concerned themselves with analyzing disparaged concepts or interest groups whose voices are suppressed in such texts, and whose voices those in charge of cultural production wish to control in case they subvert normative discourse (such as the insane, women, peasants and other socially excluded groups). Writers associated with Poststructuralism include Roland Barthes, Jaques Lacan, Julia Kristeva and Michel Foucault.

See Culler, J. 1982. *On Deconstruction: Theory and Criticism After Structuralism*. New York: Cornell University Press. Also see "Structuralism' in Britannica Concise, downloaded in 27/12/2006 from http://www.answers.com/topic/structuralism, as well as 'Poststructuralism' in Britannica Concise, downloaded on 27/12/2006 from http://www.answers.com/topic/poststructuralism. Also see 'Poststructuralism' in Columbia University Press Encyclopedia, downloaded on 27/12/2006 from http://www.answers.com/topic/poststructuralism.

[37] See Gikandi, S. 'Poststructuralism and Postcolonial Discourse'. Lazarus, N. 2004. *The Cambridge Companion to Postcolonial Literary Studies.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 113.

[38] Bhabha, H. 'The Other Question: Stereotype, Discrimination and the Discourse on Colonialism', in Mongia, P. 1996. *Contemporary Postcolonial Theory: A Reader*. London: Arnold. 37. Also see 'The Commitment to Theory', in Bhabha, H. 1994. *The Location of Culture*. London: Routledge. 21. Also see Bhabha, H. 'The Postcolonial and the Postmodern: The Question of Agency', in Bhabha, H. 1994. *The Location of Culture…*171.

[39] Diaspora is defined by James Clifford as those communities that share common characteristics, but that through immigration, displacement, migration or exile have become dispersed. See Clifford, J. 1997. *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century*. Massachusetts:

Harvard University Press. 245-247.

[40] According to Bhabha, '…The very concepts of homogenous national cultures, the consensual or contiguous transmission of historical traditions, or 'organic' ethnic communities – as grounds of cultural comparativism – are in a profound process of redefinition. The hideous extremism of Serbian nationalism proves that the very idea of a pure, 'ethnically cleansed' national identity can only be achieved through the death, literal and figurative, of the complex interweavings of history, and the culturally contingent borderlines of modern nationhood. This side of the psychosis of patriotic fervour, I like to think, there is overwhelming evidence of a more transnational and translational sense of the hybridity of imagined communities'. With respect to the implications of these trends for literary theory, he has argued that '…Where, once, the transmission of national traditions was the major theme of a world literature, perhaps we can now suggest that transnational histories of migrants, the colonized, or political refugees – these border and frontier conditions – may be the terrains of world literature'. Bhabha, H. 'Introduction: Locations of Culture', in Bhabha, H. 1994. *The Location of Culture…*5 and 12.

[41] Bhabha, H. 'The Commitment to Theory', in Bhabha, H. 1994. *The Location of Culture…*21.

[42] Edward Said has defined the 'subaltern' as being the opposite of 'dominant' and 'elite' (or groups in power), and derives from Antonio Gramsci's use of the term. It refers to the masses of people who are ruled by coercive and sometimes mainly ideological domination from above. In the Indian context, subaltern refers to the emergent classes of Indian workers, urban poor and rural peasants who resisted British rule of India for three centuries, as well as indigenous elites who collaborated with the British. According to Said, the work of the Subaltern Studies Collective, which Spivak helped form in the 1980's, attempted '…to rewrite the history of colonial India from the distinct and separate point of view of the masses, using unconventional or neglected sources in popular memory, oral discourse, previously unexamined colonial administrative documents'. See Said, E. 'Foreword'. Guha, R. and Spivak, G. 1988. *Selected Subaltern Studies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. V-vi.

[43] According to Spivak, she has devoted her writings to, in her words, '…the problem that has been my major life experience: the failure of decolonisation through the ignoring of the subaltern'. Spivak quoted in Chrisman, L. 'Nationalism and Postcolonial Studies', in Lazarus, N. 2004. *The Cambridge Companion to Postcolonial Literary Studies…195.*

[44] According to Charles Sackrey and Geoffrey Schneider, 'political

economy' is a much broader field of study than mainstream economics, in that it is more concerned with the relationships of the economic system and its institutions to the rest of society. It studies the influence of so-called 'non-economic' factors such as political and social institutions and ideology in shaping economic events. It founding economists and philosophers include people as diverse as Karl Marx, Thorstein Veblen and John Maynard Keynes, who are united in their views that a narrow approach towards 'economic science' cannot explain actual events in the real world, mainly because it ignores the historical context that shapes all human events, especially the history of economic ideas and the especially important impact of politics on the economy. By attempting to be scientific, mainstream economists elevate economics above politics, thereby preventing a true understanding of how economic systems work. Such economists are especially hostile to studies of social class as a legitimate category of study. See Sackrey, C. and Schneider, G. 2000. *Introduction to Political Economy*. Boston: Dollars and Sense. 1-3. Studies on the political economy of globalisation tend to focus on the political nature of the phenomenon rather than on its economic drivers; as a result it understands globalisation as a product of political interests rather than as an uncontestable outcome of the laws of economic development.

[45] Wolff, J. 1981. *The Social Production of Art.* London: Macmillan.

[46] For a detailed account of the evolution of aesthetics, see Wolff, J. 1983. *Aesthetics and the Sociology of Art.* London: George Allan and Unwin.

[47] Wolff, J. 1983. *Aesthetics and the…*88.

[48] For instance, Franz Fanon noted at the height of the Algerian anti-colonial struggle against French oppression, that cultural producers involved in the struggle gradually began to contest the Western understanding of art, and began to demand recognition for handicrafts (according to Fanon, ‘the forms of expression which formerly were the dregs of art’) as forms of artistic production. This development then led to artists demanding the right to express themselves objectively in institutions, which in turn led to demands for state support for popular arts as part of the national liberation movement’s demands.
See Fanon, F. 1963. *The Wretched of the Earth.* London: Penguin Books. 194-197.

[49] Sack makes reference to the phenomenon of ‘peoples’ parks’ as an example of popular art. See Sack, S. ‘In the Name of Art: A Reflection on Fine Art’, in Campschreur, W. and Divendal, W. (eds). 1989. *Culture in Another South Africa.* London: Zed Books. 76.

[50] According to Raymond Williams, '...then from the seventeenth century, there was an increasingly common specialized application to a group of skills not hitherto formally represented [in the sixteenth century definition]: painting, drawing, engraving and sculpture'. See Williams, R. 1985. *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 40-43.

[51] See for instance, Albie Sach's essay, 'Preparing Ourselves for Freedom'. In this essay prominent ANC member Albie Sachs argued that prescriptions around art having to be a weapon of the struggle were not only banal, they were 'actually wrong and potentially harmful'. It would result in an impoverishment of South African art. See Sachs, A. Preparing Ourselves for Freedom', in Elliot, D. (ed). 1990. *Art from South Africa* (catalogue). Oxford: Museum of Modern Art. 10.

[52] Elliot, D. 'Bable in South Africa', in Elliot, D. 1990. *Art from South Africa*…7.

[53] Sachs, A. 'Preparing Ourselves for …'. 10.

[54] Ernst, U. …27 [add note]

[55] Hall, S. 'Cultural Studies: Two Paradigms', in Bennet, G., Martin, G., Mecer, C. and Woollacott, J. 1981. *Culture, Ideology and Social Process: A Reader.* London: The Open University and Batsford Academic and Educational Ltd. 26.

[56] A philosophical position where ideas determine material reality. See Scruton, R. 1982. *A Dictionary of Political Thought*…151.

[57] For an historical account of this definition of culture, see Williams. R. 1983. *Keywords*. New York: Oxford University Press. 87-93.

[58] Hall, S. 'Cultural Studies: Two Paradigms'…26.

[59] See Sachs, A. Preparing Ourselves for Freedom', in Elliot, D. (ed). 1990. *Art from South Africa*…10. Also see Sack, S. 'In the Name of Art: A Reflection on Fine Art', in Campschreur, W. and Divendal, W. (eds). 1989. *Culture in Another South Africa.* London: Zed Books. 76. Also see Sack, S. 'In the Name of Art: A Reflection on Fine Art', in Campschreur, W. and Divendal, W. (eds). 1989. *Culture in Another South Africa…*76.

[60] According to the White Paper on Arts, Culture and Heritage, '… Arts refer to but are not restricted to all forms and traditions of dance, drama, music, music theatre, visual arts, crafts, design, written and oral literature

all of which serve as means for individual and collective creativity and expression through performance, execution, presentation, exhibition, transmission and study'. See Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology. *All Our Legacies, Our Common Future…* 6.

[61] According to the White Paper '…Culture refers to the dynamic totality of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features which characterise a society or social group. It includes the arts and letters, but also modes of life, the fundamental rights of the human being, value systems, traditions, heritage and beliefs developed over time and subject to change'. See Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology. *All Our Legacies, Our Common Future…* 6.

[62] A philosophical approach that denies that the mind has a nature that is separate from material reality. See Scruton, R. 1982. *A Dictionary of Political Thought*…230.

[63] One of the main theorists to adopt this position is Benedict Anderson, who argued that the link between language and nationality is not natural; rather it was constructed during a period in history when languages began to be codified into print from a huge number of vernaculars. This development enabled the formation of political communities of individuals who may never have met one another, but were clustered together into evolving print-based languages, to identify with one another as belonging to the same community: hence Anderson's definition of the nation as an 'imagined political community'. So the consciousness of the nation was made possible by a particular set of material conditions associated with the rise of print capitalism: it did not arise of its own accord or out of an inherent characteristic of a particular group of people. See Anderson, B. 1991. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso. 37-46.

[64] A definition also shared by Blaut. See Blaut, J.M. 1987. *The National Question: Decolonising the Theory of Nationalism*. London: Zed Books. 59-60.

[65] The theoretical pedigree of the essentialist tradition can be traced back to the German theorists J.G. Herder and J.G. Fichte, who maintained that a nation is defined by its culture and mainly its language. This approach led them to conclude, in Neville Alexander's words, that '…the language group, the national and the cultural group are seen as the same thing from different angles'. See Alexander. N. 'Education, Culture and the National Question' in Alexander. N. 1990. *Education and the Struggle for National Liberation in South Africa.* Johannesburg: Skotaville Press. 73-74.

This approach towards nationality was developed further by G.W.F. Hegel in an idealist direction: Hegel coupled the concepts of nation and state together by arguing that the state exists in nascent form wherever a national group exists, as the highest expression of that group's freedom waiting to be realised. Hegel's approach provided the theoretical foundation for the German nationalist view that all German-speaking people and the land on which they live, form an organic nation destined to become a unified and sovereign German state (which later became known as the 'principle of nationalities'). See Blaut, J.M. 1987. *The National Question: Decolonising the Theory of Nationalism*… 59-60.

[66] In his pamphlet 'Marxism and the National Question', Stalin made the essentialist argument that the nation is a definite, fixed entity with clearly defined properties: '...[A nation] is a historically evolved stable community of people based on community of language, territory, economic life and psychological make-up manifested in a community of culture'. See Stalin quoted in No Sizwe. 1979. *One Azania, One Nation: The National Question in South Africa*. London: Zed Books. 181.

