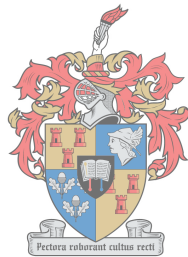# Between colour lines: Interrogating the category 'coloured' in depictions of District Six in the work of five South African artists

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1918·2018

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Dissertation in fulfilment of Master's in Visual Studies

Visual Arts Department

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March 2018

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Abstract

The Group Areas Act of 1950 radically affected coloured artists of the time, since it resulted in forced removals and the demolition of traditionally 'coloured' suburbs, and forced coloured people into mono-cultural suburbs with imposed identities not of their own choosing.

This thesis seeks to uncover the complexities and heterogeneity of coloured identity and the effects apartheid ideologies and practices had on the personal narratives and cultural praxis of Lionel Davis, Albert Adams, George Hallett, Gavin Jantjes and Peter Clarke, who all emphasized the significance of District Six in their own articulations of colouredness. I propose that this problematic ascribed identity was at the root of most artworks produced by these artists and that their art helped them deal with their experiences within (and about) the space of District Six during apartheid.

I argue that the political act of aggression by the apartheid state ironically formed the cornerstone of a new formation of coloured identity, that was shaped around political and cultural resistance. This thesis ultimately explores how these artists' collective practices evoke both a strong association with and resistance to colouredness, as they come to terms with the trauma of their dislocation.

Opsomming

Die Groepsgebiedewet van 1950 het bruin kunstenaars van die tyd ingrypend beïnvloed aangesien dit tot gedwonge verskuiwings en die sloping van tradisioneel 'kleurling' ('*coloured*') voorstede gelei het, en bruin mense in monokulturele voorstede ingedwing het met 'n voorgeskrewe identiteit wat nie hul eie keuse was nie.

Hierdie tesis probeer die kompleksiteit en heterogeniteit van die bruin ('*coloured*') identiteit blootlê, sowel as die uitwerking wat apartheidsideologieë en -praktyke gehad het op die persoonlike narratief en kulturele praksis van Lionel Davis, Albert Adams, George Hallett, Gavin Jantjes en Peter Clarke wat almal die belangrikheid van Distrik Ses in hul eie artikulasie

van bruin wees beklemtoon. Ek doen aan die hand dat hierdie problematies toegeskrewe identiteit die meeste van hierdie kunstenaars se kunswerke ten grondslag lê, en dat hul kuns hulle gehelp het om hulle ervaringe binne (en omtrent) die ruimte van Distrik Ses tydens apartheid te verwerk.

Ek argumenteer dat die politieke daad van aggressie deur die apartheidsregering ironies genoeg die hoeksteen van die ontstaan van 'n nuwe bruin identiteit gevorm het, wat rondom politieke en kulturele weerstand gestalte aangeneem het. Hierdie tesis ondersoek oplaas hoe die kollektiewe praktyk van hierdie kunstenaars sowel 'n sterk assosiasie met as weerstand teen bruin wees oproep, terwyl hulle hul berus in die trauma van hulle verplasing.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Background and Context

Coloured identity has always been complex and contested in South African race discourse. Located between black[1] and white racialized identities, coloured identity remains largely unrecognized as one of apartheid's social constructions. Local discourse and practice around race in South Africa have made it difficult to think about 'colouredness' as an identity in its own terms. Rather, theorists argue that coloured identity is presented as residual or a 'lesser' identity (Erasmus 2001: 16) which draws on notions of 'miscegenation' that reductively figures coloured individuals as products of 'interbreeding' between black and white. This is problematic, as it condemned coloured people to an ambiguous position within the institutionalisation and implementation of racial segregation.

In fact, as I will show in this thesis, it is important to note that those categorised as 'coloured' comprised a very heterogeneous population including peoples of various racial origin. According to Adhikari (2005: 76) coloured identity is a product of apartheid categorization and identity-building of coloured political figures. Adhikari argues that coloured identity is one of politics and the category remains irreducibly complex and includes descendants of Cape slaves[2], Khoisan[3], African as well as other Asian populations who were assimilated into the Cape colonial society. This complexity belies apartheid discourse, which caricatured the category as 'mixed race' (Adhikari 2005: 77). Coloured identity was discursively constructed as a 'natural', fixed phenomenon largely based on biological understandings of racial difference[4]. While race was a popular currency, it was presented as self-evident truth and 'common sense' (Posel 2001: 89), and based on the premise that racial categories informed

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[1]Contrary to government's classification of black, in this instance, the term includes various other non-white categories such as coloured.

[2]The geographical origins of slaves that were imported to the colonial Cape during the eighteenth century were from various locations such as West Coast Africa, Madagascar, the Indian sub-continent, Indonesia, Malaysia, Ceylon and South East Africa.

[3]Gabie (2014: 30) argues that the identity of Khoisan is problematic due to issues surrounding the race of the Khoi and San as separate identities. Khoisan identities were classified under the collective category of coloured, which also included sub-groups of Nama, Griqua, Khoi, San and Nama.

[4]Notions of religion and 'common sense' contributed to the miscegenation of coloured people in the Cape and will be discussed in the following chapter.

every aspect of life. Indeed, in 1950, every South African citizen was compelled to register under an officially designated racial category of either White, Black, Coloured or Indian.

This racial segregation manifested itself most concretely with the passing of the Group Areas Act in 1950. In Cape Town, the effects of this act were felt most acutely by the inhabitants of District Six[5] after it was declared a 'whites only' area in 1966. This inner city area, also known as the sixth District of Cape Town, housed working and artisanal classes who worked in the neighbouring docks and inner city centre (Zegeye 2001: 225). According to Zegeye (2001: 225) urban areas were overcrowded with uncontrolled migration into the cities from the country, while the state saw population control as a cornerstone to organize and channel capitalist development in South Africa in order to benefit the white minority through 'artificial de-urbanisation'. This meant that segregation was systematized on the basis of colour, making race the main factor in the distribution of rights (Christopher 1994: 1).

An area such as the heterogeneous District Six was seen as a predominantly coloured area, and challenged the vision of white racial purity and white cityscapes (Thomas 2014: 290). Instead, it became a geographical stain on the urban landscape. However, this integrated area of Cape Town was not limited to coloured inhabitants, and housed some white and African working class people as well (Brickforth-Smith 1992). Property still remained under the full ownership of white landlords (Zegeye 2001: 229).

The coloured people of such areas became fully immersed in the ambiguous, liminal culture that characterized District Six. For people of colour in the inner-city mixed-race areas, being integrated with the dynamics of the innermost part of the city was vital to the formation of coloured identity. Due to the cosmopolitan nature of coloured people, their identities were forced into a racialized kind of suburbia, and imposed with an identity which was not of their own choosing (Zegeye 2001: 229).

District Six exemplifies the destruction of dynamic and hybrid socio-cultural neighbourhoods by the social engineering of apartheid's Group Areas Act in 1950 and the forced removals that followed from 1968 onwards. The Group Areas Act, in combination with the Population

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[5] Indications of heterogeneity was apparent from as early as 1901 when Africans were from District Six and relocated to a new township called Ndabeni (Zegeye 2001: 225). The twentieth century presented rapid population expansion and a reluctance for landlords to improve housing and general amenities, which essentially produced an overcrowded and rundown 'slum' (2001: 225).

Registration Act, sought to comprehensively "enforce racial difference by controlling non-white populations in terms of residence" (Zegeye 2001: 225). Zegeye picks up on this point, explaining that District Six illustrated the state's articulation of ideological principles and spatial organization "which underpinned the apartheid vision of the city lodged at the very heart of its regime and its way of seeing South Africa as a whole" (2001: 226). It was thus vital for racialized space to "affirm the racial classifications of the apartheid state" (Thomas 2014: 290).

As a pathological symptom of apartheid, District Six brought to light the relationship between force and dislocation (Zegeye 2001: 227).The act of being shipped out to mono-race spaces stripped people from city living itself - an experience that had become vital in the formation of their identity. The 'cultural complexity' of city living thus having shaped their identity, this forced removal from an established urban lifestyle was immensely disruptive and traumatic.

1.2 Aims and Objectives

The purpose of this study is not to reinstate essentialist stereotypical notions of coloured individuals promoted by the apartheid government that saw coloured people regarded as lesser than white and associated with (sexual) shame. Instead, it seeks to uncover the complexities and heterogeneity of coloured identity and the effects apartheid ideologies and practices had on the work of artists categorised under apartheid legislation as 'coloured'. In this thesis, I propose that this problematic ascribed identity was often at the root of artworks produced by artists designated as such to deal with their experiences within (and about) the space of District Six during apartheid.

The artists I explore in this thesis are Lionel Davis, Albert Adams, George Hallett, Gavin Jantjes and Peter Clarke, and in particular, how they were directly affected by the demolition of District Six. Most of these artists went into exile when apartheid ideology enforced on them a racial category that circumscribed and delimited their participation in South African art. In this thesis, I investigate what these artists' feelings were regarding their identification as coloured South Africans at the time, as well as how apartheid legislation and practices (particularly the Group Areas Act and forced removals) affected them, their lives, and their practice. The aims of this study are:

To investigate how the racial categories of apartheid created a constructed 'coloured' identity;

To explore how artists designated as 'coloured' responded to their racial classification and exile from District Six through their art;

To identify and unpack the visual identity in the work produced by selected 'coloured' artists that touch on their experiences and memories of District Six.

Ultimately, this study aims to discuss the nature of their oppression and environments, especially how it gave rise to a distinct visual expression. In doing so, this thesis is an attempt to add to neglected history of coloured South African artists.

Within the official racial discourse that was present in the twentieth century, and still largely present in post-apartheid South Africa, I address coloured identity as a constructed, unstable, and heterogeneous category. District Six, however, remains a place of contention as retrospective reminiscences of the community as a shared place, tend to isolate the area from the wider social milieu of South Africa. Numerous romantic and nostalgic depictions of District Six often evoke the sense of a lost community, and in the process overlook the poverty, crime and overcrowding that plagued this neighbourhood. This is especially true in the manifestations of District Six in the District Six museum, where the mapping of memory presents an understanding between past and present of coloured identity. These complex issues still affect the racial and social stereotypes which cripple the development of our 'rainbow' nation, where coloured people are still striving towards social freedom and acceptance. Therefore, there is a growing necessity to investigate such issues of coloured social racial identity, as well as the history of such constructions within the visual arts sphere.

The end of formal apartheid has not ushered enough possibilities for conceptualizing coloured identities in less limiting ways – this is the foundation from which I would like to start my investigation of coloured identity in the art of Clarke, Adams, Jantjes, Hallett, and Davis, in the hope that a more complex understanding of this generation of artists will contribute to precisely such a nuanced re-conceptualisation.

1.3 Race in SA

One cannot discuss the racial discourses of apartheid without mentioning where such ideologies stem from in South African history. It is important to note that racial discrimination in South Africa did not start in 1948, when the Afrikaner Nationalists came to power and implemented racist policies. Racial discrimination was prevalent in a myriad of forms after the abolition of slavery in 1834 and lead to an increase in the number of people classified under the coloured category, "both in ordinary social interaction and in law" (Van der Ross 2015: 34). Greater racial discrimination and segregation occurred with an increased racial interaction between collective racialized coloured identities.

The segregation project in the period from 1902 (after the South African War) was motivated by increasing profit through means of cheap labour. This project relied on the oppression of the black population in order to realize the capitalist goals of the emerging independent settler state (Brickforth-Smith 1995: 210; Dubow 2014: 36). In addition, such racialized modes of thinking and the systematic oppression of the black majority aimed to make the white minority feel safe in a country largely populated by African, coloureds and Indians. This pursuit was further driven by a fear of the dangerous 'other'[6] and the possibility that the minority white population could easily be vanquished. The anti-colonial struggle in the rest of the African continent exacerbated these fears and gave impetus to racist legislation.

Racial policies in South Africa included dispossessing land from African people, economically impoverishing the country through exploitative capitalist practices, as well as excluding Africans as South African citizens (Dubow 2014: 36). Instilling such a discriminatory and prejudiced system proved to be no easy task in Cape Town due to the little distinction the dominant class made between black and white during the nineteenth century[7] (Brickforth-Smith 1995: 210). South Africa was isolated from the international scene by the British legal

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[6]It must be noted, however, that the trope of the Other as dangerous made way for another trope during post-independence. There were various observers such as Geoff Cronje (1947) who saw segregation in a different light. Instead of seeing it with all its negative attributes, these individuals saw "segregation as having more positive virtues, serving in some part to defend Africans in their traditional settings from the ravages of the modern world" (Bond & Saul, 2014:36). Generally, this view about segregation could be said to be "quite paternalistic in its articulation" and was also naïve in the way in which African 'traditions' were subordinated and progressed to external forces.

[7]Brickforth-Smith (1995: 67) argues that in nineteenth century Cape Town, assimilationism through education, labour and conversion to Christianity, among the black population, were evident as agencies of change. It was thought that if black people assimilated to become more white, they would get treated equally. In the "liberal ideology and practice of assimilationism, it threatened the great tradition of equality for all citizens before the law" (1995: 68).

authority because of its continuous normalisation of racial discourse which gave rise to a platform for an openly discriminatory legislation, and by 1902, the three-tier social hierarchy of black, coloured, and white was complete.

The racial classification systems of the mid-twentieth century extended the segregationist beliefs promoted in the years leading up to apartheid, and played a pivotal role in establishing an ideological repertoire for white supremacy. Specifically serving the need for a capitalist system in South Africa (Dubow 1989: 1), race became increasingly prevalent in institutionalized group differences as it overtook various amenities like gatherings in cultural venues, art production and tertiary education, to mention just a few (Brickforth-Smith 1995: 3). In particular, the 1920s presented the country with ever more racialized discourses where race explicitly referred to the colour of one's skin, and signified the importance of skin colour when redefining 'social division' (Norval, 1996: 107). However, it must be reiterated that such strategies were not limited to South Africa. In Britain, for example, various vectors such as culture, race, language and religion contributed to the segmentation of society into hierarchical categories which coincided with class differences. Such categories are vital to understanding the constructed nature of coloured identity because it reinforced the notion of an intermediate class status in a racial hierarchy of black and white. These classification systems stripped non-white citizens of voting rights and denied them the chance to be fully South African in their own right.

The main concept of apartheid, which was only systematically implemented after 1948, was built on racial exclusion that treated Europeans and natives as homogeneous categories within the black/white binary. By means of an apartheid system, the state could legally reinforce racial discourse and make it geographically concrete via segregation. In addition to skin-colour as reference, the concept of 'volkseie'[8] was used to draw a distinction between

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[8] This concept is used to refer to the distinction between the "true Afrikaner nationalists and the Afrikaners that fell out of bounds with the *volk*" (Noval, 1996:95). Thus, Noval (1996:95) suggested that "the purity of the *volkseie* could only be produced by isolating within its bosom the false elements, and by distinguishing itself from others who could be alien to the *volk*". In other words, other ethnicities did not fall into the core authenticity of Afrikaner nationalism. Also see Saunders, M. 2002. *Complicities: The Intellectual and Apartheid.* United States: Duke University Press. pp. 227.

Afrikaans speaking people of colour, and their white counterparts[9]. Race and ethnicity were used interchangeably by the state to emphasise political identities and agency of its citizens (Brickforth-Smith 1995: 3). Yet the colour line tolerated a certain level of miscegenation as well as social intermingling. District Six was a case in point in so far that it was always associated with the heterogeneity of coloured identity. In response to the worsening racism and segregation in South Africa, increasingly more coloureds, African blacks[10], and Indians started, for strategic reasons, to identify themselves as part of a collective identity, namely as black South Africans. With the rise of Black Consciousness in the 1960s, some African intellectuals felt increasingly disenchanted with liberal and multi-racial resistance against apartheid (Zegeye 2001: 10). In this regard, coloured identity may be understood as part of a broader black collective that sought the psychological liberation of black, coloured and Indian people in an attempt to eradicate dependency on white leadership (Adhikari 2005: 8; Zegeye 2001: 10). Speaking to what Bond and Saul (Dubow 2014: 36) have referred to as "the ebb and flow of significant resistance", the system of segregation implemented under apartheid prompted not only political resistance but cultural resistance as well, and compelled a radical interrogation and, in some cases, political reclamation of the racial identities constructed by the colonial and apartheid states.