[67] See Blaut, J.M. 1987. *The National Question...*88-107.

[68] More specifically, the Broederbond drew on the German theorists mentioned above and Nazi ideology and identified language and 'race' as the main 'badges' of nationality. Hence, each language group would constitute its own culture as it would be impossible to have one culture within South Africa's geographic boundaries. The Broederbonders' understanding of nationality in South Africa laid the foundation for the ideology of national self-determination, which in turn led to the apartheid government's policy of 'separate development' involving the creation of separate states for each language group. As a result, even though the South African state was brought into being in 1909, the existence of a common South African nationality could not be taken for granted. No Sizwe. 1979. *One Azania, One Nation: The National Question in South Africa*. London: Zed Books. 181.

[69] The ANC's vision of nationality, as captured in the Freedom Charter, refers to four South African 'national groups' (black, white, coloured and Indian). See Point 2, Freedom Charter, reprinted in Cronin, J. and Suttner, R. 1986. *30 Years of the Freedom Charter*. Johannesburg: Ravan Press. 263. In short, the Charter entrenched the view that 'races' were given, unalterable entities, rather than social (and political) constructs. See No Sizwe. 1979. *One Azania, One Nation...*136. The South African Communist Party also adopted an essentialist approach, but rather understood the nation as consisting of two nations (black and white).

[70] No Sizwe. 1979. *One Azania, One Nation…*181.

[71] One such theorist is Franz Fanon, who has written on nationalism in the light of Africa's experience with colonialism, the subsequent process of decolonisation, and the-then emerging realities of colonialism. In *The Wretched of the Earth*, Fanon recognised that nationalism has both a revolutionary and a reactionary potential: revolutionary in that it could be used to mobilise the masses of colonised people against colonial regimes, and reactionary in that - once independence was realised - it could be used by an emergent indigenous bourgeois leadership to suppress the very masses that had waged the national liberation struggle. The only way of countering these divisive tendencies is for the masses to mount claims on the state on the basis of a common nationhood, and not on the basis of particular racial, ethnic or religious identities. Such an approach would be a recipe for class disunity, which would ultimately be in the interests of the ruling class. See Fanon, F. 1963. *The Wretched of the Earth*. London: Penguin.

[72] The Subaltern Studies Collective was a grouping of Indian and Western scholars devoted to the re-writing of Indian history, from the point of view of dispossessed groups. The Collective published five collections between 1982 and 1987. By no means ideologically coherent, the writers tended to be critical Marxists, and were influenced especially by the writings of Antonio Gramsci. A number were also influenced by structuralist and Post-structuralist thinkers. See Said, E. 'Foreword'. Guha, R. 1988. Selected Subaltern Studies. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Vi-xii.

[73] Edward Said, quoted in Lazarus, N. 1999. *Nationalism and Cultural Practice in the Postcolonial World…*141-142.

[74] Lazarus, N. 1999*. Nationalism and Cultural Practice in the Postcolonial World…*10.

[75] Lazarus, N. 1999. *Nationalism and Cultural Practice in the Postcolonial World…*143.

[76] Lazarus, N. 1999. *Nationalism and Cultural Practice in the Postcolonial World…*142-143.

[77] Chrisman, L. 'Nationalism and Postcolonial Studies'. Lazarus, N. 1999*. Nationalism and Cultural Practice in the Postcolonial World…*10.

[78] Chrisman, L. 'Nationalism and Postcolonial Studies'. Lazarus, N. 2004. *The Cambridge Companion to Postcolonial Literary Studies*…188-192.

[79] The Garieb river is the largest watercourse in South Africa. Previously called the Orange River, it rises in Lesotho's Maluti Mountains to the east and flows for 2250 kilometers to the Atlantic seaboard, draining 47 percent of South Africa's total land area. See 'The Free State'. Http://www.rsa-overseas.com/explore/att_ofs.htm. Downloaded on 15/03/2005.

[80] Alexander, N. 2002. *An Ordinary Country: Issues in the Transition from Apartheid to Democracy in South Africa*. Scottsville: University of Natal Press. 106-107.

[81] An example of the idealist approach is given by one of the foremost theorists associated with globalisation theory, namely Roland Robertson. In 1992 he defined globalisation as '...the compression of the world and the intensification of consciousness of the world as a whole'. See Robertson, R. 1992. *Globalisation: Social Theory and Global Culture*. London: Sage Publications. 8. This heightened consciousness leads individuals to act as though they are part of a global community, which in turn shapes the globalisation process: an activity that plays itself out in the terrain of culture. The problem with this approach is that it ascribes globalisation to a state of consciousness, and does not explain how and why globalisation came into being as an historical phenomenon.

[82] Materialist definitions of globalisation focus on the phenomenon as having been driven primarily by a globalisation of capitalist production, rather than by globalisation at the level of consciousness. These definitions take as their starting point an analysis of the productive forces that gave rise to globalisation, and conclude that participation in the global economy creates rather than reduces inequalities: divisions that run so deep, they have even been characterised as 'global apartheid' by Titus Alexander. This conclusion is based on the assumption that capitalist markets are anything but 'free', in that the ability of different individuals to derive benefits from the market are determined by their class position.

With respect to the use of the term 'class', Kim Moody has made the point that class is still very much a relevant category in the context of globalisation, arguing that the deepening of inequalities - the creation of what has been called the 'new poor' and the 'new rich' - does not amount to the disappearance of class. He conceded the fact that the shape of the working class is changing throughout the world, but refutes the argument that this amount to the dissolution of class as a social category. See Moody, K. 1997. *Workers in a Lean World: Unions in the International Economy.* London: Verso Books. 143-146.

Seminal works in the materialist school of globalisation theory include those by Titus Alexander, James Mittleman, Gary Teeple and Hanse-Peter Martin

and Harald Schumann. Jeremy Rifkin has focussed specifically on the impact of globalisation on labour. A much earlier work by Joyce Kolko is also relevant as it outlines the historical factors that drove globalisation, analysing the economic interest of the USA in pursuing heightened economic integration. See the following publications: Kolko, J. 1988. *Restructuring the World Economy.* New York: Pantheon Books. Alexander, T. *Unravelling Global Apartheid: An Overview of World Politics*. London: Polity Press. Mittleman, J. (ed). 1996. *Globalisation: Critical Reflections*. Colorado: Lynne Reinner Publishers. Teeple, G. *Globalisation and the Decline of Social Reform*. Toronto: Garamond Press. Martin, H.P and Schumann, H. 1997. *The Global Trap: Globalisation and the Assault on Democracy and Prosperity.* HSRC. Johannesburg: Pluto Press and Zed Books. Johannesburg. Rifkin, J. 1996. *The End of Work: The Decline of the Global Labour Force and the Dawn of the Post-Market Era.* New York: Tarcher/ Putnam.

[83] They identify Hirst and Thompson as being in this category. See Hirst, P. and Thompson, G. 1996. *Globalisation in Question: The International Economy and the Possibilities of Governance*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

[84] Held further divides 'globalists' into 'positive' globalists, who see the benefits of globalisation and who therefore welcome it as a positive development, and 'pessimistic' globalists, who see the world as becoming more homogenous, characterized by the dominance of major economic and political interests, with uneven benefits. With respect to the former, he identifies Anthony Giddens and Kenichi Ohmae. With respect to the latter, he identifies Manual Castells and Herbert Schiller. See Giddens, A. 1999. *Runaway World*. London: Profile Books. Castells, M. 1998. End of Millenium. Volume 3 of *The Information Age: Economy, Society and Culture*. Oxford: Blackwell; Schiller, H. 1991. 'Not Yet the Post-Imperialist Era'. Critical Studies in Mass Communication. Vol. 8. 13-28. Ohmae, K. 1995. *The End of the Nation-State: The Rise of Regional Economies*. London: Harper Collins.

[85] Held, D. and McGrew, A. *The Global Transformation Reader: An Introduction to the Globalisation Debate*. Cambridge: Polity Press. 4-8.

[86] Held, D. (ed). 2000. *A Globalising World? Culture, Economics, Politics*. London: Routledge and the Open University Press. 22-43.

[87] Brennen, T. 'From Development to Globalisation: Postcolonial Studies and Globalisation Theory', in Lazarus, N. 2004. *The Cambridge Companion to Postcolonial Literary Studies*…122.128.

[88] Neil Larson has commented on the tendency among globalisation

theorists to write about globalisation without identifying what it is that is doing the globalising, namely capitalism: a term that he notes, is 'rarely pronounced in polite circles'. See Larson, N. 2001 'Theory-Risk: Reflections on Globalisation Theory and the Crisis in Argentina'. Krisis. Dowloaded on 25/12/2006 from http://www.krisis.org.

[89] A term used by David Held to describe the increase in the density of communication and interaction across the globe. See Held, D. 2000. *A Globalising World? Culture, Economics, Politics*. London: The Open University. 16.

[90] Misao Miyoshi has made the point that globalisation represents an intensification of a trend towards internationalisation that has always been present in the epoch of capitalism; however, he departs from Hirst and Thompsom's argument that there is nothing new about globalisation. While he acknowledges that complete integration has not taken place, he argues that aspects of the world economy are being transnationalised, and that this development is unprecedented. However, he also acknowledges that this trend is taking place at an extremely uneven pace in various regions of the globe. See Miyoshi, M. '"Globalisation", Culture and the University', in Miyoshi. M. and Jameson, F. 1998*. The Cultures of Globalisation.* London: Duke University Press. 247-270.

[91] A phrase used by Anthony Giddens. See Giddens, A. 1990*. The Consequences of Modernity.* Cambridge: Polity Press. 64.

[92] A point made by David Harvey, as many parts of the world merely serve the benefits of industrial capitalism. See Harvey, D. 1980. *The Conditions of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 190-192. Also see excerpt from an unpublished paper entitled 'Globalisation in Question' quoted in Miyoshi. M. '"Globalisation" and the University', in Jameson, F. and Miyoshi, M. 1998. *The Cultures of Globalisation…*268.

[93] The introduction of competition to particular areas of the economy that were previously run by monopolies.

[94] The removal of trade and tariff barriers to capitalist activity.

[95] The process of transferring of economic activities from the public sector to the private sector.

[96] See Ohmae, as well as Scholte. Ohmae, K. 1995. *The End of the Nation State*…Also see Scholte, J.A. 2000. *Globalisation.* New York: St. Martin's Press.

[97] See Featherstone, M. 1995. *Undoing Culture*. London: Sage; as well as Nederveen Pieterse, J. 2001. 'Hybridity, So What?'. *Theory, Culture and Society*. Volume 18. Number 3. 219-245.

[98] Day, G. and Thompson, A. 2004. *Theorising Nationalism*. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan. 186-187.

[99] Jameson, F. and Miyoshi, M. 1998. *The Cultures of Globalisation*. London: Duke University Press. Xii.

[100] Day, G. and Thompson, A. 2004. *Theorising Nationalism…*185.

[101] Holton, R. 1998. *Globalisation and the Nation-State.* London: Macmillan Press. 161.

[102] One argument that has almost reached the status of 'common sense' on all shades of the political spectrum is that the nation-state is declining in importance as capitalism has broken free from its national borders and established itself on a global basis. Hirst and Thompson contest this assumption in their study, *Globalisation in Question: The International Economy and the Possibilities of Governance.* In this study, they cite statistics to show that globalisation does not represent a new and unprecedented turn in world history, as there were comparable phases in earlier periods. Hirst and Thompson also contest the extent to which production and investment has globalised. They also argued that the dominance of multilateral institutions like the World Trade Organisation (WTO) over national institutions - which is often taken as another marker of globalisation – does not take into account that these institutions are generally driven by the national agendas of the imperialist powers. While they do concede that the integration of financial markets is unprecedented, they have provided statistics to show that capital is not actually as mobile as often assumed. See Hirst, P. and Thompson, G. 1996. *Globalisation in Question: The International Economy and the Possibilities of Governance*.

Also see the following publications: Ohmae, K. 1995. *The End of the Nation State: The Rise of Regional Economies*. London: Harper Collins. 77. Also see the following publications: Mittleman, J.H. 'The Dynamics of Globalisation', in Mittleman, J. (Ed). 1996. *Globalisation: Critical Reflections*. Colorado: Lynne Reinner Publishers. 3. Cambridge: Polity Press. Weiss, L. 'Globalisation and the Myth of the Powerless State', *New Left Review*, No. 225, September/ October 1997; Weiss, L. 'Managed Openness: Beyond Neoliberal Globalism', *New Left Review*, No. 238, November/ December 1999. Wade, R. 'Globalisation and its Limits: Reports of the Death of the

National Economy are Greatly Exaggerated', in Berger, S. and Dore, R. 1996. *National Diversity and Global Capitalism. New York: Cornell University Press*. 73-76.

[103] According to Hobsbawm, nationalism has lost its economic rationale given economic globalisation, and this has turned nationalist movements into irrational forces, as capitalism is no longer national in scale; hence any struggle that is conducted against it can no longer be couched in national terms. In order to evaluate this argument, it is important to assess the following: the extent to which capitalism has in fact globalised, and consequently the extent to which the nation-state has been overrun as the primary 'container' for economic activities. Hobsbawm, E.J. 1990. *Nations and Nationalism Since 1780.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 181.

Day and Thompson have argued that Hobsbawm's approach to nationalism is but one approach in the Marxist tradition that considers nationalism to be devoid of rational theory. See Day. G. and Thompson, A. 'The Marxist Tradition', in Day, G and Thompson, A. 2004*. Theorising Nationalism…*18-40.

[104] According to Ohmae, the global flows of capital and technology have undermined nation-states '...as meaningful units of participation in the global economy of today's borderless world', leading to national identities being mobilised by opportunistic leaders. Nation-states should rather facilitate individual freedom, by allowing the consumer to participate in global markets. Ohmae, K. 1995. *The End of the Nation State...*13.

[105] According to Maharaj, '…despite all talk to the contrary, [nation building] remains nonetheless an indispensable prerequisite for developing countries if they are to participate in a globalised economy. There are no alternative grounds on which participation is possible'. See Maharaj, G. 1999. *Between Unity and Diversity: Essays on Nation-Building in Post-Apartheid South Africa.* Cape Town: Institute for Democracy in South Africa and David Philip Publishers. 7.

[106] Bhabha, H. 'Beyond the Pale: Art in the Age of Multicultural Translation', in Lavrijsen, R. 1994. *Cultural Diversity in the Arts: Art, Art Policies and the Facelift of Europe*. Amsterdam: Royal Tropical Institute.

[107] Brennen, T., From Development to Globalisation: Postcolonial Studies and Globalisation Theory, in Lazarus, N. 2004. *The Cambridge Companion to Postcolonial Studies…*138.

[108] Brennen, T., From Development to Globalisation: Postcolonial Studies and Globalisation Theory, in Lazarus, N. 2004. *The Cambridge*

*Companion to Postcolonial Studies…*138.

[109] Brennen, T., From Development to Globalisation: Postcolonial Studies and Globalisation Theory, in Lazarus, N. 2004. *The Cambridge Companion to Postcolonial Studies…*138.

[110] Parry, B. 'Signs of Our Times: A Discussion of Homi Bhabha's *The Location of Culture*'. *Third Text.* Number 28/29. Autumn/ Winter 1994. 5-24.

[111] Smith, A. 'Migrancy, Hybridity, and Postcolonial Literary Studies', in Lazarus, N. 2004. *The Cambridge Companion to Postcolonial Literary Studies…*241-261.

[112] Dirlik, A. 'The Postcolonial Aura: Third World Criticism in the Age of Global Capitalism'. *Critical Enquiry*. Volume 20, Number 2, 1997, 328-56.

[113] According to Kapur:

> 'Let us concede that it is the privilege of those who live their lives within the format of a national culture to resist globalisation, as against the privilege of those who live more global lives to seek its emancipatory features. Let us concede that it is pointless setting up a symmetrical hierarchy of belonging and unbelonging that works like a see-saw'.

See Kapur, G. 'Globalisation and Culture', in *Third Text*. No. 39. Summer 1997. 28.

[114] Philippianian literary theorist E. San Juan has also criticised what he calls the 'Postcolonial mystification' of national liberation struggles. He notes that Postcolonialism attempts to convince Southern intellectuals to mimic the West by rejecting the supposedly totalising and essentialising paradigms of national liberation. He refers to Postcolonial theory as theory influenced by Poststructuralists such as Derrida, Lacan and Foucault, and 'worked over by intellectuals from the former colonies', resulting in a rejection of any discourse that may relate to concrete historical processes: a somewhat truncated definition to Postcolonial theory, given that Poststructuralist version constitute but one stream of this theory. He notes that for as long as inequalities are perpetuated in the Third World as a result of globalisation, popular national liberation struggles will continue to spring up in spite of their denigration by postcolonial theorists, as they are informed by the material conditions under which the majority of people live. See San Juan, E. 'Postcolonial Theory Versus Philippine Reality: The Challenge of Third World Resistance Culture to Global Capitalism', *Left Curve*, No. 20, 1996, 87-102.

[115] However, Parry tends to be more dismissive of this branch of Postcolonial theory than Smith is. Smith has acknowledged the value of Postcolonial theoretical writings that promote the notions of hybridity and migrancy as means to unsettle supposedly unitary concepts, and in fact considers it to be '…blessed with a specific awareness of the relativity of cultural rules and forms'. However, he has argued that such approaches tend to be linked to the upward class movement of its protagonists in Northern intellectual circles, and do not really reflect the daily political realities of many located in the South. As a result, its radical transformative potential is blunted. See Smith, A. 'Migrancy, Hybridity, and Postcolonial Literary Studies', in Lazarus, N. 2004. *Postcolonial Literary Studies…*258.

[116] In this respect, Parry identified nation-building movements in Nigeria, Korea and El Salvador. See Parry, B. 'Signs of Our Times: A Discussion of Homi Bhabha's *The Location of Culture*'. *Third Text…* 21.

[117] Dirlik, A. 'The Postcolonial Aura: Third World Criticism in the Age of Global Capitalism'. *Critical Enquiry*. Volume 20, Number 2, 1997, 356.

[118] Keynesianism was named after the economist John Maynard Keynes, who refuted earlier Neo-Classical economic positions that unemployment results from wages being too high during economic downswings. Rather, the state should stimulate demand to create employment, for instance through creating public works programmes, as well as subsidising or even providing services to ensure that workers saved money. Keynesianism became elevated to the level of an economic orthodoxy after the Second World War, when many countries adopted Keynesian measures to prevent a Post-War Depression; these countries married these measures with the notion of the welfare state to construct governing systems that provided a wide range of goods and services. See Scruton, R. 1982. *A Dictionary of Political Thought…*248-249. Also see Bronfenbrenner, M., Sichel, W. and Gardner, W. 1990. *Macroeconomics*…375-376.

[119] The doctrine that nations should cooperate because their common interests are more important than their differences. See 'Internationalism'. Wordnet. Cognitive Science: Laboratory. Princeton University. Downloaded on 24/03/2007 from http://wordnet.princeton.edu/perl/webwn?s=internationalism.

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[121] Alexander, N. 2002. *An Ordinary Country…*109.

[122] Alexander, N. 2002. *An Ordinary Country…*109.

[123] Albie Sachs quoted in Alexander, N. 2002. *An Ordinary Country…143.*

[124] Tomlinson, J. 'Globalisation and Cultural Identity', in Held, D. and McGrew, A. 2003. The Global Transformation Reader: An Introduction to the Globalisation Debate. Cambridge: Polity Press. 267-277.

[125] Tomlinson, J. 'Globalisation and Cultural Identity', in Held, D. and McGrew, A. 2003. *The Global Transformation Reader…*276.

[126] Enwezor. O. 'Living, Working, and Travelling…8.

[127] Enwezor. O. 'Living, Working, and Travelling…12.

[128] Sirmans, F. Johannesburg Biennale'. *Flash Art*. October 1997. Vol. 30 No. 196.

[129] McEvilley. T. 'Towards a World Class City? First Africus Biennale in Johannesburg, South Africa'. September 1995. http://www.findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_m1248/is_n9_v83/ai_17502875.

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[131] Preller. K. 'The 1995 and 1997 Johannesburg Biennales as a "Reflection" of Contemporary South African Art'…43.

[132] Preller. K. 'The 1995 and 1997 Johannesburg Biennales…'. 31-34.

[133] For instance, see Cruise, W. 'Review of the Information on the Theme and Programme for the Second Johannesburg Biennale 1997. *De Arte*. Number 57. 40.

[134] Bishop, C. 2005. *Installation Art: A Critical History*. London: Tate Gallery. 10.

[135] Bishop, C. 2005*. Installation Art: A Critical History…*10-11.

[136] Bishop, C. 2005*. Installation Art: A Critical History…*37.

[137] Bishop, C. 2005. *Installation Art: A Critical History…*37.

[138] Bishop, C. 2005. *Installation Art: A Critical History…*37.

[139] Bishop, C. 2005. *Installation Art: A Critical History…*37.

[140] Celent, G. 'A Visual Machine', in Greenberg, R., Ferguson, B.W., and Nairne, S. 1996. *Thinking About Exhibitions…*385.

[141] Coulter-Smith, G. 2006. 'Introduction: The Museum Problem'. *Deconstructing Installation Art: 1986 – 2006*. Electronic book downloaded from http://www.installationart.net/introduction.html. 1-4. Some chapters of the book have been published on the website; others are still to be published.