1.4 Art in South Africa

Systematic racial classifications along with the numerous race laws that were passed under apartheid influenced many practising South African artists. Education during apartheid was deliberately used as a tool for domination and the majority of school-educated black South Africans had handicrafts foisted on them as part of the official curriculum, rather than the 'higher' arts of white South African pupils (Pissarra 2006: 2). This was based on the idea that one's education depended on where one's skill was needed within a specific community. Not only did formal art education exemplify differences between black and white that resonated throughout apartheid South Africa (Pissarra 2006: 2), many self-taught black artists were

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[9]This invocation of 'mixing' inevitably draws on a racial binary of black and white; it relies on these two opposing identities to situate coloured in the middle, and suggests a negative value insofar as coloured is neither black nor white. The notion of mixing will be thoroughly discussed in Chapter 2.

[10] In this instance, I refer to black Africans as a term not inclusive of broader non-white categories as discussed earlier in this chapter.

mentored by white patrons whose influence saw black experience as typically expressed through picturesque drawing, painting and sculpture (Pissarra 2006: 2).

Like other black artists, the work of coloured artists became lost within the interlinked web of racial discourses. The state and its institutions turned a blind eye to many artists of colour, not giving them the recognition their works deserved and denying them opportunities to harness their artistic skills. While most of the art canon in South Africa remained white, Indigenous Africans, creole products of the colonial encounter and exogenous peoples imported as indentured labour were still delegated to a position of otherness. For various coloured artists, this meant that they were largely invisible and overlooked, which necessitated a close solidarity and construction of artistic community. The invisibility of coloured cultural activists was normalized which in turn, invoked an ethnic practice distinct from the very different invisibility of normative whiteness, which allocated to itself the sole rights to depict race and raced subjects. The notion of 'disadvantage' further ascribed to coloured artists the position of being the 'poor cousins' of the white privileged norm. In light of the racialized discourses operating in South Africa during apartheid, coloured artists were ascribed a particular identity within a broader network of black artists[11]. Indeed, the ideal of a 'South African art', marked by racial categorization, emphasized the imprint legislation had on the nuanced structures of oppression that were set in place. Through shaping the cultural fictions of collective black artists, who increasingly played a prominent role, "the mechanisms for distribution and presentation continued to be dominated by white South Africans" (O'Connell 2014: 8).

Artists used the art centres to formulate their beginnings in a turbulent era as it increased their visibility in the arts sphere. In favour of the non-racial culture that many art centres embraced, artists and activists attended and worked in centres and organizations like the Bill Ainslie Studio (later renamed as the Johannesburg Art Foundation), Polly Street Studio in Soweto, the Black Arts Studio in Durban, Katlehong in Germiston, and the Community Arts Project (CAP) in Cape Town (*Community Arts Project* 2017). This was also the same time art

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[11] This is a telling example of Stuart Hall's (1996) conceptualisation of identity as a point of suture between discourses and practices which interpellate and speaks subjects into being. Due to the temporary point of attachment to certain subject positions, discursive practices construct identities. Thus, identity can be understood to be unstable and constructed.

centres and workshops became popular amongst artists during this wave of resistance in South Africa (Van Robbroeck 2011: 4)

1.5 Literature Review

For theories on cultural identity and the construction of the individual subject through discourse and power, I relied extensively on the writings of the French philosopher, Michel Foucault. While identity and subjectivity had long been constructed in Western thought as rational, stable, unified entities, contemporary conceptions thereof have seen this model undergo significant change. While the Enlightenment placed human consciousness at the centre of subjectivity (Mansfield 2000: 24), post-structuralist theorists like Michel Foucault (1977) have investigated the link between knowledge and power in producing the subject and, by extension, identity.

In his writings on subjectivity, David West (2007) for instance, argues that the subject is discursively[12] constructed and is therefore a product of history. Rather than fixed and inherent, anti-essentialist views of identity suggest that it is 'produced' – formed by discourse that is culturally specific. For West, the subject is a social construction, and identity cannot exist outside cultural representations. In this vein, West (2007: 245) argues that identity can be described as a snapshot of unfolding meanings where individuals become the "unique, historically specific articulation of discursive elements that are contingent but also socially determined and regulated". Following a similar anti-essentialist position, Stuart Hall (1990: 229) emphasizes that cultural identity is organized around points of difference, and (like individual identity) is forever in a process of becoming. Difference thus challenge the "fixed binaries which stabilize meaning and representation".

Drawing particularly on the post-Marxist and post-structuralist theories of Foucault (1977), authors like West and Hall attempt to reveal the sexual, racial, and ethnic divisions of modern Western society.

For Foucauldian theorists, there exists an inherent link between state power and subject-formation. According to Foucault, the body is the site of disciplinary practices which are "the

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[12] Following Foucault, the notion of discourse refers to the lens that represents the world subjects come to understand. In doing so, subjects are able to differentiate between the validity of statements they know about the world.

consequence of specific historical discourses of crime, punishment, science, medicine, etc."
(Barker 2002: 88). Discipline produces subjects, inter alia, by categorizing and naming them
(Barker 2002: 88). This concept, as I will show, is particularly relevant to this inquiry into the
responses of coloured artists to their assigned designation.

For Hall (1995) identity is inextricably linked to language, and meaning is generated through
a series of unstable and relational differences as discussed by the semiotic theories of Roland
Barthes (1964). In semiotic theory, identities are viewed as discursive constructions that are
temporarily stabilized by social practice (West 2007: 246). Zoe Wicomb (1998) has described
ethnicity as one point of reference, or one vector, around which cultural identity forms. In
particular, Wicomb explores how ethnicity is transcoded and its meaning contested within
the politics of representation (Wicomb 1998:95). Representation is stressed in constructionist
theories of identity, because it plays a formative role in the social and cultural imaginary of
communities.

While these theoretical concepts surrounding subjectivity address identity and culture in the
abstract, it is in the writings of Deborah Posel (2001) and Aletta Norval (1996) that these
notions find local roots in the context of apartheid South Africa.

Posel and Norval historically map out the institution of apartheid as a form of social division
where 'race' is understood as a social construct based on visually apparent bodily difference.
In outlining the essentialist view of race adopted by the apartheid government, these authors
critically interrogate the metaphors used in the promotion of 'blood-pure' races. For Norval
(1996:107) race is understood to have become the signifier of social division when the binary
of black and white was to still operate in the discourse of apartheid. Posel (2001:88) takes a
similar stance stating that race is shaped by state policy. Apartheid social engineering turned
the subject into an instrument of surveillance and control through state animated fantasies
of preserving the notion of blood purity. Likewise, Saul Dubow (2014: 29) has outlined how
the notion of a 'pure' Afrikaner and the imagined boundaries the apartheid state created
"sought an ordered and cleansed society".

In her address of coloured identity, Zoe Wicomb (1998) relates the resulting binary of white
and black in terms of miscegenation and shame. In her study of Saartjie Baartman (the so-

called Hottentot Venus), the body is viewed as a site of shame and ultimately, an inscription of power in scopic relations (Wicomb 1998: 93). Highlighting the vital link between the exploitive racial ideologies, fuelled by the desire to maintain racial boundaries, Wicomb indicates how coloured identity shifts from 'so-called' coloured to a fixed category (Wicomb 1998: 95). Yet despite this official designation, Zimitri Erasmus (2001:16) contends that coloured identity was never seen as 'identity' in its own right in the same way white and black identity is conceptualized.

The particularity of the experiences of coloured subjects challenge the perceptions common in the black/white homogeneous binary opposites (Erasmus & Pieterse 1999: 179). Offering an understanding of the coloured racial category as a product of politics, Mohammed Adhikari (2005) illustrates how coloured identity is a product of apartheid. Placing identity-building at the core of his argument, he argues that 'colouredness' is an artificial category imposed on some South Africans (Adhikari 2006). Adhikari (2006: 473) has argued that coloured identity has not maintained a level of consistency in terms of expression – challenging existing literature and its assumptions of coloured identity as a fixed entity, during the era of white rule. These processes of self-definition identified core attributes of coloured identity. Drawing on Hall (1995) and Homi Bhabha (1994), Adhikari (2009: 104) suggest that identity can have no foundation outside of discourse. Instead he suggests that self-identification (as coloured) and manifestations of coloured identity functioned as extreme Other to the dominant racial discourse of black/white present in apartheid South Africa. In this sense, Coloured identity can be seen as fundamentally transgressive, because it defies the structural binaries that racist discourse relies on.

In keeping with these notions, Erasmus (2001) has paid particular attention to the way in which cultural formation involves borrowing from various other culture forms, thus making identity fundamentally hybrid. In relation to the established boundaries of black and white, Erasmus (2001: 14) rethinks coloured identity, arguing that it is based on "cultural creativity and creolized formations shaped by South Africa's history of colonialism, slavery, segregation and apartheid". In stressing the ambiguity of coloured identity, Erasmus (2001:14-15) calls for an acknowledgement of coloured identity as part of a shifting texture of broader black experience.

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Elaborating on this point, Cheryl Hendricks (2001) has offered an innovative way of understanding how the subject is formed in South Africa. For Hendricks, the uncertainties surrounding coloured identity is the 'ambivalent core' within the racial discourse of South Africa. Without this ambiguous entity, the remaining discursive categories like White, Indian or even native, would lose their central grounding (Hendricks 2001:68). Indeed, in a hierarchically structured system of racial classification, Hendricks suggests that unclassifiable other must always exist and functions to give such a system meaning.

1.6 Coloured identity and visual praxis

Though much has been written on coloured identity, it has not been addressed through the lens of visual art practices, Fine Arts in particular, which is the focus of this thesis. While the writings of Posel (2001; 2010), Norval (1996), Erasmus (2001), and Wicomb (1998) provide historical context and an engagement with the political and social aspects and influences of coloured identity, the cultural consequences are yet to be thoroughly engaged.

From a visual studies perspective, identity and subjectivity are vital components of any analysis of artistic practice. As Gillian Rose (2002: 9) suggests, representation is "the way in which images visualize (or render invisible) social difference". Vision is not separate from identity and society; Rose draws on the writings of French film critic Christian Metz to illustrate how 'ways of seeing' are culturally specific and made manifest as particular 'scopic regimes'[13] that see representation ultimately bound up with social power relations.

However, there are further implications in understanding the connection between representation and subjectivity. Drawing on psychoanalytic theory, Rose (2002: 104) suggests that"[w]e learn to see in particular ways, and this is a process that is reiterated every time we look". Thus, she argues that visuality and subjectivity are fundamentally linked. Following the work of Griselda Pollock (1992:10), Rose thus conceives the subject as a site of perpetual cultural process in response to (visual) representation. Artistic practices can thus be

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[13] In an essay titled *Le Significant imaginaire* (1977), Christian Mertz adopts the concept of scopic regimes. In his study critically engaging on cinema and psychoanalysis, he brings to fore the essential relationship between film spectatorship and voyeurism. According to him, there is a safe distance between the viewing subject and the desired object. Thus, cinema locates itself in a realm of desirable objects that can never truly be possessed.

understood to speak to particular social as well as personal attitudes, and indicate the workings of a scopic regime.

Within apartheid South Africa, artistic production was heavily influenced by racial prejudice. Anita Nettleton (2011) has argued that white artists were formally assessed according to the 'first world' standards expected of professionally trained practitioners, while similar expectations and standards were not set for artists of colour, who were assumed to be amateurs. Even when white artists were influenced by African culture, their work assumed the stylistic language of European modernist primitivism, which was regarded as sophisticated and avant-garde, while black artists who produced similar work, were described as primitive, rather than primitivist (van Robbroeck 2006: 206).

This binary of untrained, naïve 'black' art and the informed primitivism of 'white' art largely define the parameters in which racial categories and artistic production have emerged in literature on South African art under apartheid (Nettleton 2011: 157). While narratives of 'struggle' or 'resistance' art have surfaced as a response to the socio-political unrest of the 1960s and 1970s as discussed by Derek Attridge and Rosemary Jolly (1998) and Sue Williamson (2010), these have largely been limited to a discussion of black African artists in search for an identity that would express African pride. Thus, although Adhikari (2005) has highlighted resistance as a vital part in the formation of identity – especially with regards to the similarities and difference between the coloured and black categories – coloured artists and the impact of a resistant coloured identity in relation to artistic expression is yet to be addressed in such depth. The literature that does exist on the artists I seek to address in this study remains limited in scope.

1.7 District Six and the location of coloured culture

No location demonstrates the cultural havoc caused by apartheid-era enforced segregation more clearly than District Six in Cape Town. Gathering from depictions of District Six before and after its demolition, it always remained a place of fascination for the working class. Emile Maurice (2012) suggests that many coloured people identified with the concept of community as embodied there, with its joyous spirit and exuberance. He posits that the references made to culture celebrated and depicted the community as colourful, caustic and full of humour.

These characteristics often built the fabric of the area, and depictions thereof contrasted radically the state's view, which reinforced the negative stereotypes of an over-crowded, crime-infested and immoral slum yard, immersed in an endless cycle of poverty, degradation and despair (Maurice 2012: 2). Visual and written narratives of memory gave meaning and significance to District Six as their 'home'. This is especially true in the artworks that responded to District Six as a community, specifically in the works of Albert Adams.

While the art of Albert Adams (1929-2006) is well established on the international stage, he is hardly mentioned in standard texts on South African art and has been locally greatly undervalued (Martin & Dolby 2008: 43). Discussions of Adams' art in *South Africa 1958-9* (1959) (figure 1) has seen a thorough engagement with particular artworks via a thorough visual analysis. Similarly, Marilyn Martin and Joe Dolby's catalogue contribution to the exhibition *Journey on a tightrope* (2008) in Cape Town addresses the art of Adams as the exponent of an undisciplined but passionate form of expressionism that draws on the work of German Expressionists (2008: 25). In an attempt to profile Adams in relation to South Africa, the catalogue includes texts by Peter Clarke and Crain Soudien, and places particular focus on Adams' life.

In her discussion of Davis, Bridget Thompson (2009) elaborates on how this artist's work draws on and speaks to experiences that shape the identities of individuals and the complex collective coloured culture in Cape Town. Thompson addresses his designated identity as 'coloured' in his work: drawing on the distinct Cape heritage of the 'Klopse', Davis consolidates the iconic uniforms and marching formations with his distinctly West African background (2009: 2). Similarly, Mario Pissarra (2008) reflects on Davis' unique biography, with specific focus on his life in District Six, his imprisonment and the history of Robben Island, 'political' graphics and posters and social comment from his long association with CAP, and his abstract works from Thupelo[14].

Peter Hobbs and Elizabeth Rankin (2011) discuss Clarke as a coloured artist in *Listening to distant thunder* by similarly drawing attention to the artist's association with political events

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[14] In 1985, the Thupelo workshops were established by David Koloane and various other artists to present artists with the opportunity to explore and harness their own skill through expression. The main focus of these workshops was to make art, exchange ideas and network with various artists from around the world.

such as the clearance of District Six, and removals from other areas such as Simon's Town. Mario Pissarra (2011) presents the reader with a rough chronology concerning the history of Simon's Town in order to contextualize Clarke's work, as it reveals Clarke's artistic endeavours in relation to broader issues concerning art, housing policies and politics. As Pissarra outlines, the formal education denied to coloured artists, coupled with this history of geographic upheaval, meant that even when Clarke moved to unfamiliar surroundings, he still clung to the intensity of his feelings for the Cape. In her analysis on George Hallett's photographs, Christine Eyene (2008) outlines how while under apartheid, Hallett's photography was viewed as an object of artistic attention, while they also functioned as historical documents. Gavin Jantjes' photographic silkscreens have similarly been explored by Eyene (2008: 62) in relation to how they emerged as a new photographic consciousness and self-image. While Eyene particularly addresses the work of these photographers as a response to conditions of exile, this politics of marginalization is likewise taken up in the writings of Nikos Papastergiadis (1993) in relation to the exhibition *Disputed Borders* (1993) in Bristol.[15] With specific reference to Jantjes, Papastergiadis argues that Jantjes became a key advocate of a new internationalism that saw 'black' art in South Africa step away from earlier 'Ethnic Arts Policies' and move towards a form of democratic accountability responsive to the specific needs of racial minorities (1993: 99).