[142] Coulter-Smith draws on Peter Berger to outline the main features of deconstructive art. He cites three features identified by Berger. The first involves the dismantling and critique of the traditional concept of the precious work of art via the use of poor materials and found objects. The second involves the desire to integrate art with everyday life, entailing a critique of the elitism of institutionalized forms of art. The third involves the creation of fragmented texts through the use of strategies such as montage and chance, to encourage the viewer to engage in the creative process by constructing meaning on the basis of these fragments. Deconstructive art began with Marcel Duchamp and the aesthetics of Dada, and evolved in the 1960's into art movements such as Fluxus, Land Art, Performance Art and Conceptual Art. The third generation of deconstructive artists emerged in the late 1970's and 1980's with the Postmodern appropriation movement. Elements of all three generations are evident in installation art. See Coulter-Smith, G. 'Introduction: The Museum Problem'. *Deconstructing Installation Art…*1.

[143] Coulter-Smith, G. 2006. 'Introduction: The Museum Problem'. *Deconstructing Installation Art…*4

[144] Avant-garde is French for advance guard, …[c9omplete]

[145] Rosalind Krauss argued that sculpture is a historically bounded category whose meaning has been stretched over time. It has become a logically expanded field incorporating elements of architecture and landscape, and has also become extremely eclectic in relation to its use of materials. This has led to artworks that bore no relation to the traditional understanding of sculpture, being termed sculpture. According to Krauss, 'Over the last ten years rather surprising things have come to be called sculpture: narrow corridors with TV monitors at the ends; large photographs documenting country hikes; mirrors placed at strange angles in ordinary rooms; temporary lines cut into the floor of the desert. Nothing,

it would seem, could possibly give to such a motley of effort the right to lay claim to whatever one might mean by the category of sculpture. Unless that is, the category can be made to become almost infinitely malleable'. See Krauss, R. 'Sculpture in the Expanded Field', in Foster, H. 1983. *The Anti-Aesthetic: Essays on Postmodern Culture*. Port Townsend: Bay Press. 31.

[146] Coulter-Smith, G. 2006. 'Introduction: The Museum Problem'. *Deconstructing Installation Art…*4

[147] Becker. C. 'The Second Johannesburg Biennale'. *Art Journal*. Summer 1998. 100.

[148] Becker. C. 'The Second Johannesburg Biennale'…100.

[149] See Savitch quoted in Bernstein, A. 1996. *Cities and the Global Economy: New Challenges for South Africa*. Johannesburg: Centre for Development and Enterprise. 23.

[150] In relation to the 1997 Documenta X exhibition entitled 'Universes in Universes'.

[151] In relation to the 1997 Johannesburg Biennale 'Trade Routes: History and Geography'.

[152] Enwezor. O. 'Living, Working, and Travelling in a Restless World'. In Greater Johannesburg Metropolitan Council (GJMC). *Trade Routes: History and Geography* (catalogue). Johannesburg: GJMC. 10.

[153] According to the James Bohman, writing for the Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, when the term critical theory is used to refer to theory that extends beyond the Frankfurt school, the term is not capitalized. See Bohman, J. 2005. 'Critical Theory'. Downloaded on 27/12/2006 from http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/critical-theory.html.

[154] Bohman, J. 2005. 'Critical Theory'. Downloaded on 27/12/2006 from http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/critical-theory.html.

[155] A term that has evolved in meaning since Greek philosophy, involving the search for truth through a constant process of question and answer, usually by developing a new argument in the process of negating a wrong conclusion in an argument and so on (often called the 'negation of the negation'). Karl Marx parted ways with Frederick Hegel in how it understood these negations to arise, with the latter believing that they were arrived at purely through the thought process, while the former

argued that they arose as a result of contradictions in material reality (and specifically in the in-built contradictions of the capitalist system). See Scruton, R. 1982. *A Dictionary of Political Thought*…125-126.

[156] Janet Wolff quoted in King. A.D. (ed). 1991. *Culture, Globalisation and the World-System*. London: Baobab Books. 172.

[157] Janet Wolff quoted in King. A.D. (ed). 1991. *Culture, Globalisation and the World-System*…172.

[158] Unknown author. Venice Biennale. 'Origins of the Venice Biennale: History 1895-1899'. http://www.labiennale.org/en/visualarts/history/origins/orgins.html. Downloaded on 20/04/2004.

[159] Unknown author. 'How Venice Was Born - A Brief Outline'. http://www.veniceword.com/vehistory.html. Downloaded on 13/03/2005.

[160] Unknown author. Venice Biennale. 'Origins of the Venice Biennale: History 1895-1899'. http://www.labiennale.org/en/visualarts/history/origins/orgins.html. Downloaded on 20/04/2004.

[161] Unknown author. Venice Biennale. 'History 1900-1940: The First Foreign Pavilions'. http://www.labiennale.org/en/visualarts/history/1900-1940/pavilions.html. Downloaded on 20/04/2004.

[162.] Haupt, G. 'Interview with Gerardo Mosquera', 6th Biennial of Havana, http://www.kulturbox.de/univers/car/havanna/opinion/e_mosq.htm. Downloaded on 20/04/2004.

[163] Unknown author. Venice Biennale. 'History 1940-1969: The Rise of Pop Art'. http://www.labiennale.org/en/visualarts/history/1940-1969/popart.html. Downloaded on 20/04/2004.

[164] Unknown author. Venice Biennale. 'History 1970-2003: The Nineteen Seventies'. http://www.labiennale.org/en/visualarts/history/1970-2000/seventies.html. Downloaded on 20/04/2004.

[165] Unknown author. Venice Biennale. 'History 1970-2003: The Nineteen Eighties', http://www.labiennale.org/en/visualarts/history/1970-2000/eighties.html. Downloaded on 20/04/2004.

[166] Grasskamp, W. 'For Example, Documenta, or how is Art History Produced?', in Greenburg, R. Ferguson, B.W. and Nairne, S. 1996.

Thinking about Exhibitions. London: Routledge. 67-78

[167] Grasskamp, W. 'For Example, Documenta…'. 72.

[168] The contents of this book are discussed in Grasskamp, W. 'For Example, Documenta, or how is Art History Produced?'…72-73.

[169] Grasskamp, W. 'For Example, Documenta…'. 72-73.

[170] John Miller quoted in Grasskamp, W. 'For Example, Documenta…'. 67.

[171] Grasskamp, W. 'For Example, Documenta…'. 67-78

[172] Grasskamp, W. 'For Example, Documenta…'. 269.

[173] See Meijers, D.J. 'The Museum and the "Ahistorical" Exhibition', in Greenburg, R. Ferguson, B.W. and Nairne, S. 1996. *Thinking about…*8-11.

[174] See Meijers, D.J. 'The Museum and the "Ahistorical" …8-11.

[175] For the Venice Biennale, see Hanru, H. 'Bi-Biennale: The Venice Biennale and the Biennale de Lyon'. *Third Text*. Number 24. Autumn 1993. 94. For Documenta X, see Storr, R. 'Kassel Rock' (Interview with Catherine David). *Artforum*. May 1997.

[176] Amor, M. 'Documenta X: Reclaiming the Political Project of the Avant-Garde', in *Third Text*. Number 24. Autumn 1993.

[177] Hanru, H. 'Bi-Biennale: The Venice Biennale and the Biennale de Lyon'…94.

[178] Hanru, H. 'Bi-Biennale: The Venice Biennale and the Biennale de Lyon'…94.

[179] Hanru, H. 'Bi-Biennale: The Venice Biennale and the Biennale de Lyon'…94.

[180] McEvilley, T. 'Venice the Menace - 1993 Venice Biennale. http://www.findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_m0268/is_n2_v32/ai_14559552/print. Downloaded on 13/03/2005.

[181] McEvilley, T. 'Venice the Menace…

[182] Pick. J. 1988. *The Arts in a State: A Study of Government Arts Policies from Ancient Greece to the Present*. London: Bristol Classical Press. 89-

90.

[183] Pick. J. 1988. *The Arts in a State…*89-90.

[184] Isar, Y. R. 'On the Financing of Culture: More Questions than Answers', in Oliphant, A (Ed). 1995. *Bringing Cinderella to the Ball: Papers Presented at a Conference on Arts and Culture in the New South Africa*. Johannesburg: National Arts Coalition/ Congress of South African Writers. 25.

[185] Vetrocq, M.E., The Venice Biennale: Reformed, Renewed, Redeemed, *Art in America*, September 1999, 2.

[186] Bernstein, A. *Cities and the Global Economy...*16.

[187] Bernstein, A. *Cities and the Global Economy...*16.

[188] Vetrocq, M.E., The Venice Biennale…2..

[189] Vetrocq, M.E., The Venice Biennale…2

[190] Vetrocq, M.E., The Venice Biennale…2.

[191] Storr, R. 'Prince of Tides (Interview with 1999 Venice Biennale Visual Arts Director Harald Szeemann). *Artforum*. May 1999. 7.

[192] Documenta X is not a Biennale in the strict sense of the term, as it does not take place once every two years. However, the exhibition is often coupled to, and compared with Biennales in terms of objectives, organizational approach and display of artworks. The association of Documenta with Biennales derives from the fact that is has similar features to Biennales in that the event takes place on a regular basis (once every four to five years), and is a major international showcase of contemporary art. Documenta is therefore included in the discussions in this thesis on Biennales.

[193] See David. C. 'Introduction by Catherine David in the Short Guide'. Documenta X. June 21 - September 28 1997. http://www.universes-in-universe.de/doc/e_press.htm. McEvilley, T. 'Venice the Menace...

[194] Storr, R. 'Prince of Tides'…7.

[195] It should be noted that the term 'the South' is not used in a strictly geographical sense here, but in the sense used by Gerardo Mosquera, and referred to earlier in note 23. So while Havana may geographically be

located in the North, given its peripheral relationship to the centers of global economic and cultural activity, it could be considered part of the South. The same point applies to Kwangju and Istanbul, which will be referred to as 'Southern' Biennales in this thesis.

[196] Mendosch, A. 'The Second Biennale of South Africa'. Telepolis. http://www.heise.de/tp/english/inhalt/sa/3125/1.html. Downloaded on 13/03/2005.

[197] Deliss, C. 'Free Fall – Freeze Frame: Africa, Exhibitions, Artists', in Greenburg, R. Ferguson, B.W. and Nairne, S. 1996. *Thinking about Exhibitions*…282-283.

[198] Araeen, R. 'New Internationalism Or the Multiculturalism of Global Bantustans', in Fisher, J (ed). 1994. *Global Visions…*5.

[199] Picton, J. 'In Vogue, or The Flavour of the Month: The New Way to Wear Black', in *Third Text*. No. 23. Summer 1993. 93-94.

[200.] Mosquera, G. 'Some Problems in Transcultural Curating', in Fisher, J. (ed). 1994. *Global Visions: Towards a New Internationalism in the Visual Arts*. London: Kala Press. 133-139.

[201] Mosquera, G. 'Some Problems in Transcultural Curating'…133.

[202] Mosquera, G. 'Some Problems in Transcultural Curating'…133-139.

[203] 'Premises and Principles', 8th Havana Biennial. 1 November - 15 December 2003. Press Release of the Wifredo Lam Contemporary Art Center. July 2003. http://www.universes-in-universe.de/car/habana/bien8/press/e-concept.htm. Downloaded on 5/01/2005.

[204] See Haupt, G. 'Interview...', 1, and Camnitzer, L. 1994. *New Art of Cuba*. Austin: University of Texas Press. 120-121.