While the above literature indicates the extent to which the art and biographies of Lionel Davis, Albert Adams, George Hallett, Gavin Jantjes and Peter Clarke have been *individually* discussed from an (art) historical perspective, their collective practices are yet to be comparatively addressed. Contemporary studies conceptualising coloured identity are still understood through restricting lenses. Indeed, there is yet to be an examination of whether a shared visual language may have emerged as a result of being jointly classified under apartheid as 'coloured' and in response to the limited artistic training, geographic displacement, and everyday experience of racial prejudices they would have shared.

In light of this omission, I follow Pissarra's (2008) suggestion that it is more rewarding to search for deeper underlying concerns that motivate artists and their intersecting interests;

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[15]In addition to the coloured artists relevant to my study, this exhibition also featured the works of Monika Baker (1993) and Jorma Puranen (1993).

and so, this study is an attempt to introduce a historical and interpretative (visual) overview with regards to the identities of and artworks produced by Davis, Adams, Hallett, Jantjes and Clarke. This study is undertaken with a specific question in mind: namely whether the ideological construction of a racialized identity such as 'Coloured' (following Foucault's theory about productiveness of discourses), eventually materializes as a cohesive and identifiable cultural phenomenon.

1.8 Theoretical Framework

Due to the lack of information on coloured South African artists, this study harnesses works of scholars from various disciplines including history, linguistics, anthropology, political studies as well as cultural studies. To deconstruct the notion of coloured identity and the institutional framing of coloured artists in apartheid South Africa, specific focus is drawn to the works from Michel Foucault, Stuart Hall and Homi Bhabha, who engage with the way subjectivity is seen as an historical and culturally specific entity.

In *The location of Culture* (1994), Bhabha highlights the vital connection between the instability of identity and the concept of liminality, which gestures toward fluidity and allows spaces of meaning to emerge. In response to this conception of identity, I seek to follow the lead of Erasmus (2001) who examines coloured identity within the multiplicity of 'coloured places'. Instead of reiterating essentialist views of coloured identity, this study will use a Foucauldian lens via Hall's writings on culture and identity to critically engage with how Lionel Davis, Albert Adams, George Hallett, Gavin Jantjes, Peter Clarke identify with or resist the category of coloured in their work.

In order to engage with colored identity in this way, the study traces the history of segregation in South Africa in order to contextualize how the category of coloured became part of an official discourse during apartheid. To do so I rely on the works of Mohammed Adhikari and Zimitri Erasmus to grasp the historical and political contexts of the complex construct that is coloured identity. In doing so, the notions of a fixed and stable coloured identity is also called into question by drawing on Bhabha's understanding of identity as always in progress, shifting, hybrid and in-between.

The emergence of a distinct visual language as a response to the racialized category of 'coloured', draws on various disciplinary fields to establish the connection between art and

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subjectivity during the height of apartheid. By addressing coloured identity in this way, this study seeks to begin to fill a major gap in South African visual history.

1.9 Methodology

Among the artists I look at, that most frequently populate the category of coloured art within the white canon are Lionel Davis, Albert Adams, George Hallett, Gavin Jantjes and Peter Clarke, and are often viewed as patrons of the apartheid struggle through the way they expressed themselves in their works. However, limited information exists about Albert Adams despite the fact that he became internationally known for his politically driven body of work. In contrast to the other artists this study focuses on, specific attention is drawn to Adams whose work is locally lesser-known.

To contextualize this study, a historical overview of the socio-political climate and racial discourses under apartheid are examined. By conducting a visual analysis of the artworks produced by the aforementioned artists, an attempt is made to deconstruct the visual language harnessed within their respective work. A visual studies approach commonly adopts a process of positive sampling. Accordingly, the examples in this study are deliberately selected to support the above outlined critical focus. These examples are decoded within the frame, discussed above, of South African race discourses, and the position of 'coloureds' within this hierarchy (Cartwright & Sturken 2001).

1.10 Chapter outlines

Chapter two address the constructed nature of coloured identity with reference to the works of Michel Foucault (1977) and his theories on identity, discourse and power. Identity is produced through forms of culturally specific discourses. As a socially constructed subject, identity cannot exist outside cultural representations. Building on the theories of Foucault and Stuart Hall (1995), the socio-political history of race can be traced throughout the twentieth century in order to highlight the main racial discourses which informed apartheid ideologies. Specific focus is placed on District Six as a hub where such heterogeneous coloured people lived as a 'community'. The group Areas Act, in particular, was one of the laws which impacted coloured subjects to a great extent. This study further focuses on the period of the 1960s to 1980s, when the discourse of coloured identity as being mixed and in-between fuelled segregationist measures implemented by the state. From the state's point of view,

areas such as District Six appeared as a geographical stain in apartheid urban planning, and hence needed to be destroyed. Faced with such challenges and confrontations with their identity, coloured artists found the need to culturally unpack these issues in their art practice, thus building a politicized view of District Six.

Chapter three sketches District Six as an area where coloured people were assumed to partake of a collective cultural identity. I point out, however, how, as a cultural entity, District Six was really a heterogeneous area composed of various cultures, all contributing to the concept of 'home' and community. Building on the ideas of Foucault and Michel de Certeau (1988), memory is considered vital in the reconceptualization of District Six as a significant and meaningful community. The chapter further explores the perceptions of the area as well as usher understandings into the fractured identities of various 'types' of coloured people. I explore how coloured artists found themselves lost in the interlinked web of racial discourses that denied many of them the opportunity to harness their artistic skills. With the first wave of forced removals in 1968, coloured people were relocated to areas outside the city's centre such as Manenberg, Heideveld, Bontehewel and various other flatlands which radically fractured the sense of community District six once had. The effects of forced removals were felt by all residents, but most demonstrably by the creative community of artists who tried to come to terms with the trauma and memory of their displacement.

Chapter four conducts a critical analysis of the works of Lionel Davis, Albert Adams, George Hallett, Gavin Jantjes and Peter Clarke and how their responses to their expulsion from District Six interrogated the intermediate status of coloured people. As an inescapable condition, displacement was often the reality artists faced in their new diasporic communities, which compelled them to simultaneously question, and call on a collective coloured identity. Artists often aimed to establish autonomy and agency in their depictions of District Six community by displaying intimate personal knowledge to counter dehumanizing apartheid narratives. Investigating the past in relation to the present refers to Foucault's notion of an archive, where memory plays a vital role in the process of image-making, and where there is significant chronological distance from documented objects (Eyene 2008: 178). In light of this, various aspects such as subject matter, medium and style will be highlighted to illustrate how the art practices of printmaking, photography and painting were affected by exile.

In conclusion, coloured identity in South Africa cannot be addressed without its historical and cultural contexts. As in-between and ambiguous subjects from the liminal District Six, the narratives of memory and community are key factors in artists' depictions and responses to the political events of 1960s to 1980s.

CHAPTER 2: Understanding coloured identity

Introduction

In this chapter, I propose to deconstruct the notion of 'coloured identity' by using the theories of Michel Foucault. Foucault proposes that identity is socially constructed and produced through forms of culturally specific discourses, and argues that identity cannot exist outside of cultural representations. The theories of Stuart Hall builds on Foucault's stance on identity as a discursive formation, in which the body becomes a site of various disciplinary practices that name and hierarchically categorize 'normal' racial types.

In a South African context, race continues to be vital in people's understanding of everyday life, due to the legacies of the colonial and apartheid eras. Racial difference lay at the core of apartheid's ideologies in the construction of a segregated utopia, in which each race, supposedly accompanied by its own unique 'culture', was expected to flourish. Informed by biological determinism, apartheid's racial project, guided by the fear of racial mixing, sought to effectuate total racial separation. Through social engineering, the state constituted the coloured category as something essential and real, while simultaneously contributing to the discourse of colouredness as in-between and liminal. As a consequence, the increasingly segregationist laws, particularly the Group Areas Act, proved to have had a significant impact on coloureds. As a result, coloured individuals understood and interpreted their identity in various ways. On the one hand, the coloured elite believed that acceptance into white middle-class society could be earned via further education or cultural assimilation. In contrast, politicized coloureds declined to assimilate and instead, chose to mobilize along racial lines and assert a culturally distinct identity. Despite continuous efforts to assimilate into a white middle-class society, the common view prevailed that coloured people contaminated the modern utopian South Africa. While the contrasting understanding and expression of coloured identity contributes to their political powerlessness, their position demonstrates the most consistent and insistent expression of coloured political identity. Essentially, their assimilationist dreams and hopes were misplaced in apartheid South Africa which further contributed to their marginalization and displacement.

In contrast to the prevailing, implicitly contradictory perceptions, that coloured people were either an essential category, with fixed cultural characteristics, or a mix of black and white,

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coloured peoples, especially in District Six, were very heterogeneous and of a complex mix of cultural origins. The racially hybrid nature of this area and its inhabitants, were seen by the purist apartheid state as deleterious. Essentially, coloured identity can be deconstructed by critically analysing the way the state relied on problematic definitions of race to adapt and pass new racial segregationist law discriminating against the coloured 'other'.

2.1 Subjectivity, Race and Power: a brief exposition of select theories of Foucault, Hall and Bhabha

While the enlightenment subject has historically been understood as a unified entity, post-modern theory regards the subject as fragmented, shifting and multiple (West 2007: 248). Foucault's (1980) anti-Humanist approach amplifies the ambiguous nature of the subject, and shows the influence of Althusser's Marxist critique of the bourgeois subject.[16] Foucault's investigation of the subject explores "the links between the philosophical subject of modern epistemology and political individualism on the one hand and subjection to authority, on the other" (West 2007: 169). Hall further problematizes the subject as a point of suture between discursive practices. It is at this point where identity occurs.

Foucault (1980) as read through Hall (2000), argues that the production of identity within its historical and institutional contexts, are created through various discourses, practices and positions. According to Foucault's positioning of discourse within post-structuralism, Hall defines these as "practices which systematically produce knowledge or form the objects of which they speak and so construct the world (McHoul & Grace 1993).

For Hall (2000) the dialectical relationship of ideology is defined by its effects and how discourses are informed by ideology. Within discourse, the elements of an ideology are connected and establish a relationship between ideology, discourse and vice visa. Similarly, Fairclough (1989) argues that individuals will view an ideology in relation to the identities or subject positions other individuals may hold. Discourses thus act as vehicles of ideology in

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[16]French philosopher Louis Althusser posits the formation of the subject within his ideological and state apparatuses as a way of understanding the allusion to the subject in law. He further argues that the legal category of the 'subject of law' is ideologically implied when it proposes that man is a subject by nature. According to Gaines (1991: 24) "it is this kind of borrowing (of the bourgeois subject from legal ideology and that the legal subject from bourgeois ideology) that necessitates the larger subject and the specificity of the subject in law". Althusser's conception of racism and other ideologies emerge "out of particular historical, social, economic and political contexts, and are also reproduced within material practices - such as discourse" (Makhanya 2011: 19).

society and therefore cannot function without subjects and are most effective when they develop, and are naturalized, into 'common sense' (Peck 1994: 93).

Due to the narratives discourses create, the production of identity is social and relational insofar as it will arise through the interaction between people and on discourses interposed on individuals through institutions and structures in the social body. These individuals and groups are forced to internalize various identities in society. Identity is thus concluded to appear unitary, but is actually plural in its very nature. it entails an intersection between sex, race and class as individuals negotiate past and present positions (Hall 2000).

Due to the historical contexts of the processes it takes to form a specific identity, it is apparent that historically constructed cultural groups are defined "in terms of what they are, namely valid processes of identity formation which shift with time, place and space" (1998: 181). Identities are thus rooted in historical processes of dislocation.

Another concept Foucault addresses in his analysis, is power. He radically decentres power from any sort of specifiable context or location; it is broken down and described as a fluid relation that does not reside in any individual, institution or state. His work marks a radical break with previous Weberian individualizing theories of power, locating power in a determinate set of relationships between holders of authority and its subjects.[17] In other words, the influence of Nietzsche's will to power is evident in Foucault's model of power as fundamental to human relations.[18]

Power is a concept that is exercised and understood in relation to history, discourse as well as subjectivity; it is a concept that is always being circulated in society. In other words, power is capillary and the social relations created in societies are reliant on power; it works through them, in them and on them. Foucault structures his notion of power as a set of networking relations and practices throughout society. It does not radiate out from specific point or nodes, but it is rather a series of interlinked threads in society, which, when they cross,

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[17] In Marx Weber's theories of power, his pluralistic understanding of forms of social conflict in modern societies, he refines and extends on Karl Marx's theory of power – always rooted in economic relations. Weber's stance was thus in favor of economic power as a predominant form of power.

[18] The will to power (translated from the German *de WillezurMacht*) was a concept coined by German Philosopher, Friedrich Nietzsche where he elaborates on the way in which power was believed to be fundamental to humans' achievement, ambition and their general aim to get to the highest possible position in life.

become denser. Power is everywhere because it comes from everywhere, and is a strategy which is both intentional and unconscious, insofar as it is also non-subjective. It is exercised with aims and objectives, but this simply cannot be reduced to a framework of intentional agency in relation to either individuals or social classes. It is not necessarily conscious or intended.

Power creates subjects of a certain kind in relation to historical and social circumstances because it is linked to knowledge. For Foucault, there is no knowledge without power. The immediate relationship between the two terms is important, and links to truth and rationality. In other words, knowledge arises because power needs knowledge. Through creating an object of knowledge, a discursive space is created.

Foucault focuses on two types of power, namely disciplinary power and pastoral power. He refers to discipline as the "organization of the subject through dividing practices, combining knowledge, power and control" (West 2007: 44).

Foucault argues that disciplinary power is exercised through surveillance and knowledge. Although the history of knowledge have been a popularly theorized in the human sciences, Foucault explicitly situates the subject in relation to power. His argument highlights the epistemic context within which bodies of knowledge become intelligible and authoritative (Rose 2005: 1). He further elaborates on three disciplinary discourses that develop subjectivity: the sciences (which constitute the subject as an object of inquiry); technologies of the self (a process of interpellation in which individuals turn themselves into subjects); and dividing practices which separate the mad from the insane, the criminal from the law-abiding citizen (West 2007: 226). In the case of South Africa, dividing practices would not only have entailed literal social engineering of distinct raced neighbourhoods and townships, but would have included a hierarchical concept of race which encouraged coloured subjects to see themselves as superior to black subjects and aspiring to become white.

Another mode of power that has the potential to operate in a democracy is pastoral power. In this mode of power the pastor is used as a metaphor to elaborate on the implementation

of 'care' through traditions of Christianity (Fendler 2010: 45).[19] Fendler argues that because "pastors have the reputation of being a service to their respective flocks, the members of the flock become dependent on the shepherd to protect and nurture the flock" (2010: 45).

The linkage of power to knowledge and so to discourse means that such knowledge and discourse can never be regarded as detached. According to West (2007: 170), Foucault avoids the Kantian dilemma and places his focus on more historical approach with his Nietschen conviction of power and knowledge being two sides of the same coin. As these two concepts directly implicate each other, Foucault uses power/knowledge cannot be exercised without knowledge.

Foucault (1991) stresses the negative effects of power as it excludes, represses and censors. His model of power illustrates the intersection where power is resisted and enacted on the body. As part of this model, Foucault views the body as an object of knowledge. In his analysis of discursive processes creating bodies, he challenges the notion of the individual as a fixed being. As he states in *Nietsche, Genealogy and History (1977)*, the body should be viewed as a surface on which events are inscribed. This means that political events as well as decisions have material effects on the body, and these effects can be analysed. Moreover, the aim of Foucault's analysis is to expose the body's sites, and show how such analysis not only affects the body, but how historical processes and events have a way of deconstructing and undoing the body that has been discursively constructed (such a process can be observed in South Africa since the dissolution of the apartheid state). He questions the assumption of a stable body and draws attention to it being a product of cultural and historical episteme.[20] Bodies are thus "always experienced as mediated through different social constructions of the body" (Mills 2004: 86).

Foucault emphasizes that power is everywhere and comes from everywhere. Thus, it is always exercised over bodies. In the scopic regime of modernity, where visible difference on the body is the point of departure for value judgements and power discourses, the body signifies a site of subjection. The docile obedient body is controlled through disciplines. Foucault elaborates

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[19] In Christianity, the language of pastorship is used by members of the church and are often refers to the 'flock'. In addition, the metaphor in the Bible referring to the sheep and its shepherd, are used to understand the relationship between people and clergy in religious settings (Fendler 2010: 45).

[20] Foucault first coins this concept in *The Order of Things,* and argue that unconscious structures created in the production of scientific knowledge in a specific place and time, are called epistemes.

on docile bodies as being obedient, where the subject controls itself (through discipline) rather than being externally coerced through punishment. The physical subjected bodies are thus convinced to act in way that is constructed as 'normal' through bio-power.

The concept of bio-power refers the regulation by authorities that was enacted on the level of the body and constitutes a technology of power. Bio-power is where knowledge is collected over time and through mechanisms such as population surveillance, and though the institution of various procedures for investigating and researching populations. Foucault argues that it is the aim of the government to control the population of the pastoral modern nation-state, by regulating its subjects and coercing them to regulate and discipline themselves. During the nineteenth century, these mechanisms of population regulation and control was new and vital to both the emergence of the modern nation-state and to the co-emergence of capitalism, which required regulation of productivity and labour.

Young (1995: 11) explains that, among Foucault's widely developed concepts, bio-power "describes one of the two great regulating techniques of the politics of sex". Foucault elaborates that it "involves the forms of control carried out in the name of race, for the welfare of the species, for the survival of the population" (1995: 11). In contrast to his earlier notions suggesting that racism is nothing but a "compartmentalized and expansive part of the general production of sexuality", Foucault later proposes that racism operates in two phases. These are namely in the form of eugenics where "it is directed towards the survival of class supremacy"; and its deployment "with respect to the control, ordering and supervision of the exploited classes" (Young 1995: 11).

For Foucault, racism derives from a bio-political government designed to manage a nation-state's population. Traditionally understood as an "ideological operation displacing the hostility towards a group of people onto a mythical component", racism can be understood as an object of power (Radovanovic 2007: 24). With the emergence of bio-power, racism is thus an inscription of a basic mechanism of power used in modern states, and "ironically exercised for benefit and in name of life and survival" (2007: 22). The mechanism that allows bio-power to function is linked to techniques and technologies of power.

Furthermore, Foucault explains the concept of racism to be influenced by the modern state's notion of race war as "it becomes a discourse of battle between the race that is entitled to

establish the norm and those who deviate from that norm and present a threat to its biological heritage" (Radovanic 2007: 27). Racism can thus be argued to be bound up with the actions of the state, obliged to use race as a means of exercising its sovereign power as it ensures the purification and hegemony of a specific race.[21]

With the emergence of the nation-state, the state, as a disciplinary formation, is thus allied with its population and are threatened by anything in contrast to the norm in society. In aiming to answer the question of racism, Foucault uses the concept of bio-politics to refer to the administrative management of bodies.

As a discriminatory social practice, racist discourse manifests and reproduces racism as a form of ethnic or racial domination and is done through the expression, confirmation and legitimization of "racist opinions, attitudes and ideologies of the dominant ethnic group" (Henry 2002: 351). According to Kellas, these 'ethnic groups' that are being referred to, are groups that are "essentially exclusive or ascriptive", this means that "membership in such groups is confined to those who share certain inborn attributes" (Kellas 1998: 4 quoting Kohn, 1994; Smith, 1986). The term frequently describes "a quasi-national kind of 'minority group' within the state, which has somehow not achieved the status as the nation" (Kellas 1998:6).

While racism is historically understood as European domination against non-European people, "the two major forms of discourses are namely racist discourse directed at ethnically different 'others'; and racist discourse about ethnically different 'others'" (Henry 2002: 351).

Henry (2002: 351) proposes that, on the one hand, the first form of discourse includes ways in which "dominant group members verbally act with members of dominated groups composed of immigrants, ethnic minorities and refugees etc". In doing so, the dominant group subtly and indirectly uses derogatory slurs, insults, impolite forms of address, and other forms of discourse to explicitly express and enact superiority and lack of respect (2002: 352). On the other hand, the second form of discourse "range from informal everyday conversations or organizational dialogues, to many written or multimedia types of texts or

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[21] Foucault's notion of sovereign power refers to the mode of power typically found in a monarchy where a king or queen has total control of their subjects and ultimately, their lives. Per Fendler (2010: 43) Foucault argues that this noble mode of power can operate in democracies as well, where authorities, be it people or laws, try to dominate other people.

communicative events such as news reports, tv shows, editorials, scholarly publications, laws etc" (2002: 352), through which 'knowledge' of the racialized other is disseminated.

While docile bodies are the effect of various discourses, various critics have pointed out that Foucault's description of subjectivity rob subjects of the kind of agency required for political action (West 2007: 232). Foucault defines agency as the socially constructed capacity to act, but in a context where nobody is free insofar as no-one is undetermined.[22] In his later works, however, where he focuses on technologies of the self, Foucault reintroduces agency as he emphasizes the possibility of resistance and change. This requires of subjects "to decipher, recognize and acknowledge themselves as subjects of desire" (Foucault 1987: 5). Foucault thus centres his concern with self-production as a discursive practice that "is centred on the question of ethics as a mode of 'care of the self'" (West 2007: 232).

He further illustrates that ethics are concerned with societal rules which teach subjects how to live their everyday life and ultimately, govern themselves. Vital to the concept of ethics, are the government of oneself and that of others. West (2007: 232) suggests that these ethical discourses circulate independently of any individual, and are ways by which one constitutes oneself, and bring oneself into being. Only through the construction of ethical discourses, will agency occur and exemplify the productive character of power (West 2007: 232). It is in this light that Hall (1996) argues that agency is required for cultural politics of change.

Hall's (1996) interrogation of cultural identity is one that understands the subject to be constructed through a continuous play between history, culture and power. Thus, cultural identity cannot be produced outside discourse and power, and is fundamental to the sites of struggle against normalization. With the discursive nature of identity, it can be argued that cultural identity cannot be ascribed or bound to ahistorical traits (Grave 1998). Bhabha's negotiation of cultural identity suggests that identities are comprised of "continual interface and exchange of cultural performances that in turn produce a mutual and mutable recognition (or representation) of cultural difference" (Grave 1998). Cultural identities are

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[22]Gidden's theory elaborates on seeing subjects as active and knowledgeable agents from the narratives of history, and argues for the duality of the structure of identity. He posits identity to be both "a question of agency (the individual constructs a project) and social determination (our projects are socially constructed and social identities ascribed to us" (West 2007: 233).

thus usually associated with race, class or ethnicity and essentially boils down to the concept of difference and ways of presenting the 'other' (West 2007: 232).

In cultural discourse, Homi Bhabha's theory of cultural difference provides one with an understanding of hybridity and the third space, both of which can be used to elucidate the position of coloured subjects under apartheid. Bhabha draws on a colonialist definition of hybridity as a term of abuse for those who are products of miscegenation (Meredith 1998: 2). Bhabha reminds one that this concept refers to "the construction of culture and identity within the conditions of colonial antagonism and inequity" (Meredith 1998: 2). In attempts to translate the identity of the colonized, also known as the 'other' within a singular framework, the colonial governing authority fails then to produce something familiar but new (1998: 2). As an antidote to modernist essentialism, the postcolonial concept of hybridity argues that the notion that "any culture or identity is pure or essential is disputable" (Ashcroft et al. 1995). Thus, all forms of culture are continuously in a process of hybridity (Rutherford 1990: 221).

As the cutting edge of translation and negotiation, hybridity contributes to the inter-mediate status of subjects that are in turn, "lauded as the locale of the disruption and displacement of hegemonic colonial narratives of cultural structures and practices" (Bhabha 1994; Meredith 1998).[23] It is this space which Bhabha names a 'third space'. It is vital to note that the essentialist positions of identity and the conceptualization of an original or original culture lay at the core of modernist hierarchies, but that this simultaneously created a space for other subject positions to emerge (Rutherford 1990: 211).

Bhabha's third space is productive and reflective as it creates possibilities while it interrupts, interrogates and enunciates spaces where new forms of cultural meaning and production blur the limitations of current boundaries, and questions established categorizations of culture and identity (Meredith 1998: 2). The ambivalence of his hybrid third space challenges the primordial unity or fixity of cultural meaning and representation. I shall be referring to this

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[23] The concept of hegemony refers to the mode of power economically and politically exercised through a ruling class, and justified their aim which claimed to be in the interest of all class. The class relationships of colonies in the expansion of imperialism in Europe, often relied on cultural exchanges "with a hierarchical European settler class and local, educated (compractor) elite class forging layers between the European 'mother' nation and the various indigenous peoples were controlled" (Mitchell n.d: 1).

notion again, when I analyse the positions and agencies exercised by coloured artists in apartheid South Africa.

2.2 Socio-political history of race in modern South Africa

In the lives of South Africans, where race continues to be central in understanding everyday life, race was (and continue to be) associated with genetic inheritance, descent, physical features as well as culture – understood through their expressions of race and their 'progress' in a perceived evolution of civilization. As a result, the concept of race referred to ways of political beings seeing themselves in a constant struggle to become newly human (Erasmus 1998: 187).

According to Blum (2001: 27) the consensus of the West implied that the human population could be divided into essentially and naturally distinct 'races'. The modern conceptualization of race was characterized as having roots and origins in the same way natural taxonomies have (Erasmus 1998: 179). Due to the complex nature of the term race, classical racial groups were regarded as possessing certain fixed characteristics. Among these, the mental and physical qualities of racial groups were limited to the specificity of that group while rooted in the group's nature, which in turn, were understood biologically. Furthermore, such qualities were believed to have been passed down through generations.

Blum argues that the differences between the various racial groups were fixed and unchangeable, and was "thought to follow from their biological character" (2001: 25). As they differed in phenotypic characteristics, especially in their skin colour, eye colour, hair texture or facial features, these markers served as references to internal characteristics definitive of their race. Thus, pseudo-scientific understanding of the various racial groups assumed that they originated from "continent-defined regions of the world (blacks in sub-Saharan Africa, whites in Europe, and so forth)" (Blum 2001: 26). Nevertheless, these phenotypic strands of race are thought to have influenced South African racial thought, especially "as a component of Afrikaner nationalism and racialism" (Blum 2001: 26).[24]

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[24]In the construction of Afrikaner nationalist identity, not only was the nation imagined as a family and mobilized to depict a nationalist identity, but built on the concept of establishing a white minority rule. This is depicted via a metaphor of blood and soil for the nation, which then suggest that this metaphor of blood and soil also becomes important to nationalism.

Deriving from a full-fledged biologically based scientific racism of the late nineteenth century, scientific racism also became relevant in South Africa as it coincided "with the rise of social imperialism in Europe and the emergence of modern segregationist thought in South Africa" (Dubow 1995: 2). This introduced a pseudo-scientific dimension to the intellectual racism practiced in South Africa which, Dubow argues also "bears the assumption that scientific enquiry proceeds in a linear progression and that knowledge and rational understandings are perfectible" (1995: 3).[25]Yet South African race discourses, as I will discuss later, were largely premised on social and cultural differences rather than 'scientific' biological notions.

While notions of race were partially informed by biological determinism influenced by scientific racism, this eventually made way for "international censure of biological racism in the aftermath of Nazism" (Posel 2001: 53). In the case of South Africa, however, racist assumptions continued to be embedded in common sense thinking, and was characterized by a "relative absence of eugenist and social Darwinist theories" (Dubow 1989: 31). Viewing race as social and not biological construct, masks a biologistic racial ideology that play a vital role in establishing the experience of racialized groups, and assumes that such experiences are "deeply conditioned by the classic racist and racist ideology" (Blum 2001: 30).Thus, depending on one's race, this 'common sense' further empowered the state to wield power through means of racial classifiers such as ones hair texture, eye colour as well as nose shape for example.

The inseparable relationship that existed between race and class acted as a foundation on which social, political, and economic hierarchies were based. Erasmus's writings on coloured identity, for instance, proposes an anti-essentialist conception of race, in which class is seen as the underlying logic, in stark contrast to historical/biological/scientific understandings of race as something that exists outside of history and power relations (1998: 186). In the context of a modern urban-industrial South Africa, "classes are defined by the relationship their members have to the common economic system of society" (Bekker 1993: 20). In a society composed of a middle class, a bourgeoisie and a working class (also known as the proletariat), class categories mainly referred to the different economic interests of class

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[25] However, there is a paradox at play when the racial theory is rejected as pseudo-scientific. This rejection "initially arose out of post-war anti-racist consensus which utilized the findings of modern population genetics to declare that 'race' was a biological 'myth' whose meaning was socially constructed rather than intrinsic" (Dubow 1995: 3).

communities, that further contribute to a class consciousness. According to this model, race can be seen as the invention of a permanent 'under-class' to supply capital with labour.

To summarise: the South African classification system depended on bio-culturalist notions of race, which drew on socio-cultural readings and bodily differences. Central to this view, bodies become signifiers of power, status and worth "in a hierarchy that privileged whiteness" (Posel 2001: 64). Consequently, the racial reasoning in modern South Africa implied race as a lived experience experienced through social and biological modalities. For Posel the essence of an absolute 'common sense' regarding racial difference, "contributed directly to the enormous powers wielded by racial classifiers and rooted in the marginality of everyday life" (2001: 87). Essentially, racial differences ratified and legitimized social hierarchies that were held up as evidence for such differences. To this end such differences were exemplified by lawfully classifying South African citizens into a hierarchy of types with various accesses to human rights.

Through the materialization of race, the concept of race was normalized and naturalized "through its visibility and assumptions about culture" (1998: 181). It is the complex understanding of identity that force one to think of race in terms of ethnicity.[26] Ethnicity, or deep cultural difference, is a further entrenchment of racial difference as fundamentally cultural. In this vein, Clarke (2008: 520) argues that "ethnicity only apply to the scrutinized 'other' and is disengaged from ideas of 'race' and 'nation'".[27] As a result, ethnicity is always present in the political and social sphere.

Biological myths of race remained relevant insofar that it "aligned readings of bodily difference closely with differences of class, lifestyle and general repute (loosely subsumed under the rubric of 'culture')" (Posel 2001: 53). Thus, race and culture became the markers of human **superiority** and **inferiority.** Race, however, cannot be excluded from notions of inferiority and superiority, hierarchy and persecution because using the term implies an

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[26] By ethnic groups I refer to people who are conscious of themselves as subjects and united in terms a shared destiny or shared heritage.

[27] The enlightenment discourse of the 'other', Hall argues to always contrast with Western ideas that measured social progress. The 'other' was constituted as the opposite of "what the West stood for at the center of the discourse of civilization, refinement, modernity and development in the West" (Makhanya 2011: 17). The 'other', viewed as the dark side - forgotten, repressed and ultimately denied.

"acceptance of the existence of biological differences between human beings and differences which express the existence of distinct, self-producing groups" (Miles 1993: 2).

2.3 Racial discourses

In the context of modern South Africa, race has been continuously scrutinized, especially because it "took on different meanings among different groups at different times" (Bekker 1993: 17). Erasmus (1998: 179) elaborates on the intertwined relationship of race and culture (as an expression of race) informing racial discourses which would later inform apartheid ideology. As racial discourses continued to be prominent in modern South Africa, a growing concern of the government was for urban planning to reflect and implement the notion of deep cultural differences by socially engineering racial segregation.

As an overarching fault line, race became fundamental to organizing the allocations and opportunities of all resources. The basis of all spatial demarcation, planning and development within the boundary of social interaction, were parts of the social and moral order that needed to be described and defended (Posel 2001: 52). Inevitably, race shaped state policy (and vice versa) as it facilitated the overwhelming racialization of South African society (Posel 2001: 88).