[205] Leon, D.P. 'Havana, Biennial, Tourism: The Spectacle of Utopia'. *Art Journal*. Winter 2001 (internet edition). 2.

[206] Whitfield, D. 1992. *The Welfare State: Privatisation, Deregulation, Commercialisation of Public Services: Strategies for the 1990's.* London: Pluto Press. 15.

[207] Bradley, K. 'The Deal of the Century', *Art in America*. July 1997. 48-55. 105.

[208] This matter is explored further in Goetz, E. and Clarke, S. (Ed). 1993. *The New Localism: Comparative Urban Politics in a Global Era*. London: Sage Publications. 78.

[209] Van Niekerk, S. 'Private Gain, Public Loss? Service Delivery in the New SA', in *Southern Africa Report*. September 1997. 135-138.

[210] McGuigan, J. 1996. *Culture and the Public Sphere.* London: Routledge. 74-115.

[211] 'Korean Contemporary Art' Korean Overseas Information Service'. 1996. http://korea.emb.washington.dc.us/kios/News/ Features/1996/socil.html. 1.

[212] 'Kim Young-su/ Minister of Culture and Sports 'Kwangju Biennale is a National Event...', Biennale Magazine, First Edition. http://www.Kwangjubiennale.org/eng/bienmag/mag1/mag1_01.html. Downloaded on 5/01/2005.

[213] 'Korean Contemporary Art...', 2.

[214] Kontonva, H., Nagoya, S. and Park, C. 'Kwangju Biennale: Unmapping the…70-73

[215] Biennale Magazine. http://www.Kwangjubiennale.org/eng/bienmag/mag1/mag1.html. Downloaded on 5/01/2005.

[216] Kontonva, H., Nagoya, S. and Park, C. 'Kwangju Biennale: Unmapping the…70-73

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[220] Biennale Magazine. http://www.Kwangjubiennale.org/eng/bienmag/mag1/mag1.html.

[221] Biennale Magazine. http://www.Kwangjubiennale.org/eng/bienmag/mag1/mag1.html…2

[222] Biennale Magazine. http://www.Kwangjubiennale.org/eng/bienmag/mag1/mag1.html…2

[223] Bosch, G. 'Rosa Martínez: Artistic Director of the 5th International Istanbul Biennale (interview). *Flash Art*. May/ June 1997. 77.

[224] Volk, G. 'Between East and West: Report from Istanbul'. *Art in America.* May 1996, 39.

[225] 'History of the Istanbul Biennials'. 5th International Istanbul Biennial. http://www.istfest.org/events/biennail.html, 1.

[226] Volk, G. 'Between East and West: Report from Instanbul'…39.

[227] See 'On Life, Beauty and other Translations': Conceptual Framework of the 5th Instanbul Biennale, http://www.istfest.org/events/bconcept.htm. Also see Bosch, G. 'Interview with Rosa Martínez: Artistic Director of the 5th International Istanbul Biennale'. *Flash Art*. May/ June 1997. 77.

[228] See 'On Life, Beauty and other Translations'…Also see Bosch, G. 'Interview with Rosa Martínez: Artistic Director of the 5th International Istanbul Biennale'. *Flash Art*…77.

[229] 'Unmapping the Earth: Main Exhibition'. http://Kwangjubiennale.org/eng/97bien/main/main.html. Downloaded on 23/02/2003.

[230] 'Unmapping the Earth: Main Exhibition'…

[231] For the Venice Biennale, see 'Bi-Biennale...'. For Documenta X, see Storr, R. 'Kassel Rock: Interview with Documenta's Catherine David'. *Artforum*. May 1997. 129-131.

[232] Cameron, D. 'Glocal Warming'. *Artforum.* December 1997. 17.

[233] Young-sup, K. 'Kwangju Biennale Gains Mixed Reviews; Critics Say it has Failed to Differentiate Itself from Foreign Fairs', *Korea Herald:*

Culture/ Lifestyle, http://www.koreaherald.co.kr/kh1127/m1127c01.html.

[234] Hoffman, F. 'Monoculture and its Discontents (Kwangju Biennale 2000). *Art in America*. November 2000. 12.

[235] Hoffman, F. 'Monoculture and its…12.

[236] Hoffman, F. 'Monoculture and its …12.

[237] Hoffman, F. 'Monoculture and its …12.

[238] A point made by Emma Bedford. See Bedford, M. 'The Dakar Biennale 2000: Preview'. Downloaded on 28/12/2006 from http://www.artthrob.co.za/00apr/news.html.

[239] See 'Dak'Art: The Biennale of Contemporary African Art'. http://www.dakart.org/sommaire_en.php3. Downloaded on 23/02/2003.

[240] See 'Dak'Art: The Biennale of Contemporary African Art'. http://www.dakart.org/sommaire_en.php3. Downloaded on 23/02/2003.

[241] See the following articles. Araeen, R. 'Dak'art 1992-2002: The Problem of Contextualisation, ad Critical Evaluation in Contemporary African Art as Presented by the Dakar Biennale'. *Third Text.* Vol. 17. No.1. 2003. 93. Oguibe, O. 'The Failure of Dak'art?' *Third Text.* Vol. 18. No. 1. 2004. 83. . Hanussek, C. 'The Context of the Dakar Biennale?'. *Third Text.* Vol. 18. No.1. 2004. 85.

[242] Oguibe, O. 'The Failure of Dak'art?'. *Third Text…*83.

[243] Oguibe, O. 'The Failure of Dak'art?'. *Third Text…*83.

[244] Oguibe, O. 'The Failure of Dak'art?'. *Third Text…*83.

[245] According to Christian Hanussek, there has been a marked decrease in interest in the Biennale on the part of international curators, museum directors, collectors and internationally-renowned artists, which could be attributed partly to the poor quality of the Biennale. This absence was especially apparent in relation to the 2002 Biennale. See Hanussek, C. 'The Context of the Dakar Biennale?'. *Third Text…*85.

Araeen, R. 'Dak'art 1992-2002: The Problem of Contextualisation, and Critical Evaluation in Contemporary African Art as Presented by the Dakar Biennale'. *Third Text…*93.

[246] Pensa, I. 'Dak'Art 2004'. Downloaded on 28/12/2006 from http://www.artthrob.co.za/04june/reviews/dakart2004.html.

[247] Deliss, C. 'The Dakar Biennale 92: Where Internationalism Falls Apart'. *Third Text.* No. 23. Summer 1993. 136-141.

[248] Pensa, I. 'Dak'Art 2004'. Downloaded on 28/12/2006 from http://www.artthrob.co.za/04june/reviews/dakart2004.html.

[249] Williamson, S. 'From Euro to Afro'. *Mail and Guardian*. 31/05/ 2002.

[250] Hanussek, C. 'The Context of the Dakar Biennale?'. *Third Text…*84.

[251] Hanussek, C. 'The Context of the Dakar Biennale?'. *Third Text…*84.

[252] Camnitzer, L. 'The Fifth Biennale of Havana', *Third Text*, 28/29, Autumn/ Winter 1994, 147-154. This warning has also been made by Gerardo Mosquera in Haupt, G. 'Interview...'. 1-2.

[253] Turner, G.T. 'Sweet Dreams (Seventh Havana Biennale Exhibition, Cuba)', *Art in America*. October 2001.

[254] Camnitzer, L. 'The Fifth Biennale of Havana…'. 147-154.

[255] Turner, G.T. 'Sweet Dreams (Seventh Havana Biennale Exhibition, Cuba)', *Art in America*. October 2001. 148-149.

[256] Costa, E. 'The Installation Biennale', *Art in America*, March 1998. 12.

[257] Leon, D.P. 'Havana...'. 3.

[258] Sholette, G. 'The Seventh Havana Biennale'. *Afterimage* (internet edition). March 2001. 3.

[259] Weiss, R. 'Sixth Havana Biennial'. *Art Nexus*. Number 26. http://www.universes-in-universes.de/artnexus/no26/weissd_en.htm. Downloaded on 23/02/2002.

[260] Storr. R. 'Prince of Tides: Interview with 1999 Venice Biennale Director Harald Szeemann'. *Artforum.* May 1999.

[261] Sholette, G. 'The Seventh Havana Biennale'…2.

[262] Storr. R. 'Prince of Tides…'. 5.

[263] Lloyd, A.W. 'Rambling Round a World that's Gone Biennialistic'. The New York Times. 3/03/2002. http://www.nytimes.com/2002/03/03/arts/design/03LLPY.html. Downloaded on 24/08/2003.

[264] Storr. R. 'Prince of Tides…'. 5.

[265] Storr. R. 'Prince of Tides…'. 5.

[266] Ramirez, M.C. 'Brokering Identities: Art Curators and the Politics of Cultural Representation', in Greenburg, R., Ferguson, B.W. and Nairne, S. (Eds). 1996. *Thinking about Exhibitions*…30.

[267] Lloyd, A.W. 'Rambling Round a World that's Gone Biennialistic'. The New York Times. 3/03/2002. http://www.nytimes.com/2002/03/03/arts/design/03LLPY.html. Downloaded on 24/08/2003.

[268] James Meyer quoted in Griffin, J. 'Global Tendencies: Globalism and Large-Scale Exhibitions – Panel Discussion'. *Artforum.* November 2003. http://www.findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_m0268/is_3_42/ai_110913973/print. Downloaded on 24/08/2003.

[269] Okwui Enwezor quoted in Griffin, J. 'Global Tendencies: Globalism and Large-Scale Exhibitions – Panel Discussion'…

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[271] Marais, H. 1998. *South Africa: Limits to Change…*85.

[272] Oliphant, A.W. 1995. *Report of the Arts and Culture Task Group*. Pretoria: Ministry of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology. 156.

[273] Oliphant, A.W. 1995. *Report of the Arts and Culture Task Group*…121-123 and 156-157.

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[284] 3.4. Arts and Culture' in African National Congress. 1994. *Reconstruction and Development Programme..* 70.

[285] '3.4. Arts and Culture' in African National Congress. 1994. *Reconstruction and Development Programme…*69-70.

[286] Adams. M. 'One Flag – But Not a Nation'. *City Press.* 2/03/1997. 17.

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[289] Cull, T. 1999. *A Description and Critical Assessment …*2.

[290] Cull, T. 1999. *A Description and Critical Assessment …*2.

[291] Cull, T. 1999. *A Description and Critical Assessment …*12.

[292] Cull, T. 1999. *A Description and Critical Assessment …*13.

[293] Cull, T. 1999. *A Description and Critical Assessment …* 13.

[294] Bernstein, A. *Cities in the Global Economy: New Challenges for South Africa* (booklet). October 1996. 23

[295] Powell, I. 'To SA, a bouncing Biennale?'. *Weekly Mail and Guardian*. 3-9/ 03. 1995.