More importantly, the pseudo-scientific doctrines of social Darwinism and eugenics were particularly vital in the South African social sphere, and laid its concerns for racial purity at its core. Dubow (1989: 31) pays particular attention to the three areas of political debates that social Darwinism feature in. In short, he argues that these doctrines engender a universal fear of racial degradation in the industrial context, as well as "an unquestionable acceptance of the 'evils' of miscegenation" (Dubow 1995: 7).[28]

Lingering doubts about biological differences between races, however, allowed room for insecurity and fears around white supremacy. The idea of innate racial difference focused mostly on Africans and generated much speculation as to whether Africans were fundamentally of lesser intelligence. While most of the emphasis was placed on Africans and the native question, the perception of other race groups, such as coloureds, who were seen

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[28]The South African industrial revolution that occurred from 1870 to 1910, was a result of the discovery of minerals. In this context, labour forces required cheap unskilled labourers to work in factories and workshops. In turn, labourers were only allowed to live in the towns they worked.

as between black and white, was inconclusive and thus "offered hope for the ultimate achievement of liberal ideals", insofar as coloureds could be seen as capable of assimilation (Dubow 1989: 33).

On the one hand, South African advocates of eugenics believed in its equivocal message that supported the preservation of racial superiority within its politics of racial segregation. As class and ethnic divisions surfaced, it was clear that "white society was anything but homogeneous" (Dubow 1995: 166). To maintain white prestige Dubow argues that the Afrikaner shifted its focus from associations with white poverty because of the inter-war years, to its assertion of racial superiority over black subjects (Dubow 1995: 166).

Furthermore, the increasing number of black Africans in the country and their racial 'vigor', were fundamental in defining the 'native question'. Dubow (1995: 168) argues that the "transforming power of the mineral revolution and the experience of industrialization raised the issue of the political relationships between black and white in an acute form". These were however, problematic as it "compounded classic eugenic anxieties about the birth-rate of 'residuum' with new fears about race degradation" (Dubow 1995: 168).

2.3.1 Segregation

For various politicians, writers and observers, the fear of racial degradation immensely influenced the formulation of "the theory of racial segregation in the wake of the South African war" (Dubow 1995: 168). According to Worden (2000: 82) segregation was "predicated on the perceptions of racial difference and developed in the aftermath of colonialism". In attempts to preserve the traditional power structure of the South African white government, segregation was adopted as an ideology and fundamental to the framework of a divide and rule society. Expanding on separationist tendencies in language, religion and ethnocentric tradition, the policy "officially segregated and hierarchically ordered race-castes with separate ideologies" (Adam 1971: 39).[29]

Subsequently, racial hierarchy relied on socio-statistical information to understand and control various ethnic groups and subgroups. These groups, further defined by their language,

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[29] Ethnocentrism refers to ways of seeing the world and values, and imply that a cultural identity is more superior than others.

religion and cultural tradition, commonly participated in an industrialized economy striving towards economic interdependence (Adam 1971: 39).

Stemming from an extension of modernist urban planning and a purely functionalist vision of the city, the state's efforts to racially sanitize the city, is most concretely demonstrated when coloured people were forcibly shipped out to mon-race spaces– an experience fundamental to their complex identities.

In this context, segregation in the urban environment was to be implanted as a strategy preventing the racial deterioration of black and whites. The cardinal principle of segregation in the racial configuration of Cape Town, "represented a test case for reversing African urbanization, since it was the furthest city from any African reserve" (Angelini 2003: 16). As a result, the state's retroactive efforts induced compulsory urban segregation through the explicit designation of racial geographic zones.

The principles of residential segregation and single-land use zoning regulations, for instance, are central in informing the writings of Ernst Stubbs, who warns that the continuous communication between black and white would utterly ruin the white races of modern South Africa (Dubow 1995: 169).[30] For Stubbs, the 'slave state' known as South Africa, consisted of 'white aristocracy' superimposed upon a 'black proletariat'. Due to the existence of poor whites as a sign of 'decay' in this 'slave economy', the regeneration of the white race was vital in "facilitating the emergence of a healthy laboring class" (Dubow 1995: 169).

The degradationist paradigm was thus crucial to segregationist discourse, as it portrayed blacks as 'naturally' part of the land, where "tribal forms of social organization were to be preserved" (Dubow 1995: 169). In contrast, it was believed that Africans needed to be protected from the decay and pollution of the city's alien environment. Urban Africans, however, were prone to corruption in forms "ranging from prostitution and thieving, to the acquisition of industrial and political consciousness" (Dubow 1995: 170).

Drawing from the doctrine of civilization, a state that was deemed foreign to Africans, the recurring image of the African sophisticate aping western manners was held in contempt as Africans were believed to be able to revert to barbarism at any time. It can thus be argued

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[30] Also see Stubbs, E. 1925. *Tightening Coils: An essay on segregation.*

that in the vulnerability of whites "in the face of 'vigorous' and 'virile' mass of Africans flooding into cities", politicians were readily provided with material for manipulation in their segregationist vocabulary (Dubow 1995: 181).

2.3.2 Miscegenation

The language of eugenics often entailed a contemporary obsession with the creation 'hybrid races' and was obsessed with the spectre of miscegenation. Interracial sex was believed to sap the fibre of white civilization, and concern with race 'pride' and 'purity' exposed "a fear not merely of interracial sexuality, but of its supposed result, the decline of the population" (Dubow 1995: 180). For the white race, thought to be a pure race, the mixture of blood through miscegenation was an important concern. In an article of faith of the South African nation, Jan Marais suggested that the philosophy of blood and race directly lead to "a passionate aversion to miscegenation" (2006: 153). [31] Thus, as a product of such repugnance, miscegenation was understood to result in polluted offspring that were inferior to the pure, civilized white race.

Understanding racialized identities and the particularity of the experiences of coloured subjects defeats reductionist notions of blackness and whiteness as homogeneous identities. The specificity of coloured identity formations precludes the common view of coloured identity as lacking, instead of as a positive presence (Erasmus 2001: 15). These challenge the common perceptions of black and white as homogeneous binary opposites (Erasmus 2001). Erasmus argues that although coloured identity became a vital part of black and African experience, it cannot be isolated from its complexity. For some, the discomfort of being coloured were evident "in attempts to reconstruct a sense of purity based on claims to ethnicity and indigenous roots" (Erasmus 2001). Indeed, at the extreme end of racist opinion, coloured people were subjected to belief systems which characterized their identity as 'lacking', supplementary or even non-existent. For Adhikari (2006: 253), the consequence of their miscegenated origins placed coloured people in an intellectually and morally inferior positions as second-class citizens in society.[32]

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[31]As an Afrikaner nationalist thinker, Jan Marais held up Vervoedian beliefs that the white pure race needed to be preserved.

[32]Adhikari (2006: 152) posit that these origins refer to the sexual stereotyping of coloured women, "their willingness to have sex with white men was not seen merely to be due to their prurience". Indeed, these

According to Erasmus et al. (1999: 183), coloured identity is shaped by various racist discourses, influenced by "complex networks of concrete social relations rather than seeing coloured as a particular category of individuals and/or as simply an imposed name". Historically discourses about coloured identity was linked to notions of race mixture (Erasmus 2001: 18), and, thus, colouredness when understood as an inherent racial condition, sees this category of individuals as the result of an admixture of black and white. However, it is precisely this understanding that can be understood as "the fundamental misconception associated with the identity" (Adhikari 2006: 151).

Adhikari (2006: 157) argues that "it is through the misconception about their racial hybridity that the stigma of illegitimacy has also been imputed to coloured people". The enduring myth of coloured people as half-caste "resulted from prostitution and casual sex between slave and Khoisan women in the one hand and passing soldiers and sailors on the other" (2006: 157).[33] While inseparable from the illegitimacy associated with coloured people, the assumptions contributed to the lack of heritage or pedigree they had.[34]

Closely linked to the vital role of language in the construction of colouredness, are the negative stereotypes that were internalized by many working class coloured people. Among them lies the belief of the coloured 'breeding weakness'. According to Adhikari (2006: 155) the common view was that the progeny of racially mixed sexual unions exhibited the combined and even exaggerated weaknesses of their progenitors, and the positive attributes were diluted or lost altogether. The perceived inherent racial traits of coloured people (such as dishonesty, a lack of endurance and physical stuntedness), all contributed to the effects of

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relations were only made possible through the execution of power by white men over coloured women, which always put them in the position to demand sex at any given time.

[33] It is worth noting that the Cape did not establish a vigorous slave culture in the same way most new world slave societies did. Instead it utilized an atomized pattern of slave holding that developed an extreme ethnic diversity of a slave population that resulted in the high death rate among importees. Slaves were assumed to be incapable of transmitting a coherent body of learnt behavior and communal experience. Although Malay identity, for example, always drew, and continues to draw on associations of a slave past [perhaps this would be a good place for a footnote that incorporates the text above], it often depended "on the participation of free blacks who had the personal freedom to maintain a culturally distinct lifestyle" (Adhikari 2006: 160).

[34] Furthermore, the illegitimacy refers to the genesis of the coloured community as being conceived in 'sin' (2006: 157). This notion contributed to the racial discourses that implied that coloured people were a special breed and inevitably defective. Such racist modes of thinking brings to mind the Jan Van Riebieck joke where coloured people were believed to be "a consequence of the devil's hapless attempts at imitating God's creation of humanity" (2006: 158).

racial mixture or 'gebasterheid' (bastardization) which allegedly made coloureds morally weak (2006: 155).

With the perceptions of racial hybridity, coloured subjects became painfully aware of the term 'malau', frequently used among the coloured working class, which reinforced racial prejudices of coloured people as 'mixed-breeds' and having no nationhood, identity, culture or land (Adhikari 2006: 154). Deriving from the Xhosa *amalawu*or *ilawu* (translated as bushmen or bushman), dictionaries often defined malau as 'Hottentot' (Adhikari 2006: 154). In a study of the social groups of South Africa, Wilson and Mafeje (1963: 13) illustrate how the term signified rogue coloured people who had neither customs or traditions. In contrast, more nuanced studies referred to coloured people "who are acultural, bastardized and authentic in neither blackness nor whiteness" (Stone 1991: 357, cited in Adhikari 2006: 154). With the adoption of the vernacular Afrikaans colloquialism, malau thus signified the lack of cultural and racial integrity of coloured people, which deemed them rootless in comparison to Africans, who were characterized as full pure blooded subjects with a history and culture that dated back centuries (2006: 154). Closely linked to the vital role of language in the construction of colouredness, such negative judgements were internalized by many working class coloured people.

Similarly, Posel (2001: 54) argues that coloured peoples were perceived as situated between white and black 'blood' pools, each pulling in opposite directions, and that the absence of a fixed, officially authorized, racial categorization, made for ambiguity in their identification with any particular racial group, which in turn allowed individuals to racially move either up or down in the racial ladder depending on their circumstances. In the sphere of work, for example, the offspring of some fair-skinned coloured parents could pass as white, while coloureds who married into 'native' families were accepted as being 'native' (Posel 2001: 54). Racial mobility would thus later be sanctioned, and "allowed that well-educated 'natives' to be 'promoted'" to coloured.

Since miscegenation is rooted in a discourse of race and degeneracy, it stigmatized coloured identity with a sense shame that could be exploited by the apartheid state. Furthermore, the proposed open discriminatory legislation would exploit social and popular notions of racial difference and the links between skin colour, miscegenation, and sexual shame. The complex

nature of associations of impurity is clearly demonstrated in Sara (*Saartjie*) Baartman as an example of a body of shame.[35]

In the popular racial discourses of the time, coloured racial traits were often associated with Khoisan heritage. Adhikari (2006: 159) notes that:

> "the negative characteristics attributed to the Khoisan have thus been projected onto the coloured grouping as a whole, invoking images of laziness, irresponsibility, dirtiness and a penchant for thievery which are often assumed to have been inherited from their Khoisan ancestors. It is argued that the association with Khoisan progenitors, was due to the lack of corresponding identification with a slave heritage" (Adhikari 2006: 159). [36]

While coloured identity was often associated with Khoisan heritage and a 'savage' past, its association thus become extremely derogatory insofar that it referred to images of ugliness, repulsive social practices and social inferiority (Adhikari 2006: 159). Terms such as *boesman* (Bushman or San) and *Hottentot* implied racial slurs which in turn defined coloured people by certain physical characteristics. Adhikari (2006: 159) argues that the connotation of such racial slurs and negative stereotyping of coloured people, instilled through school history lessons, displayed the deep opprobrium and emotive associations attached to the terms.

The state's efforts to geographically reinforce the racial discourses of coloured people through segregation relied on coloured as a homogeneous category. Terms such as race and ethnicity were thus interchangeably used.

2.4 Apartheid legislation

After 1948, the politically dominant Afrikaner nationalist party, driven by the desire to maintain racial boundaries, developed the concept of apartheid. Dubow discusses how the

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[35] Sara (*Saartjie)* Baartman was a Khoisan woman from a colonial farm in the Eastern Cape. Due to her large buttocks and dark skin colour, colonial Europeans were fascinated with her unusually large buttocks and dark skin being so different to their. Wicomb (1998: 92) examines this in an analysis of Baartman's body as a site of shame. As a black female 'other', seen as an exotic object ascribed with physical, social or linguistic features masqueraded as markers of difference. Similarly, the coloured body can be treated in the same way Wicomb examines Baartman. For an elaborated discussion, see Jacobs, R. 1999. *The Slave Book.* Cape Town: Karla Books.
[36] According to Adhikari (2006: 160) the high death rate combined and extreme ethnic diversity in slave holdings, restricted slaves from establishing a coherent body of learnt behavior. This was partly due to the communal experience of slaves from one generation to the next (Adhikari 2006: 160).

social engineers of apartheid drew on the common and popular beliefs on race discussed above, knowing that race could never be scientifically measured as having a biological essence with innate phenotypic characteristics. Despite this knowledge, they continued to strive towards a discriminatory social system, which severely affected its coloured people, by treating 'coloured' as a real, differentiated racial category (Hendricks 2001: 73). The racial identity of coloured South Africans were therefore entrenched in the institutionalization of apartheid policies, and reveal the uneasy interaction between its parallel discourses of white domination and separate development (Norval 1996: 119).

As a solution to the overriding sense of social chaos and moral peril, the apartheid project was informed by heightened discipline, regulation and surveillance of the South African population. For the state, this simply meant reasserting and reorganizing spaces, systemizing and containing movements of people, rescuing races from impurity as well as 'rehabilitating and salvaging' the discipline of tribal life (Posel 2001: 52).

Apartheid's **racial project** aimed to effectuate separation between the various racial groups and "enforce segregationist policies that stunted homogeneous categories of subjects to design and influence their own destiny" (Posel 2001: 52). Based on a classification system influenced by the science of race, the architects of apartheid recognized "race as a construct with cultural, social and economic dimensions" (Posel 2001: 53). As a social standing, definitions of race built on "prevailing social conventions of social difference" (2001: 53).

The aspiration of apartheid as a **political project** engenders it as "inseparable from the imagining of race and racial difference, and the nationality implicated in it" (Posel 2001: 53). Central to the state's aspiration to order society "lay a vigorous and thorough reassertion of racial difference" (Posel 2001: 52). Posel thus argues that apartheid's principal imaginary was of a society, where "every race knew and observed its proper place - economically, politically and socially". Thus, the cultural and biological tautological 'evidence' provide a "hybrid conceptualization of race that lay at the core of apartheid's racial project, and enabled a practice of racial differentiation far more insidious and tenacious in its grip on everyday life" (Posel 2001: 53). Despite the scientific and taxonomical precisions surrounding racial differentiation, Dubow argues that apartheid would have been unsuccessful if it had not made provision for the way in which people differed in their appearance, descent and social acceptance (2014: 38).

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Apartheid's definitions of racial categories were deliberately made fluid as it tied in closely to hierarchies of social class (Dubow 2006: 55). To this extent, categories were validated through tests of race that would inevitably build on existing racial discourses within their specific communities.

Furthermore, the basic epistemological premise employed by the apartheid state argued that race and racial difference was self-evident, which in turn presumed they constituted a stable fact of life in South Africa (Posel 2001: 63). Race ideology was built on a widespread consensus that humanity comprised a series of differentiated races that differed in fundamental ways despite ideological and political contestations around appropriate conclusions drawn from this social fact (Posel 2001: 63). Essentially, the fluidity and uncertainty of race enabled the apartheid state to redefine its meaning so as to suit its changing laws.

In hindsight, apartheid sought to control all social interactions based on racially classifying groups, limiting their places of residence, public services, equal access and provision of public goods (Posel 2001: 73). The strategies of segregation implemented geographical, social and economic separation and limited interaction between different racially defined groups. Thus, individuals could socially not exist outside their racial groups. It is within this context that the legislation of apartheid was racially secured through social and individual prejudice that in turn, enforced a strategy of division. It is within these socially engineered enclaves, that distinct racial cultures were made to exist. In that sense, for the purposes of this thesis, a coloured identity and culture was constructed which informed the art practice, I will argue later, of the artists I explore.

2.4.1 Mixed Marriages Act 1949

 Among the strategies adopted by the apartheid state, was the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act passed in 1949. Although marriage across colour lines became less common in the twentieth century, it was with the implementation of this act that interracial marriage as well as any sexual relations across colour lines, was legislatively prohibited. In most cases, racially mixed families consisted of various racial family members– a threat that could mean the splitting up and destruction of family units and unified households. In addition, it became common practice for couples to be followed by police, especially those coloured and Africans

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involved with white individuals. This law thus made mixed-race couples suffer continuous humiliation and persecution as their privacy was invaded by police (Du Pre 1994, cited in Jacobson et al., 2004: 444).

2.4.2 Population Registration Act 1950

Additionally, an attempt to classify and record the South African population into clearly defined races, is evident in the passing of the Population Registration Act. For the most part, this act implemented racialized governance and racial surveillance of subjects in the workplace, urban space, political office, public transport and leisure facilities. This law further ensured that every newborn be assigned to an official racial category within the four-tier system, which drew   on an understanding of race as a biological category as well as a factor that directly impacted every aspect of one's social existence in apartheid South Africa. According to Posel (2001: 54) racial categories were invoked in various but inconsistent ways, particularly for coloured individuals as impure subjects who were characterized as an admixture of blood. In contrast, black Africans were characterized by their customary marriage contract through the payment of *labola*. These contrasting ways of invoking racial categories thus contributed to the complexity of the coloured categorization, understood as not white enough and not native enough (Dubow 2014: 38). The ambiguous position of coloured within the black and white binary, justified the state's visions for segregated utopia which ultimately declared the Western Cape as a coloured labour preference area (Trotter 2009: 50).

2.4.3 Group Areas Act 1950

Moreover, apartheid further subjected coloured subjects in the implementation of the Group Areas Act. In light of this, Christopher (1994: 106) argues that the Group Areas Act passed in 1950 initially aimed to "effect the total urban spatial segregation of the various population groups defined under the Population Registration Act". In effect, areas in towns and cities were racially designed to confine exclusive ownership and occupation to those living in it.

Furthermore, it became the cornerstone of the state's vision of total segregation (apartheid) that would essentially legally eliminate competition for urban space.

However, Christopher (1994: 109) argues that the areas that were set aside for coloured and Indian occupants, for example, remained small and peripheral. Although the proclamation of existing areas to be newly designated as white was aimed at excluding Indian and coloured people from central business districts, many designated group areas established in the late 1950s and early 1960s, were abolished. In his regard, the Group Areas legislation specifically derived from the desire to erase the most salient symbol in the construction of coloured identity in apartheid South Africa. Nonetheless, its application in the 1980s the prompted state for a more generous approach to problems in coloured and Indian communities (Christopher 1994: 114).

Through such legislative action, the apartheid state aimed to control South Africa's non-European citizens more broadly, and coloured people specifically, were subordinated through a panoply of forced removals – a practical outcome inherently linked to apartheid ideology of racial difference and segregationist policies.

2.5 Impact on coloured subjects

While sex and interracial marriage was outlawed by the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act of 1949, coloured people remained objects of scrutiny as they were relocated to flatlands and townships outside central Cape Town by the Group Areas Act of 1950. According to Adhikari, "their forced racial classification under the Population Registration Act of 1950, which categorized all South Africans according to race, made the implementation of rigid segregation possible" (2005: 4).

As registered citizens of an officially designated race, South Africans came to realise that this classification would inevitably influence every aspect of life, stripping citizens of their voting rights which deprived them the chance to be fully South African in their own right (Erasmus 1998: 181). To demonstrate the powerlessness of the coloured community, the removal of coloureds from the voter's role stripped them of the chance to be fully South African.[37]

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[37] Following the passing of the Union in 1910, coloured people were removed from the common voter's role in 1924. The factors that contributed to

Adhikari (2005: 9) posits that, to understand the complexity of coloured identity, one has to take account of the continuous hope of acceptance into the dominant society, in which the common belief was that acceptance was based on personal merit and that individuals could therefore assimilate into mainstream 'white' society if they were 'good enough'. This acceptance into the dominant society was still viewed as a worthwhile prize to be earned in the context of an ever intensified segregated society. This was especially true in the affiliations with whiteness amongst coloured leaders and communal organizations, who aimed to demonstrate the extent to which they lived up to the norms of white class respectability (Adhikhari 2006: 476).

In this instance, the coloured subject, sharing in the 'white-mindedness' of the coloured community, not only attached emotional value to the superiority of western culture, but perceived themselves as closer to western culture than Africans. To this end, the relative privilege of coloured individuals forced them to accept their racial hybridity as an integral part of their being (Adhikhari 2006: 156). Their dilemma of being coloured thus, engendered the 'painful' process of living entangled between black and white stained with "fragments of her slave, Khoisan and Dutch ancestry" (Erasmus 2000). In this regard, the kind of blackness in the living experience of coloured people, Erasmus views as a way of living "without certainty that can evoke nostalgia and a sense of loss of 'pure' origins and memory" (Adhikhari 2001: 170).

Nonetheless, the belief systems of coloured leaders legitimized and justified their cause to be included into the body politic, and ultimately be socially accepted as equal to whites. To this end, these aspirations acutely demonstrated in the coloured individuals who were willing to disown their family, friends and former lives. Ultimately, their assimilationist aspirations were misplaced in the social and political realities of segregated South Africa (Adhikari 2005: 10). As politicized coloureds were denied opportunities to assimilate into white society, the coloured petty-bourgeois had no other alternative but to "mobilize along racial lines to defend their rights and promote their interests as a group" (2005: 10).

The implementation of apartheid policies and its draconian developments, however, did not exhaust assimilationist dreams. According to Adhikari (2005: 10) acceptance into the dominant society was evident in willingness for some coloured individuals to disown their affiliation with coloured communities and families by attempting to pass for white. Adhikari (2005: 11) argues that the coloured elite's association to whiteness and their distancing from

Africanness is "the most consistent and inconsistent element in their expression of coloured identity". With regards to the various self-identifications of coloured leaders and the coloured petty-bourgeoisie, assimilation contributed to the intermediate status of coloured in the South African racial hierarchy

The intermediate status of coloured, for instance, is captured in the in the symbolism of 'brown' - a term that was firmly entrenched in Afrikaans such as *bruinman* (coloured man)or *bruimens* (coloured person) (Adhikhari 2006: 478). In contrast, *kleurling* was used as a conventional descriptor for coloured, which later, was viewed to be a *narewoord.* The common usage of *bruin* in Cape Vernacular Afrikaans, thus implied a general acceptance of this description of themselves as coloured (Adhikari 2006: 478). Essentially, this intermediate status, exacerbated by political powerlessness and fears, in turn, "reinforced exclusivity and encouraged a separatist strategy with respects to Africans within the coloured political leadership" (Adhikari 2005: 11).

In addition, there was ambivalence present amongst the coloured petty bourgeoisie. Adhikari (2005: 13) explains that "while their assimilationism tended to dampen separatist tendencies within the coloured community, their desire to protect their status of privilege relative to Africans pushed coloured people into asserting their own distinct identity". Consequently, political organizations were still forced to organize on a racial basis, despite the discrimination of coloured people. Further attempts to enforce a self-controlling ideology such as segregationism, confirmed its aims to self-enforce segregation. In addition to these factors, Adhikhari (2005: 13) argues the ambiguous position of the coloured community in the racial hierarchy was central in reinforcing and reproducing coloured identity.

Various politically organised groups were fundamental in later resistance movements such as the Black Consciousness Movement. Racial activists sought to combat the racial domination by defining black South Africans as those who are politically, economically and socially discriminated against. The wake of this movement established certain discourses present among radical activists in the 1970s and 1980s, disregarded coloured as a category. The unease and rejection of the racial labelling of apartheid ideology was necessary in the mass mobilisation of politics "amongst all South Africans opposed to the apartheid state" (Erasmus et al. 1999: 170). Erasmus explains that in the context of emerging Africanist lobby, debates about the place of coloured activists arose were centred around the concept of the **so-called**

coloured (Erasmus et. al. 1999: 170). While many coloured citizens conformed to apartheid legislation, others saw themselves as followers of political organizations, adopting boycott strategies to refuse any participation in the explicit racism in apartheid South Africa.

Overall, the paternalism in the lived relations of many South Africans, bound black and white together and "presented white supremacy as part of the natural order of things" (Dubow 1989: 31). **Deriving from** a liberal civilizing mission, its ideals "jarred those who favoured a form of separate development without repression, and become vital components" in the ideological discourses of apartheid (Dubow 1989: 35). Key members of the liberal establishment, influenced by early social anthropology, thus adopted a theory of culture that offered new and valuable ways of viewing the 'changing native' in contrast to the Cape coloured (Dubow 1989: 35). This view of culture, in turn, proposed a distinctive African mentality, which relied on the anthropological concept of culture as relativistic. Considering the way in which culture was popularly used in society, culture reveals itself as diverse in its connotations, where at times it is used as a synonym for civilization, where culture is perfectible, and other times used as a synonym for race. The latter however, took on an immutable character as its static quality assumed a biologically determined nature of coloured as a racial category. Through these contradictions, Dubow (1989: 35) argues that this anthropological notion of culture was implicitly racist and openly hostile to traditional theories of assimilation, and thus, allowed room for a gradual process of 'racial upliftment'. As a result, the popular notion of culture, as disseminated by anthropologists "came to serve as a credible linguistic peg which the segregationist compromise was hung" (Dubow 1989: 35).

To conclude, the constructed nature of coloured identity, informed by certain discourses circulated in the dominant society, was understood as a racially hybrid identity. In this context, understanding race as a social construct and as signifiers of identity, to a certain extent challenges the common perceptions of black and white as homogeneous binary opposites. With the vision of creating a cleansed society, apartheid ideologies were fuelled by fears of racial mixing, miscegenation and shame further bound up in coloured identity which subsequently impacted the way coloured subjects viewed themselves as an 'other' in dominant racial discourses.

This chapter not only reveals the ambiguous nature of coloured identity, but also how complex its construction is within the social and political contexts of modern South Africa, and particularly the apartheid era.

Due to the cosmopolitan nature of coloured identity, their identities were thus forced into a racialized kind of suburbia, which imposed an identity which was not of their own choosing (Zegeye 2001: 229). Essentially, the characteristics that supposedly defined coloured culture in the community of District Six, were seen as deleterious, and was finally eradicated by means of forced removals in 1968. As a result, these removals essentially disrupted the concept of community and home, and will be culturally deconstructed in the following chapter.

Chapter 3: Practicing art in Cape Town and District Six

Introduction

The recollection of the memories of District Six and the way it was viewed were vital in the construction of coloured identity in South Africa during apartheid. Within the political context of a marginal existence, its inhabitants placed emphasis in trying to preserve their identity and space through various documentation of the area. The focus on District Six is especially evident in the works of Lionel Davis, Albert Adams, George Hallett as well as Gavin Jantjes who were either born and raised in the area, or were forcibly removed with their families. Although Peter Clarke did not live in District Six, he attended art classes in the area and often associated himself within a broader political struggle of the marginalized group affected by the Group Areas Act of 1950.

In this chapter, I propose to sketch a cultural context of District Six and analyse the factors which characterized the area as a heterogeneous cultural entity and as a 'home' or community, in order to frame the background for the artistic practice of the six coloured artists covered in this thesis. This chapter covers work produced mainly before and during the destruction of District Six, which means that memory and cultural reconstruction is also at play. To do this, I rely on Stuart Hall's (1996) interrogation of cultural identity as a continuous play of history, culture and power. Building on Michel Foucault's theories on subjectification and power, and Michel de Certeau's (1988) concept of memory, I critically analyse the perception of cultural identity through memory, and how it, in turn, affected these artists' reconceptualization of District Six as a significant and culturally meaningful community.

For many coloured individuals in communities such as District Six, it became vital to construct a positive and agentic coloured identity within the ambiguous liminal culture of the area, which flourished despite intensification of apartheid policies. The Group Areas Act of 1950 and its forced removals which separated out and reconstituted coloured people as intended by the state, had a particularly deleterious effect on coloured artist from this community. As a result of the removals from 1968 to 1988, their sense of home and community were ruptured when they were moved to the Cape Flats to coloured-specific locales such as Bontehewel, Heideveld, and Manenberg. As a result, removees had no choice but to deal with their displacement through circulating specific memories through a nostalgic lens to differentiate themselves from other minority groups in the country, as well as usher an understanding of the history of dislocation and fractured identities among coloured people. The Cape Flats, as a place of expulsion from their former District Six 'home', was viewed as a space where former inhabitants of District Six were assumed to be part of a collective and communal coloured cultural identity. In this regard, the narratives offered a culturally appropriate way for removees to recount the complexities of their cultures and lives emotionally and psychologically.

Apartheid's effects were, however, much more encompassing than just geographical. Indeed, it affected the entire educational system and coloured artists found themselves lost in an interlinked web of racial discourses that denied many an opportunity to harness their artistic skills. To this end, education was used as a tool to further limit coloured artists to skills only deemed relevant to their specific communities. Essentially, the only way for the creative

community of artists to deal with their trauma and with their memories of displacement, was through visual skills obtained from informal art classes taught at community arts centres, particularly the Community Arts Project in Cape Town. Many coloured artists constructed a counter-narrative to apartheid through their depictions of District Six, while others, rejecting apartheid's artificial racial classifications and influenced by the Black Consciousness movement, affiliated themselves with a collective black cultural identity an anti-apartheid strategy.

3.1 District Six as a coloured area (cultural entity)

In order to situate the discourses of coloured identity, this section will briefly give a historical overview of District Six and the way its culture influenced the construction of coloured identity before and after forced removals.

District Six, an area situated within the city bowl, close to Table Mountain, the harbour and the city centre, remained open land until 1838. Once slavery was abolished, the area provided a home for many freed slaves who worked in various factories and businesses in the city. In fact, its central location in the city invited various Jewish, Malay Muslim as well as Indian immigrants, turning this area into the most culturally diverse part of the growing colonial city.

The area was initially designated as District Twelve in 1840 and emerged as a marketplace as well as a residential area for people seeking refuge. In contrast to its official name, its inhabitants called it *kanaladorp* (to do a favour): "the origins of the name reflect the persistently conflicting images of the area: *kanala* derives from the Dutch word for canal or from the Malay language brought to South Africa by slaves" (Angelini 2003: 11). Soudien (2001: 118) argues that "in the Cape patios, *kanala* simultaneously signalled an appeal for help and also an invocation to duty from those in need to those able to help". It was not until the re-division of Cape Town into six districts in 1867, that *kanaladorp* was officially renamed as District Six. Indeed, it was this common awareness of the area as a communal and independent space that "filled [it] with dimensions of colour, of noise, of neighbourhood security and solidarities, of a kind of rough-and-ready street libertarianism which informed the cultural history of District Six" (Nasson 1990: 64, cited in Angelini 2003: 12).