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[298] Schutte, J. H. 1984. *Report of the Commission of …*38

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[380] Willem Boshoff's contribution entitled *Blind Alphabet* (Figure Two), was notable for its level of skill, iconographic complexity and sheer power of message. Boshoff created an installation involving three hundred and thirty eight oblong metal boxes with lift-off lids. In each of the boxes, Boshoff placed a tactile wooden sculptured object. On the cover of each box is a metal plate describing the contents of the box in Braille. Critic Michelle Witthaus described seeing blind visitors to the exhibition enjoying the exhibit, and sighted and Braille-illiterate people enjoining them to translate the Braille: a situation which Witthaus described as a 'stunning reversal of artistic convention and power dynamics'. See Witthaus, M. 'Outside Inside: Exhibitions at the Johannesburg Biennale'*, Business Day.* Downloaded from http://www.universes-in-universe.de/car/africus/e_bien1.htm on 21/08/1999. In this artwork, Boshoff attacked the privileging of the visual in art at the expense of other senses such as touch, by creating an artwork that could be understood only by blind people (as mainly those who can read Braille).

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[383] Collet, C. 'Africa Earthed', in Greater Johannesburg Transitional Metropolitan Council. *Africus: Johannesburg…*92.

[384] Anitra Nettleton has argued that South African art history has been 'constructed' rather than 'reconstructed', and in the process (quoting Rhoda Rosen) African culturally-significant objects have been presented as 'art' in various exhibitions in a manner that '…washed over differences and hid them in a sediment of nation building sentiment'. This ran counter the 'more careful and considered research into, and attribution of works, craftsmen from different linguistic and cultural groupings as well as reconstructions of contexts of commissioning, production and use of

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[453] Friedman, H. ‘Arts Budget Revealed’. *Mail & Guardian*. 25/4/1997.

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[598] Following the adoption of Gear, the economy shrank. In 1996, the South African economy achieved a growth rate of 3.2 percent, in 1997 1.7 percent, and in 1998 0.1 percent. In the first quarter of 1999, the GDP grew by 0.6 percent, and improved slightly in the second quarter to 1.7 percent. See *Gross Domestic Product, Economic Indicators 1995-1999*, Statistics South Africa. In effect, the economy grew by only 1.8 percent from 1996 to 1999, well below the rate of population growth. See Adelzadeh, A. 'The Costs of Staying the Course'. *Ngqo!*. Volume 1 No. 1. June 1999. 2. With respect to manufacturing outputs, the sector experienced a negative growth rate of minus 1.7 percent in 1998. The most significant outputs took place in highly capital-intensive industries like chemicals and base metals. Non-agricultural GDP also shrank. See Osborn, E. 'Why Gear Isn't Working: An Update'. *Indicator SA*. Volume 14. No. 3. Spring 1997. 28.

Contrary to Gear's projections, in the late 1990s unemployment reached the highest levels since 1984, with the private sector spearheading the employment cuts. Unskilled black workers were especially badly affected. Since 1994, 492 000 jobs were lost in virtually every sector of the economy, which amounted to an unemployment rate of approximately 35 percent of the economically active population (based on the expanded definition of unemployment, which includes all those who are unemployed, but have not looked for work recently as they have simply given up). See Ray, M. 'Between Crony Capitalism and Joblessness'. *Sunday Independent*. 19/12/1999. 5. Private sector investment also fell sharply between 1996 and 1999.

Gear's priorities were starkly apparent with respect to the national budget. The repayment on the apartheid debt increased significantly since the adoption of Gear; in fact, it tripled in size from R90 billion in 1989 to R300 billion in 1997. See 'Update: Restructure Public Debt'. Fair Share. University of the Western Cape. 1998. 1. Correspondingly, spending on many social services decreased in real terms. So the country found itself in a situation where rising unemployment increased the need for social and welfare services, yet these very services were being subject to severe cutbacks.

One area where Gear was successful, though, was in achieving tight monetary policy through reducing interest rates and inflation. See Mangcu, X. 'The Wrong Gear for Growth'. *Mail and Guardian*. 25/08/2000. However, these successes had to be understood in the context of the

general economic slowdown in the late 1990's, and the rising unemployment rate, as they were contingent on the resulting reduction in domestic demand. In any event, these successes were short lived, and externally induced inflation led to interest rates being pushed up again. Apart from achieving tight fiscal targets, the other area where Gear was successful was in increasing the rate of foreign direct investment, yet outward bound investment more than doubled, leading to even more job losses and a deteriorating current account deficit. See Adelzadeh, A. 'The Costs of Staying...'. 4-5. Also see Kobokoane, T. 'Foreigners sell SA Equities'. *Sunday Times Business Times*. 26/03/2000.

[599] The absence of a causal link between growth and redistribution should not be surprising if one understands the international context of public and private sector restructuring, where it is entirely possible to enhance productivity while shedding jobs. South Africa's manufacturing industry in particular is following this path, where higher productivity growth has led to substantial job losses. Even production for export has suffered this fate, as the country's exports tend to be relatively capital-intensive, a constraint that will limit any export boom as envisaged by Gear. See Heintz, J. 'Gear: A Labour Perspective...'. 33.

[600] See for example, Adelazadeh, A. *From the RDP to Gear...,* 8.

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[602] The emphasis on containing inflation is difficult to understand in the light of the fact that South Africa has not experienced uncontrollable inflation for decades, and in any event there is evidence that relatively higher inflation is not necessarily incompatible with higher levels of growth. See Adelazadeh, A. *From the RDP to Gear...,*8.

[603] Women have been especially hard hit, given that they are employed in large numbers in the textile and clothing industries, which were targeted for liberalisation in terms of GATT: apparently four our of every ten female manufacturing workers are in this sector. See *Memorandum from SACTWU on job losses - a call for Decent Work for All!* South African Clothing and Textile Workers' Union, 1999.

[604] There is some evidence to support this argument, in that between the years 1970 and 1995, employment for people with tertiary education rose by an astonishing 2 028 percent, while the demand for labour without matric fell by 24 percent. See Manuel, T. 'Feelings: Nothing More Than Feelings'. *Sunday Times*. 3/09/2000. 23.

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[625] Munira Mirza has made a similar point in critiquing the Labour Party's approach towards arts funding, where art is required to demonstrate its ability to address a variety of social ills, and achieve social inclusion. As a result, much arts funding is being channeled towards community arts projects and programmes of a participatory nature. She has argued that this instrumental approach towards art delegitimises other, less tangible impacts of art that are difficult to measure, but that give art its enduring quality. While she argues that Labour's commitment to funding art is welcome, this funding should not be justified by art's ability to tackle social problems, but should also recognise the 'responsibility of aesthetic excellence' as reason enough to fund art. Unfortunately, she does not define how that 'excellence' should be determined, and by whom. See See Mirza, M. 'Introduction', in Mirza, M. 2006. *Culture Vultures: IS UK Arts Policy Damaging the Arts?.* London: Policy Exchange. 13-19.

In the same volume, Elenora Belfiore has argued there is scant evidence that publicly funded art with explicit social aims has achieved its anticipated objectives. She has called for what she terms a 'genuine commitment to serious evaluation work' that develops a more complex understanding of the impact of art on people's psyche, and 'whether and how the arts have life-transforming powers'. This re-evaluation should pave the way for a non-instrumental approach towards public subsidy for art, although she dos not suggest what a new, non-instrumental, evaluation system should look like. See Belfiore, E. 'The Social Impact of the Arts – Myth or Reality?', in Mirza, M. 2006. *Culture Vultures: IS UK Arts Policy Damaging the Arts?.* London: Policy Exchange. 20-37.

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[650] In terms of the NAC Act, as amended by the Cultural Laws Amendment Act, the Minister enjoys the power to appoint and dismiss the Board. This power should be the preserve of the President on advice of the relevant Parliamentary Portfolio Committee, following a public process. The NAC's founding legislation must be amended to remove the role of the Minister in this respect. The underlying principle is that these institutions cannot play their watchdog roles effectively – or fund such activities – if they are accountable to the very arm of the state they are supposed to be monitoring, namely the Executive. There are many ways of cleaning up financial mismanagement in these institutions without having to resort to government intervention, but the emphasis should be on greater public accountability rather than increased accountability to the state. See Duncan, J. Privatisation of Arts Funding will Fuel Cultural Apartheid, *Sunday Independent.* 16/01/2005.

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Figures



Figure One. Capelán, C, 1995, *Stepping out of the White Cube: A Little Song for Johannesburg*, mixed-media installation, photograph: Carlos Capelán, downloaded on 20/09/2005 from http://www.capelan.com/africus/africus.htm.



Figure Two. Boshoff, W, 1995, *Blind Alphabet* ABC, mixed-media installation, photograph: Wayne Oosthuizen.

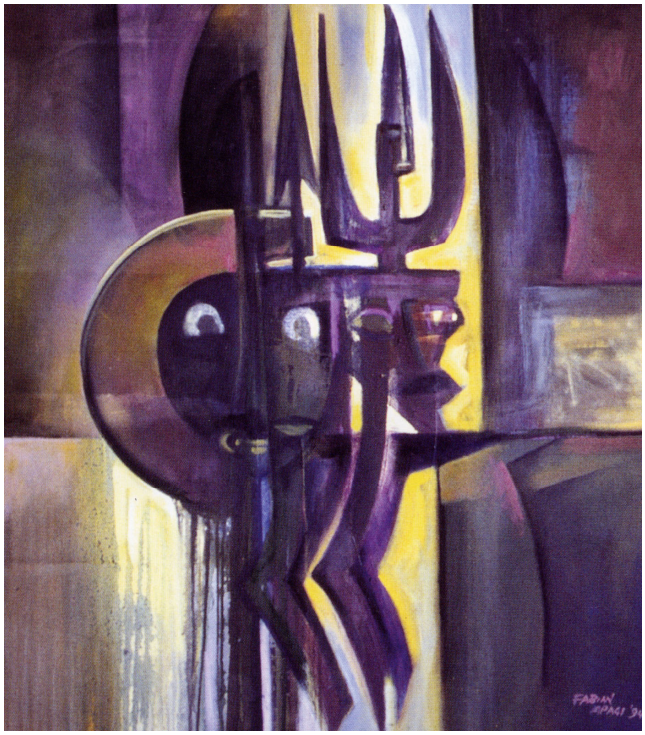


Figure Three. Mpagi, K, 1994, *Warriors*, oil on canvas, 102 x 114 cm, unknown photographer.



Figure Four. Diba, V, 1994, *Geometries Vitales,* acrylic and collage on wood, 120 x 114 cm, unknown photographer.



Figure Five. Ole, A, 1995, *Hidden Pages, Stolen Bodies,* mixed-media installation, unknown photographer.



Figure Six. Du Wu, T, 1991*, Tiger's Whip*, mixed-media installation, unknown photographer.



Figure Seven. Yang, L, 1992, *Master of Healing Golden Tathangata Buddha*, glass, 50 x 24 cm, unknown photographer.

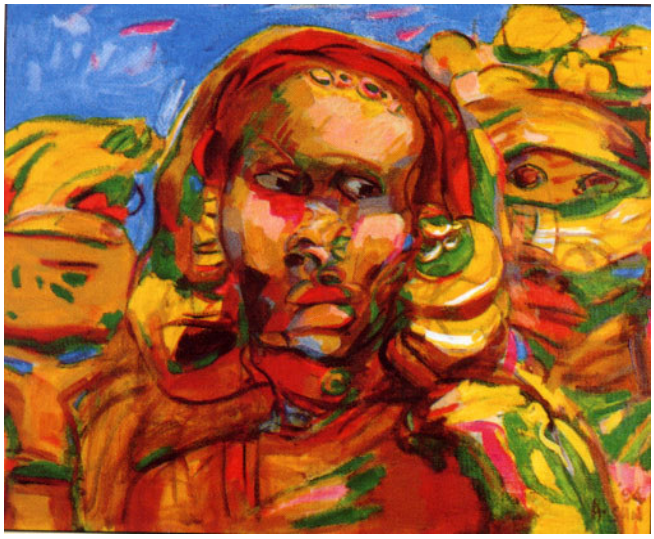


Figure Eight. Wu, A-S, 1993, *African Young Woman*, oil on canvas, 80 x 100 cm, unknown photographer.



Figure Nine. Chandra, M, 1995, *Travels in a New World*, mixed-media installation, unknown photographer, downloaded on 20/09/2005 from http://www.iniva.org/dare/artwork/chandra/chandra4.html



Figure Ten. Shonibare, Y, 1996-1997, *Victorian Philanthropist's Parlour*, mixed-media installation, photograph: Steven Friedman Gallery, London, downloaded on 27/09/2005 from http://www.dialnsa.edu/iat97/johannesburg/alt_currents/shonibare.html

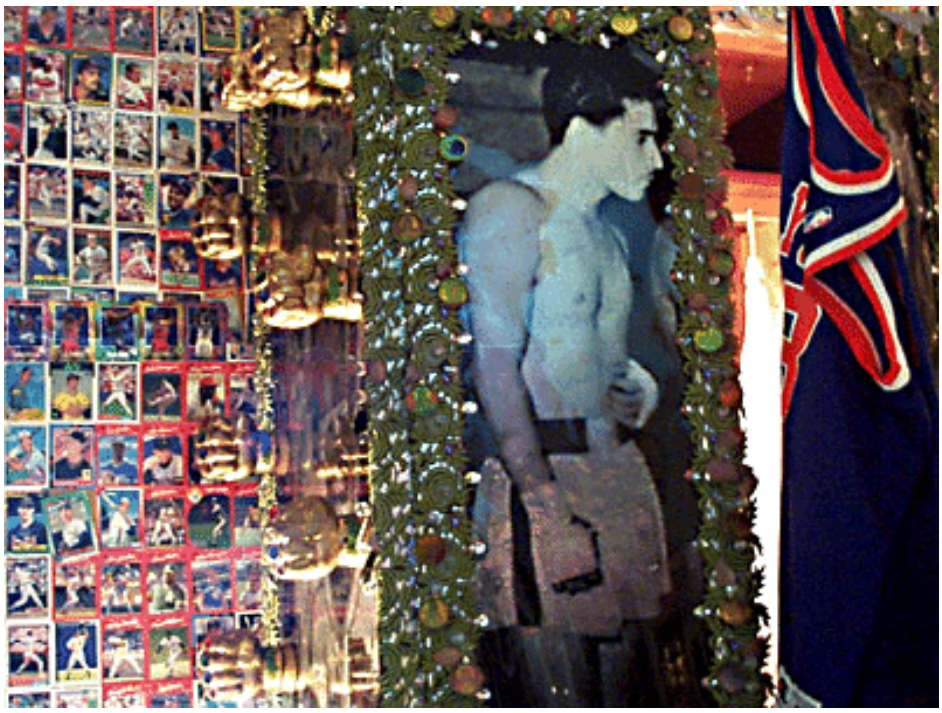


Figure Eleven. Osorio, P, 1995, *Badge of Honour*, mixed-media installation detail (son's bedroom), unknown photographer, downloaded on 27/09/2005 from http://www.dialnsa.edu/iat97/johannesburg/alt_currents/osorio.html



Figure Twelve. Osorio, P, 1995, *Badge of Honour*, mixed-media installation detail (father's room), unknown photographer, downloaded on 27/09/2005 from http://www.dialnsa.edu/iat97/johannesburg/alt_currents/osorio.html.



Figure Thirteen. Männikkö, E, 1993, *Kuivaneimi*, colour photograph, photographer: Jane Duncan.



Figure Fourteen. Dittborn, E, 1997, *Southern Cross, "Grand Voyages (Southern Cross)*", mixed-media installation, 420 x 1050 cm, photograph: Eugenio Dittborn, downloaded on 27/09/2005 from http://www.dialnsa.edu/iat97/johannesburg/alt_currents/dittborn.html



Figure Fifteen. Duck-Hyun, C, 1993, *Our Theory of the Twentieth Century*, mixed-media installation, photograph: Kukje Gallery, Seoul, downloaded on 27/09/2005 from http://www.dialnsa.edu/iat97/johannesburg/alt_currents/cho.html



Figure Sixteen. Amer, G, 1996, *Untitled*, mixed-media installation, unknown photographer, downloaded on 26/09/2005 from http://www.dialnsa.edu/iat97/johannesburg/alt_currents/amer.html.



Figure Seventeen. Serrano, T, 1997, *The Grass is always Greener on the Other Side*, still from 3-screen video projection, downloaded on 26/09/2005 from http://www.dialnsa.edu/iat97/johannesburg/alt_currents/serrano.html



Figure Eighteen. Sundaram, V, 1996, *Great Indian Bazaar*, mixed-media installation, unknown photographer, downloaded on 26/09/2005 from http://www.dialnsa.edu/iat97/johannesburg/alt_currents/sundaram.html.



Figure Nineteen. Sundaram, V, 1996, *Great Indian Bazaar*, mixed-media installation, unknown photographer, downloaded on 26/09/2005 from http://www.dialnsa.edu/iat97/johannesburg/alt_currents/sundaram.html.



Figure Twenty. Mendieta, A, 1981, *Rupestrian Sculptures*, black and white photograph, 1 x 1.36 meters, photographer: Galerie Lelong, New York, downloaded on 26/09/2005 from http://www.dialnsa.edu/iat97/johannesburg/import/mendieta.html.

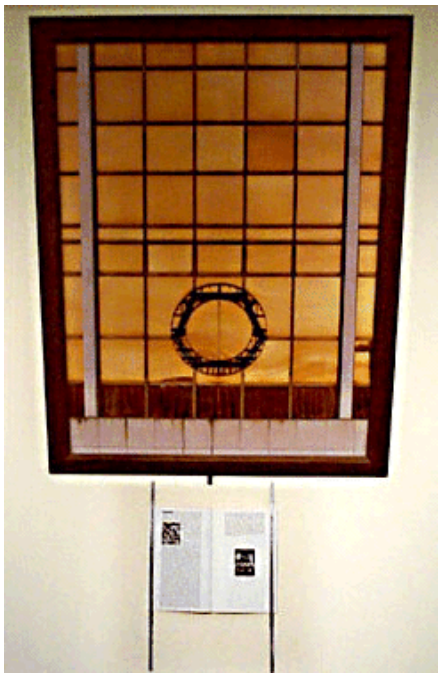


Figure Twenty-One. Calle, S, 1996, *The Detachment*, Twelve framed photographs and twelve books, photograph: Galerie Arndt and Partner, Berlin, downloaded on 26/09/2005 from http://www.dialnsa.edu/iat97/johannesburg/import/calle.html



Figure Twenty-Two. Calle, S, 1996, *The Detachment*, Twelve framed photographs and twelve books, photograph: Galerie Arndt and Partner, Berlin, downloaded on 26/09/2005 from http://www.dialnsa.edu/iat97/johannesburg/import/calle.html.



Figure Twenty-Three. Meireles, C, 1992-1997, *Marulho*, mixed-media installation, photograph: Cilda Meireles, downloaded on 26/09/2005 from http://www.dialnsa.edu/iat97/johannesburg/import/meireles.html.

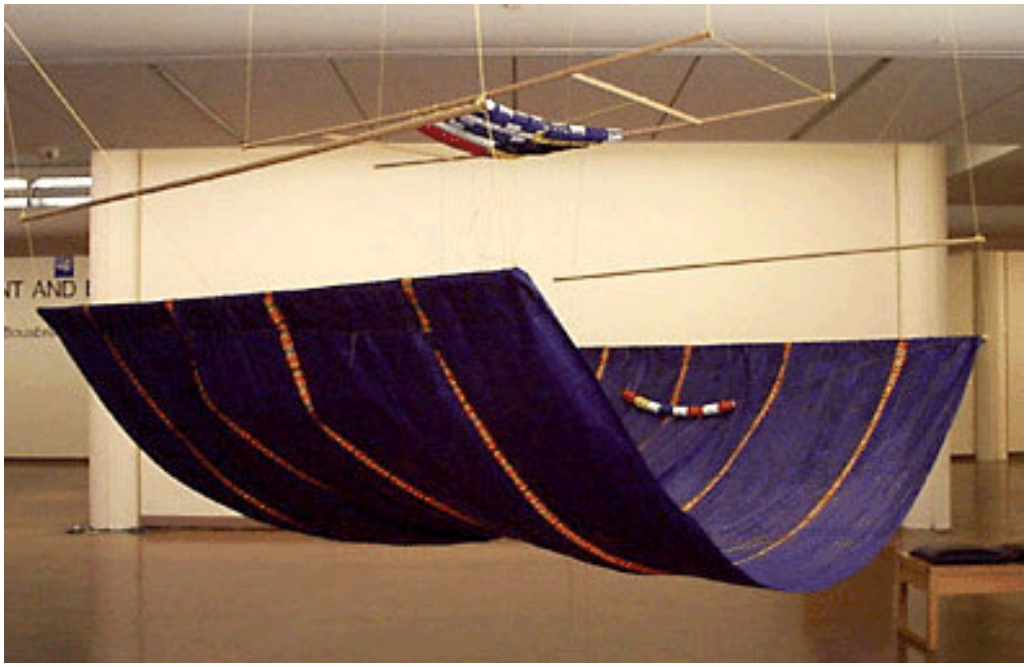


Figure Twenty-Four. Madalla, D, 1997*, A Stitch in Time*, mixed-media installation, unknown photographer, downloaded on 26/09/2005 from http://www.dialnsa.edu/iat97/johannesburg/import/medalla.html.



Figure Twenty-Five. Bouabré, F, Knowledge of the World, 100 drawing & 4 books, mixed-media on paper, photograph: The Pigozzi Collection, Geneva, downloaded on 26/09/2005 from http://www.dialnsa.edu/iat97/johannesburg/import/bouabre.html.



Figure Twenty Six. Gursky, A, 1992, *Transport Terminus*, colour photograph, photograph: Jane Duncan



Figure Twenty-Seven. Kingelez, B.S, 1994, *Place de la Ville*, Cardboard, 85 x 62 x 35 cm, photograph: Jean-Marc Patras, downloaded on 26/09/2005 from http://www.dialnsa.edu/iat97/johannesburg/hongkongetc/kingelez.html



Figure Twenty-Eight. Ping, H.Y., 1997, *This Doomsday*, mixed-media installation, photograph: Art and Public Gallery, Geneva, downloaded on 27/09/2005 from http://www.dialnsa.edu/iat97/johannesburg/hongkongetc/ping.html.