District Six welcomed immigrants from all over the world, including Jews who fled the Tsarist pogroms in Russia, Indians, Chinese, Australians, Malay Muslims, Egyptians, African-

Americans and Caribbean islanders, to mention just a few. Due to the scarcity of housing, residential integration as well as mixed marriages were inevitable. Nonetheless, according to Angelini, District Six "could not be considered an ethnic melting pot, as a social 'hierarchy of pigmentation' did abound" (2003: 11). The quarter, locked in structural poverty, subsequently became home to the underclass and working-class where its tenements had limited facilities coupled with high mortality rates. Essentially, the general neglect from the colonial administrative Council "propagated conditions which led to a devastating 1882 smallpox epidemic and an outbreak of the bubonic plague" (Brickforth-Smith 1990: 39, cited in Angelini 2003: 11).

While the area was known for its poorly facilitated housing and sanitation, the health crisis provoked the municipality to implement its first forced removals of Africans in Cape Town to designated slums like Ndabeni (Lea 2007: 39). Similarly, Maynard Swanson's (1977) seminal study addresses the concept of sanitation syndrome, arguing that the event served to metaphorically emphasize racial difference, "legitimized by medical discourse, and supported colonial attitudes towards urbanism" (Angelini 2003: 11). To this end, legislation regulated the movement of Africans in urban Cape Town, while it simultaneously limited most Africans to live only in rural areas. The general passivity and lack of popular resistance amongst fellow inhabitants to the de-urbanisation of Africans, were "reinforced by skepticism that the state will intervene across the whole area, despite the passing of the Slums Act (1934), which gave the municipal and central government power to acquire, demolish and rebuild decrepit areas (Brickforth-Smith 1999: 147, cited in Angelini 2003: 12).

Despite the demolition of over twenty thousand houses, the rebuilt houses aided in the continuous growth of the inhabitants of District Six, and further contributed to the alleged degradation of the area. These deleterious economic circumstances further informed coloured identity in District Six and reconstituted the area as a space where ethnicity and religious exclusivity became irrelevant. Amongst its place-making qualities such as its colonnaded walkways and sidewalks, its inhabitants generally associated urban life in the area with a high degree of social tolerance which "allowed for a variety of eateries, music clubs, shops and street hawkers" (Lea 2007: 39). The hybridity that constituted District Six's population "defied the racial classifications and thus believed its ambiguity could safeguard the area from threatening decrees based on essentialist categories" (Angelini 2003: 12).

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The racial composition of the area was predominantly coloured, defined as a category neither fitting into the Black, White and Indian racial categories. It is the assumed ill-bred origins of coloured people as products of miscegenation, that in turn constituted District Six as a symbolic home and as a space "continually denigrated by the white minority" (Angelini 2003: 12).

Among its Christian and Muslim coloured inhabitants, were those who frequently spoke English, Afrikaans or both. Essentially, the culturally mixed inhabitants contributed to various classes often sharing one household.

District Six was not only diverse as far as class and race was concerned, but also religion. The cultural identity of Christian coloureds were strongly rooted in the church insofar as it played a decisive role in the institutionalization of social and educational services aimed at the general westernization and Christianization of the coloured people (Cilliers 1963: 57).While the traditional roles of the churches and other religious bodies were vital in almost every sphere of life for the coloured population, the roles of the church and other mission bodies were mainly evident in the admission of more than two-thirds of coloured learners in mission schools.

'Cape Malay', on the other hand, was used to refer to the Muslim coloured inhabitants of the district. The construction of Malay identities stems from nineteenth century constructs and was reinforced by a very specific ethnic consciousness. Ridd (1993: 58) argues that "the strength of Malay as a 'race' came from the work of Malays themselves in creating a community bonded by their religion and in cutting themselves off from outsiders except in their openness to convert". Furthermore, the unique character of Malays in District Six "provided an alternative identity to coloured and an identity that gave them protection within a close-knit community that was discriminated against by religion as well as colour" (Ridd n.d: 58).

As a cultural entity, District Six "imbued its inhabitants with a deep sense of place and belonging" (La Grange 1996: 7). In fact, there was no visible apartheid in the cultural life of District Six. According to Angelini (2003: 15) "District Six supported much of the city's cultural and leisure activities: it held four cinemas, launched the massive New Year's 'coon' Carnival each year, and was intentionally regarded as a jazz capital, rivalling New York City's Harlem".

Other amenities that contributed to the cultural life of the district included Hanover Street's fish markets, clothing and grocery stores, café's and bars. Added to this visceral and sensual experience, were the aromas of Malay food, freshly baked bread and *snoeksmootjies* (made from raw pickled fish, vinegar and spices).

To a certain extent, the *bioscope* (cinema) was a novel form of entertainment among residents. The two influential cinemas in the district were the National Cinema and the British cinema. Despite their traditional uses for screening movies, the venues were used for various other shows like beauty pageants, music and talent shows, that in turn revealed the various aspects of residents' recreational activities. However, cinemas remained a racialized space where "the barriers of entry into particular cinemas -whether this was a matter of racial segregation, expense or geography - may have helped mark and reinforce group identities along the lines of race, ethnicity or class/ 'respectability'" (Brickforth-Smith 2001: 125). The gradations in various cinemas were evident in their variation of soft seats upstairs, hard ones downstairs, or allocating seats along racial lines. In this regard, cinemas not only became social markers, it essentially shaped the construction of coloured identity and class.

Cinema further affected the values of residents as their visual culture stemmed from American films and subsequently influenced dress, hairstyle as well as music in the city. Musicians in Cape Town, for example, followed movie releases to expose themselves to the latest jazz compositions.

In this regard, District Six became a hive for the political activity of various leaders and coloured intellectuals. The Libermann Institute became particularly important to the area as it significantly influenced its intellectual life. The venue offered halls, social rooms as well as lecture rooms to facilitate discussions and debates as a formative site of learning. The plays, lectures and youth groups were open to all working-class peoples. Furthermore, the private library of the institute housed and intellectual group of working class men who discussed numerous classical and scientific subjects.

In addition to these cultural hubs, music was often associated with entertainment and leisure; various musicians in the district utilized music for its transformative social power, political symbolism as well as its ability to reproduce and create cultural life. It was thus a vital medium as "musical forms like jazz impressed an indelible stamp on the cultural landscape".

To a great extent, one could argue that American film influenced the minstrel groups that partook in the New Year's Carnival, as many preferred to adopt American names. The love for music was most popularly expressed in the 'coon' Carnival, a carnival parade that departed from District Six.[38] Amongst the first to celebrate New Years were the Malay choirs, also known as the *nagtroepe* (night troupes), who dressed in costumes and face paint, sang and danced or *ghoema'd* for their fellow spectators.[39] In contrast to traditional melodies sung by these choirs, the modern jazz influence was also strongly evident in their selection. These parades were further symbolic to people as the event became a way of asserting coloured identity in the city centre, and particularly in District Six.

This musical platform additionally acted as a platform where young and old, men and women could strengthen community ties across various religious creeds and cultural affiliations. Coloured men participated in the carnival as a way of expressing their working class identity, while women largely made the costumes for the troupe members (Lea 2007: 40). However, Lea's discussions around the carnival remain complex, as many argue that unless the carnival becomes a unifying agent, it will always just be a spectacle that portrays false images of coloured people (Lea 2007: 40).

In short, the cultural identity of District Six's coloured inhabitants was shaped by various cultural forces, such as the visual culture of American film in cinemas, and musical influences such as jazz and blues. In this regard, the 'coon' Carnival is argued to have been a way of asserting coloured identity within the city centre, aimed to strengthen community ties. Living in close proximity to each other and to the city centre, this diverse group of people arguably obtained a sense of self largely from District Six as a vibrant, heterogeneous community.

3.2 Forced removals

In 1950, the Group Areas Act was introduced, which had disastrous consequences for the cultural cohesion and sense of self of the community of District Six. As long as the fate of

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[38] The New The New Years Coon Carnival dates back to the nineteenth century where freed slaves sang and performed through the streets of Cape Town. According to Jesse (2015: 44) the legacy of coons music often referred to the "depression arising from the solitude and separation from their home countries that they must have felt".

[39] The painted face or blackface of the minstrel repeatedly became an icon in the carnival, and is commonly referred to the antecedents of African American natives who participated in the American minstrel troupes that visited South Africa in the nineteenth century (Jesse 2015: 25).

coloured people remained in the hands of the Group Areas Board (GAB prior to 1966, the racial character of an area as white, coloured or Indian, was still determined after public consultation. Essentially, the fate of District Six was yet to be determined by the GAB.

The District Six community was severely affected, however, when the area was reclassified as a white area in 1966, that essentially ruptured their sense of home through a series of evictions and demolitions which ended in 1982. Amid the state's retroactive efforts to sanitize South African cities, it systematically started implementing the forced removals authorized by the Groups Areas Act of 1950, and explicitly created various new racial geographic zones on the outskirts of the city.

The evictions which forced coloured people to rebuild their lives in the Cape Flats, was viewed as the moment of historical rupture for many coloured South Africans (Trotter 2009: 62). Despite this rupture, their specific response to the injustices of removals set them aside from other differentiated minority groups because of the way removees used nostalgia as a means to portray themselves as survivors of a historical injustice.

According to Trotter (2009: 62) their newly defined townships thus "ensured that their memories were shared almost exclusively with other coloured people, and only infrequently with Africans, Indians and whites". Such removals induced further urban segregation as it spatially determined the way in which coloured memories were circulated in a mutually reinforced pattern of narrative traffic (Trotter 2009: 62).[40]

In this regard, coloured evictees found themselves in a space confronted with a dialogue of presences and absences that in turn, became a coping strategy for them as they felt deprived and alienated in their new homes in the Cape Flats.

While the narratives in Cape Flats townships always spoke to removees' sense of identity and belonging, their memories were still shaped by various ways of remembering District Six. In nostalgic terms, the counter memory relied on themes like the value of lost relationships,

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[40]According to Trotter (2009: 50) these narratives, as meaning making devices, allow the speaker "subtle cues for differentiation in their tacit expressions of inner disposition and latent manifestation" of coloured as a social identity.

grief, identifying with other removees who has similarly lost their communities, as well as nostalgic revocation and treasuring of 'the good times' (Trotter 2009: 62).

In addition, comparative memory posits "an explicit comparison between two distinct moral eras separated by the rupture of eviction" (Trotter 2009: 62). This, according to Trotter, suggests that former communities were edens compared to the postlapsarian townships characterized as a place of temporariness. In this regard, the themes utilized in the 'postlapsarian' townships were largely related to crime, gangsterism, fear, but also positive sentiments such as respect for elders and community spirit (Trotter 2009: 62). However, a common lament among removees remained the sustained to belief that "the destruction of communities brought about the demise of certain wholesome values in their lives" (2009: 59). According to Trotter (2009: 61) "past forms of entertainment are remembered as salubrious, satisfying and culturally expansive". In this way, removees reminisced about recreation and entertainment, as it subsequently reinforced cultural values of families and communities.

On the other hand, this kind of commemorative memory functions as an overriding sentiment that in turn animates the production of such memories. As a way of countering the official discourses of the apartheid state, these idealized recollections connect communities insofar that they romanticize tales and omit negative memories or overwrite them with "successive versions of narrative that is scripted, rehearsed and refined" (Trotter 2009: 62).More importantly, because memory is palimpsestual, it is always subject to revision. In this regard, memories embody one's deepest and fundamental values. Interracial harmony abound in this way of remembering District Six, and satisfies a number of emotional, archival, aesthetic, social and political utilities (Trotter 2009: 62).

Firstly, Trotter (2009: 62) explains, the emotional utility "offers a road to psychological recovery and prospect for healing". It helps the removees, as trauma victims, integrate their experiences with their histories in order to move on with their lives.

Secondly, the archival utility enhances the production of manageable and meaningful sets of memories in search for the 'truth' "against the lies of the government and against the risk of forgetting" (Trotter 2009: 63). In the context of apartheid townships, removee memory relied mainly on oral histories and no official archives, publications or press recordings were systematised to record these narratives.

Thirdly, the aesthetic utility imply "that removees derive pleasure both from the recitation and reception of stories that conform to the commemoration narrative's conventions" (Trotter 2009: 63). As these stories promised removees gratification, it elicited aesthetic expectations from them. This narrative format thus allows removees to communicate meaning successfully.

In addition, the commemorative memory has a social utility insofar that "this kind of sharing allows victims to rebuild their lives together in changing circumstances" (Trotter 2002: 63). It aids removees in understanding their dramatically altered world and thus helps in the construction of new communities in the townships.

More importantly, the commemorative narrative was a culturally appropriate way for removees to recount their lives as they provided personalized proof of the past. These memories of individuals were thus "structured by collectively held narrative conventions and are products of the same discursive constraints" (Trotter 2009: 70).

Lastly, the political utility allows marginally oppressed people to use narrative as a crucial weapon as it could easily be hidden from surveillance by those in power (Trotter 2009: 64). Its political strength lies in the oppressed group's timing to broadcast to the white minority in power. Within the context of the removal, "most victims believed that they were too weak to challenge the government openly" (Trotter 2009: 64). Resistance amongst removees produced underground narratives that went against the government's removal plans. Essentially, removees claimed their communal, collective and individual identities through a degree of personal autonomy implicit in the way they recalled their memories of District Six.

According to Angelini (2003: 22) the halting of the demolitions in 1982, aided in the construction of various shared memories of District Six "in the absence of a material referent". Gibson (2004: 204) adds to the notion of shared memory and argues that shared memory can be defined as a socially acceptable way of understanding one's past. This complex but selective process is rooted in "complex power relations that determine what is remembered and what is forgotten" (Mosely 2007: 101). Similarly, Foucault's notion of remembering becomes a pedagogical practice which further echoes his pivotal dialexis of knowledge / power insofar that it has to strategically use certain "attachments and knowledge for it to serve …social and political interests" (Mosely 2007: 101). These pedagogical practices are thus

"implied in the creation and regulation of meanings, feelings perceptions, identifications and imaginative projection of human limits and possibilities" (Mosely 2007: 105).

While memories form layers where nature and human perception are indivisible, the landscape evidently becomes the work of the mind, which later form layers in constructing memory. Combining landscape features with other cultural perceptions thus offer communities a chance to establish a unique identity "within a context of overwhelming sand-brick-concrete and matchbox sameness in the townships" (Trotter 2009: 69).

As people turned towards their "histories and localities to provide a material basis for symbolic meaning", there are "certain mores, socio-economic conditions, vocational trends, landscape features, spatial configurations and historical events [that] cued the recall, representation, rehearsal and development of" the symbolic significance of District Six as a community (Trotter 2009: 69). The memory of the area thus locate history and coloured identity within District Six where the remembered landscape became a vital repository for the myths and memories the community told itself (Trotter 2009: 69). The link between memory and landscape is therefore common in the construction of tropes of District Six which, in turn, served to create certain ethnic memories.

The collective, communal and individual identities not only bound removees in a web of narrative affiliation, but it also structured their stories. However, Trotter cautions, such conscious declarations of collective coloured identity tends to overlook the perceptions of coloured people who rejects such a collective identity entirely, and chose instead to channel "their energies into separate coloured cultural affiliations" (2009: 65).

According to Trotter, the proliferation of themes in the memories of District Six can be reduced to an identifiable core, namely nostalgic romanticization of District Six as their home and cultural foundation. In this regard, removees established support groups designed to create and circulate these stylized narratives. As a result, these themes "opened up the possibility for these meaningful narratives to be used as a common currency between fellow removees, and ultimately allowed instant legibility" (Trotter 2009: 68). This was done "without demanding removees to sacrifice any of the specificity of their community's or their own experiences" (Trotter 2002: 68). To this end, removees felt connected despite their physical separation, conflicting opinions and divergent aspirations.

Nonetheless, the locality of such memories questions who District Six actually belonged to and subsumes notions of belonging itself, "which serves to provide collective identity and cultural commensality" (Lovell 1998: 4). It stands to reason that the only way removees can belong to a disappeared physical environment, is through the reconstitution of memory.