Figure Twenty-Nine. Piper, K, 1994, *The Exploded City*, still from video, downloaded on 20/09/2005 from http://www.iniva.org/archive/resource/2422.



Figure Thirty. Bitter, S, and Weber, H, 1994 - 1996, *On Formation*, computer-generated photograph, photograph: Sabine Bitter and Helmut Weber, downloaded on 20/09/2005 from http://www.dialnsa.edu/iat97/johannesburg/transversions/bitter.html

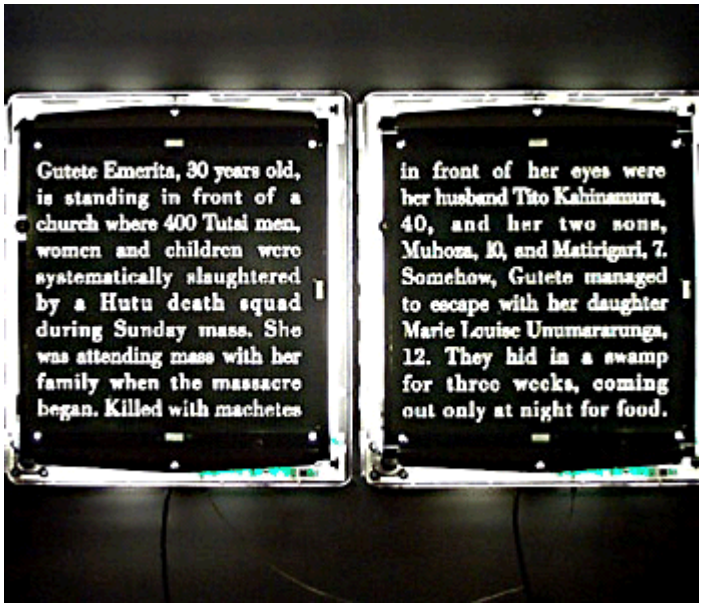


Figure Thirty-One. Jaar, A, 1997, *The Eyes of Gutete Emerita*, multi-media lightbox, photograph: Lelong New York, downloaded on 20/09/2005 from http://www.dialnsa.edu/iat97/johannesburg/transversions/jaar.html.



Figure Thirty-Two. Simpson, L, 1997, *Call Waiting*, video projection, still photograph: Lorna Simpson, downloaded on 20/09/2005 from http://www.dialnsa.edu/iat97/johannesburg/life/simpson.html.

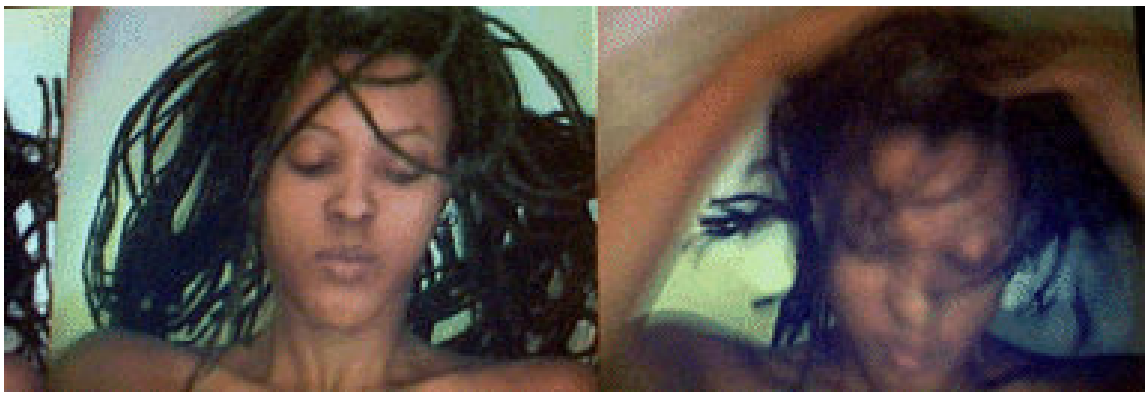


Figure Thirty-Three. Taylor, J, 1996, *Alien at Rest*, video projection, still photograph: Jocelyn Taylor, downloaded on 20/09/2005 from http://www.dialnsa.edu/iat97/johannesburg/life/taylor.html.

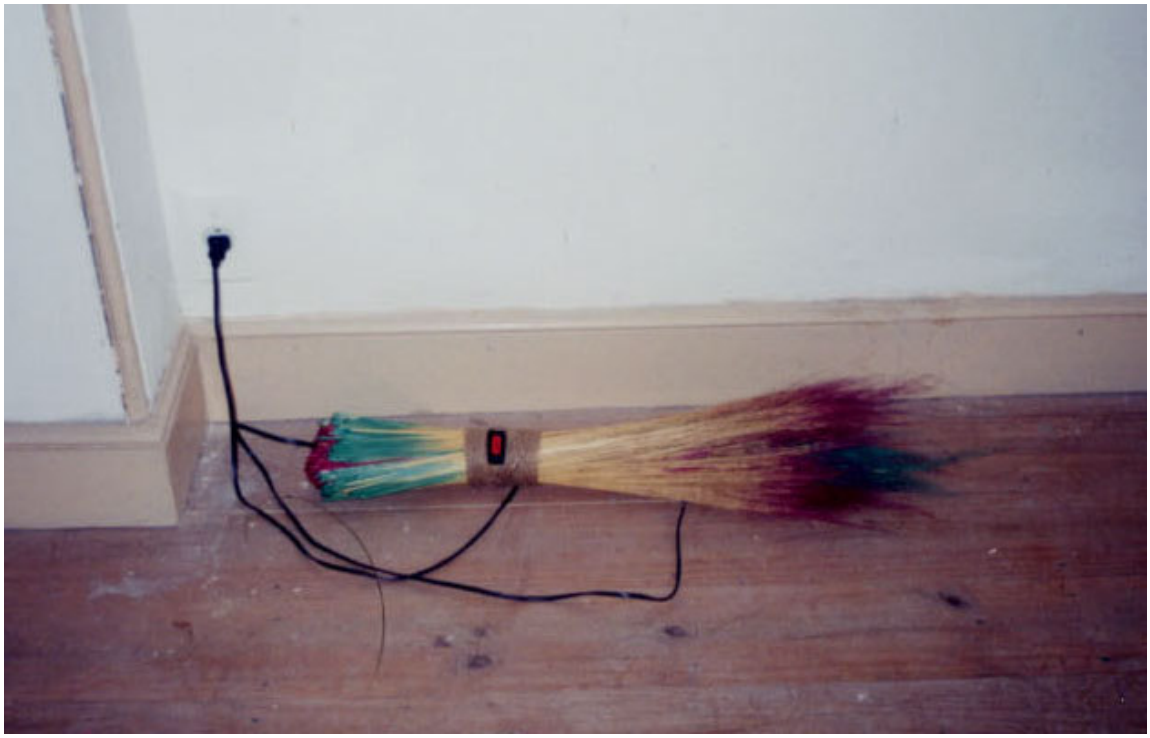


Figure Thirty-Four. Tuggar, F, 1996, *Grass Broom*, mixed-media installation, photograph: Jane Duncan.



Figure Thirty-Five. Tuggar, F, 1996, *Hand-held mixer*, mixed-media installation, photograph: Jane Duncan.



Figure Thirty-Six. Tuggar, F, 1996, *Ceiling Fan*, mixed-media installation, photograph: Jane Duncan.



Figure Thirty-Seven. Tuggar, F, 1996, *Kitchen*, mixed-media installation, photograph: Jane Duncan.



Figure Thirty-Eight. Tuggar, F, 1996, *Working Woman*, mixed-media installation, photograph: Jane Duncan.



Figure Thirty-Nine. Chimzima, P, 1997, *Attacking Family Pleasure*, mixed-media installation, photograph: Pitso Chimzima, downloaded on 20/09/2005 from http://www.dialnsa.edu/iat97/johannesburg/graft/chimzima.html.



Figure Forty. Baker, B, 1997, *First International Exhibition - 1997, 2nd Johannesburg Biennale, South African National Gallery Cape Town*, mixed-media installation, unknown photographer, downloaded on 20/09/2005 from http://www.dialnsa.edu/iat97/johannesburg/graft/baker.html.



Figure Forty-One. Murdoch, A, 1997, *Gereformeer*, mixed-media installation, photograph: Murdoch, A, downloaded on 20/09/2005 from http://www.dialnsa.edu/iat97/johannesburg/graft/murdoch.html.



Figure Forty-Two. Rose, T, 1997, *Span 11*, mixed-media installation, unknown photographer, downloaded on 20/09/2005 from http://www.dialnsa.edu/iat97/johannesburg/graft/rose.html.



Figure Forty-Three. Ferraira, A, 1996, *Double Sided Part 1, The Chianti Foundation, Marfa, Texas,* colour photographs, unknown photographer, downloaded on 20/09/2005 from http://www.dialnsa.edu/iat97/johannesburg/graft/ferreira.html.



Figure Forty-Four. Ferraira, A, 1997*, Double Sided Part 11, Johannesburg Biennale, 1997,* mixed-media installation, photographer: Ferraira, A, downloaded on 20/09/2005 from http://www.dialnsa.edu/iat97/johannesburg/graft/ferreira.html.



Figure Forty-Five. Gallimard, G, 2000, *The Charleston/ Atlanta/ Alaska Challenge*, mixed-media installations, photograph: Gwylene Gallimard, downloaded on 21/08/2005 from http://www.communityarts.net/readingroom/archivefiles/2004/12/common_memory_t.php.

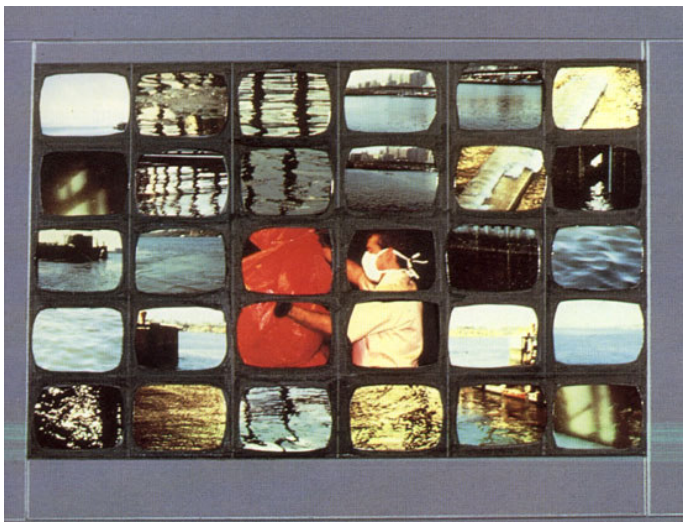


Figure Forty-Six. Ukeles, M.L, 1983, *Flow City*, mixed-media installation, photograph: Mierle Ukeles, downloaded on 21/09/2005 from http://www.primamateria.org/seminars/public_art/flow_city.html.