However, there is a paradox at play. According to Trotter (2002: 68), Hall's (2001) explanation of cultural property gives substance to the current discourse of District Six as it "has been constituted in the act of its destruction… [The] attempt to erase a community has served to lift it from the ordinary, making District Six unique". Trotter points out, via Bhabha, that the site thus becomes a distinctive case of deterritorrialized culture that cannot be limited to a geographic locality, and is "located through the experience of dislocation itself" (Bhabha 1994, cited in Trotter 2002: 68). More importantly, the concept of locality in a South African context, "has been ruptured by a traumatic history" especially in the ways they have been experienced by those who feel as if they belong, those who feel excluded as well as those who has been forced to belong (Angelini 2003: 23).

The discourse of District Six thus operates in an important yet politically strategic way as it textualizes space and inscribes coloured identity onto a demolished site (Angelini 2003: 23). According to Angelini (2003: 23) "writing represents a means of charging the absence of the physical present site with the overwhelming presence of the past community-in-memory". In this regard, the past vibrant community is contrasted with the present-day ruin that has been left barren. It is "this dissonance that iconizes the site as a counter-apartheid (albeit empty) emblem" (cited in Angelini 2003:23).

To this end, removees created a collective coloured identity that "takes precedence over a material construction of urban space" (Angelini 2003: 23). Thus, the narratives created about District Six both privileges and obscures because they are "partial, incomplete and unavoidably ideological" (Soudien & Metzer 2001: 68). Although the discourse of District Six does not function as a unitary text, it is argued that three consistent themes occur, namely the spirit of *kanala* (the spirit of sharing), social harmony and hybridization (Soudien 2001: 119). Amongst the fundamental claims about the area, it was believed that District Six provided a space where everyone knew and were accountable for their roles. According to Soudien (2001: 104) "the space they inhabited, therefore was not only a performative space, but critically, one of accountability too". Despite the overwhelming evidence of community

spirit in all stories about District Six, the value of these stories, in the absence of a material basis for truth and falsity, are influenced by various truths and meanings.

In this regard, the very rupture of forced removals individually impacted the way in which George Hallett, Gavin Jantjes, Albert Adams, Lionel Davis and Peter Clarke understood their circumscribed identity. As a result, the very concept of home, community, culture and space become vital in their visual reconstructions and questioning of colouredness.

3.3 Coloured Education and resistance during apartheid

As mentioned earlier, inequalities between the races were also entrenched by the educational system, which was designed by the apartheid state to create a hierarchy of classes corresponding to the perceived superiority or inferiority of the various racial designations. Education during apartheid remained racially compartmentalized as apartheid policies stressed the need for separate development of coloureds, Indians and blacks, each according to their own 'proper' roles in apartheid society. While the mission schooling system under the direction of white clerics and provisional administration served as the main instrument of coloured education during colonial and early-apartheid rule, the Coloured Person's Education Act of 1963 ensured that the education of coloured people became the concern of the Department of Coloured Affairs, which made schools compulsory for all learners no longer allowed to attend white schools.

Essentially, apartheid aimed to dismantle the vision of mission schools which sought to cultivate the individual rather than extoll ethnic pride, racial identity and 'separateness' in the way that apartheid's education system did. In contrast to the public schooling provided to 'uplift' impoverished white populations, "coloured learners endured conditions of cramping, inadequate provision of utensils and dilapidating buildings" (Brady n.d: 5). The inequality in education was evident in the disproportionate funding which created certain disparities in the learning environment (Ocampo 2004: 1, cited in Brady nd).

In this context coloured school education was defined in two vital stages, namely grades one to two in the first stage, and grades three to five in the second stage of their development. According to Brady (n.d: 4) the end of phase two was significant because "the learner earns qualification for entry into the Senior Secondary phase [where] he/she could elect to drop out and pursue a vocation in the trade industries".

In this regard, the neglect of coloured learners became more comprehensive and led to a consistently low pass rate, "even if the curriculum was inferior to that of whites" (Brady n.d: 4). Evidently, stage two is important insofar that it determined the future of learners depending on their subject choice "towards a particular profession to ensure immediate eligibility for employment upon leaving school" (Brady n.d: 4). This education system further administered Life Orientation and Guidance as subjects to guide learners if they chose to leave school at the end of stage two.

The curriculum apartheid put in place "explicitly and implicitly placed different values on children of different races" (Chrisholm 2001: 2). Chrisholm (2001: 3) argues that "schools promulgated a system of values which amongst other things, promoted racial fears, hatred and conflict". To this end, the state devised an inspectorate education system which enforced teachers to keep to these values. This aspect of constant surveillance became a hallmark of apartheid administration. This panoptic system administered personality and aptitude tests that would, in turn, seamlessly pre-determine the learner's role as a subservient subject in the wider scheme of apartheid society. To a great extent, learners were reared away from technical and vital subjects such as Mathematics and Science, while their skills in 'handy work' prepared them for skilled and unskilled positions upon leaving school.

Coloured education was further limited because most coloured teachers were only qualified at a Primary school level. It was believed that the task of teaching learners within these constricting circumstances, would eventually wear out and demotivate them. In most coloured schools, police and soldiers were deployed to prevent rebellious students from 'agitating' against apartheid. Similarly, Cooper & Subotsky (2001: 7), argue that police and soldiers "may even be in the classrooms during classes, in their uniforms with their guns, and in their strutting arrogance strip the headmaster and staff of any dignity or authority". Even if coloured pupils overcame their circumstances of overcrowded classrooms and under-qualified teachers, financial barriers would have still prevented them from achieving their academic goals.

Despite these administrative measures taken by the education system, coloured intellectuals and activists "realized early on that inclusion and sharing of resources would be a bitterly fraught issue for many decades" (Brady n.d: 4). In response to the Sharpeville shootings in 1964, the Teacher's League of South Africa (TLSA) "served as a mouthpiece and aggregator

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for interests concerning coloured education across the nation" (Brady n.d: 5). As an offshoot of the African People's Organization, the mandate carried out by the TLSA arose from "racial inferiority compounded by whites as well as an innate sense of superiority claimed from slight European ancestry and lifestyle" (Brady n.d: 5). To this end, teachers became vital role models in the amelioration of the socio-economic status of coloured people, exactly because they utilized education as a social platform despite being "revered for belonging to a profession deemed respectable by white standards" (Adhikhari 1994: 116). These circumstances thus fuelled the resistance and rejection of their predetermined roles as subservient subjects.

In essence, education remained a platform that encouraged critical thinking in the face of an authoritarian system. Livingstone High School, for instance, challenged government policies and emphasized the importance of critical thinking. This school, amongst other coloured schools, influenced learners across Cape Town. Furthermore, school became a space where learners were informed about world politics through invited speakers, as well as by showcasing "films and panels about colonialism, capitalism and apartheid" (Brady n.d: 5). In response to the development of critical thinking amongst coloured teachers and learners, the state often "responded by banning, firing, and sometimes arresting teachers" (Brady n.d: 5).

This dedication to militant opposition to apartheid further "stressed the importance of quality education, both academically and politically", that would in turn aid them in achieving a bright future (Brady n.d: 5). Further critical thinking was taught and encouraged by literary and debating societies amongst coloured schools.

According to Ridd (n.d: 48) "the functioning of state run schools became an important tactic of resistance to government policies, with [learners] providing most of the shock troops for this effort". Essentially, the student uprisings "marked a turn-around in the politics of the country" and enabled the coloured youth an opportunity to raise their voice in support of black students against apartheid regulations, to protest against the 'gutter' education, and especially reject Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in schools (Sauls 2004: 16). During the years leading up to following the student protests of 1976, coloured youth and teachers became actively involved in the groundswell of resistance against 'bantu education' and the systematic social engineering of the apartheid state.

With regards to the tertiary education of coloured learners in Cape Town, Sauls (2004: 15) argues that the "tertiary system for non-whites were affected by various discriminatory laws, and the University of the Western Cape (UWC) and later the Peninsula Technikon (Pentech), the so-called 'bush' colleges, were built to serve mainly coloured scholars". Similarly, Bunting (2004: 37) argues that "the foundations of the distinction between universities and technikons lay in the important philosophical underpinning of much of the National Party's ideology, including that concerned with higher education, viz a viz a naïve belief in the existence of 'essences'".

3.4 How apartheid affected art practice

The previous discussion gave some indication of the emotional and traumatic effects and affects of just one aspect of apartheid practice on one community, namely forced removals on the inhabitants of District Six. Within apartheid South Africa, however, the artistic production of coloured artists was severely affected by racial prejudice in many more ways. Mosely (2007: 106) suggests that it is in the nature of the art world that it has the ability to retain a relatively large amount of autonomy, with the result that South African art practice managed to remain reasonably independent from national political projects. In other words, while the artists' relationship to museums and galleries remained influenced by their race, and white artists still enjoyed the privileges of a prominent status due to their formal education, these structural inequalities did not prevent artists of colour to develop a modern artistic idiom. However, black and coloured artists' exposure, and economic success, remained severely constrained within the mainstream white art world .

Nonetheless, Hodgkin & Radstone suggest that the relative autonomy of artists, who can operate in solitude, allows them to produce work in a relatively safe space not necessarily permitted in other public arenas such as politics (2003: 12). The arts and cultural spheres were thus seen as "an appropriate forum in which to address painful histories and experiences of trauma" because of its ability to produce unfinished narratives (Hodgkin & Radstone 2003: 173).

Despite the above-mentioned relative autonomy of visual arts, the arts and culture of coloured people "did not receive the same privileges or attention as that of whites" (Sauls 2004: 15). Sauls (2004: 30) argues that the "representations and interpretations of District Six

have been largely produced and consumed within comparatively elitist 'outsider' circles, and District Six have become synonymous with colouredness". For many coloured ex-inhabitants of District Six, sharing their memories with historians, art curators and even journalists became vital in trying to keep the district alive. In contrast, for outsiders, who did not necessarily live in the district, the area had a different meaning and function.

Part of the problem of a settler state, is that white political power translates into a white art canon. Within this context, white artists get to represent the other, often in appropriating ways, or in ways that serve to promote a primitivising or exoticising vision of natives or exogenous others. In the context of the apartheid South African art canon, "many white artists, journalists and artists were criticized by members of the coloured community for attempting to represent or voice the opinions of this 'other'" (Sauls 2004: 31). In *District Six: Fact and Fiction* (1990) for instance, Richard Rive argues that certain novels, specifically those written by white authors, always depict the conditions of District Six negatively. He further explains that the lack of sympathy stemmed from the limited knowledge and general lack of empathy from the safe vantage point of white privilege. Self-representation therefore became a political tool through which the marginalization of other voices could be addressed.

For various coloured artists, the defining and confining after-effects of removals became evident amongst the working class coloured removees. In the depictions of District Six specifically, before and after its demolition, many identified with the concept of District Six as a community, its joyous spirit and its exuberance, and continuously referenced its culture as colourful, caustic and full of humour. Furthermore, the humour evident in these depictions of the fabric of the area notably contrasted with the views of the apartheid government, which promoted negative stereotypes about the over-crowded, crime-infested and immoral area where people were unable to escape the endless cycle of poverty, degradation and despair (Maurice 2012: 2). But as Maurice puts it, this official view of the area "coincides somewhat with the way District Six is represented in the literary texts of Alex La Guma and Richard Rive" (2012: 2). District Six was, in fact, an economically deprived and quite squalid and crime-ridden inner-city lower socio-economic urban domain – not entirely unlike the apartheid government's depictions of it.

While it is true that visual artists also often commented on the bare landscape stripped of life, and exposed it as a carcass with former residents as tortured ghosts of an area from which

they were forcibly removed, Maurice, for instance, notes that the art of District Six often engage in the joyous spirit and exuberance of the community (Maurice 2012: 21). From a more critical viewpoint, one could argue that the nostalgia in some coloured depictions of the area reminds one of the false consciousness of a unified and essential 'coloured identity'.

3.4.1 Art in Black and White

Even though, as mentioned earlier, the visual arts presented opportunities for resistance and self-representation, It is not surprising that, in apartheid South Africa, artistic production was also profoundly influenced by racial prejudice. White artists were assessed according to the formalist skills of professionally trained practitioners, while most artists of colour were self-taught or received very limited professional training. Art was regarded as a European prerogative and white artists contributed to the national imaginary in ways coloureds, Indians and blacks were not given the opportunity to.

This binary of untrained 'primitive' black art and the informed formalism of 'white' art largely defined the parameters in which racial categories and artistic production have emerged in literature on South African art under apartheid (Nettleton 2011: 157). 'Black art', however, remains a problematic designation because it is an apartheid construct and did not necessarily include coloured, Indian or other minority artists' work. 'Black art' was described as encapsulating a certain African mystique as well as various primitive stylistic statements asserting African identity as expected by white patrons. Subsequently, 'black art' became commercialized as 'township art', and remained excluded from the white art canon of South Africa (van Robbroeck 2006). Nonetheless, some artists from other apartheid designations, including some coloured artists, chose to refer to themselves as black artists in solidarity with black consciousness resistance to the divide-and-rule policies of the state.

In the context of the 60's and 70's, an important new ideological phase in the South African art world urged more artists to question their constructed racial identities as a form of resistance art. However, while narratives of 'struggle' and 'resistance' surface as a response to the socio-political unrest of the 1960s and 1970s, it remained largely limited to a discussion of black African artists in search for an identity that would express African pride (Attridge & Jolly 1998; Williamson 2010). Although coloured artists joined this movement, willingly

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embracing the designation 'black' in solidarity with other repressed population groups, they were perceived as supplementary in this discourse of polarisation between black and white.

3.4.2 The Community Arts Project

Despite the reservation of tertiary education for white citizens, coloured artists persevered in their pursuit of cultural recognition in apartheid South Africa. The lack of formal training at a tertiary level compelled many coloured artists to attend informal art classes that taught them basic skills in drawing, painting and printmaking. While the continual stunting of tuition denied coloured artists a chance to harness their skills in contrast to white educated artists, CAP emerged in the late 70's following the Soweto uprisings, equipped coloured artists with artistic skills that would eventually voice their opposition to the state's policies.

As an organization originally housed in Mowbray, CAP moved to the remains of demolished District Six where it offered training for those who had fallen victim to the marginalization of the apartheid regime, as a way to develop their own cultural voice in the context of their communities. At this stage of political unrest in apartheid South Africa, CAP became influential in shaping the concept of 'culture as resistance'. According to an article published by the Centre of Humanities Research (2015: 1), the members who attended training at CAP regarded themselves as cultural workers rather than artists.

CAP was instrumental as a platform for coloured artists to debunk the notion of 'coloured culture' and 'coloured art' in their works. In contrast to the exhibitions hosted by the Coloured Affairs that claimed to promote coloured art, coloured artists explored galleries as important memory sites. To this end, various coloured people affiliated themselves with a collective black identity which included Africans as well as Indians, in an effort to politically mobilize the 'oppressed' community connected by their shared struggle.

Essentially, the Group Areas Act and forced removals limited the residential mobility of coloured people in Cape Town. Trotter argues that it was these "institutionally produced effects – not so much the administrative process of classification", that radically altered the perception of coloured identity within the confines of their Cape Flats homes (Trotter 2002: 71). The historical rupture of forced removals solidified the social, spatial and political expressions of 'coloured' as a racial category. The memories implicit in the absence of a physical environment such as District Six, combined with specific themes and tropes, further

contributed to the development of a collective cultural identity amongst coloured people. Consequently, District Six, and even depictions of it, remains a site of deterritorialised culture located in the dislocation itself.

This chapter not only investigates the palimpsestic nature of memory in the narratives of community and home that centre on District Six, but how that, in turn, had an impact on understandings of identity within the broader context of resistance art. While resistance remains vital in the formation of coloured identity - especially with regards to similarities and differences between coloured and black categories - the narratives of Davis, Adams, Hallett, Jantjes and Clarke emphasize the significance of District Six as home. The following chapter will thus explore the various ways these artists responded to the limited artistic training, geographic displacement and everyday experiences of racial prejudices.

Chapter 4: Artists in exile - a case study of Lionel Davis, Albert Adams, George Hallett, Gavin Jantjes and Peter Clarke

Introduction

Throughout the apartheid era, many artists, musicians, and writers of colour searched for an escape route from the relentless and systematic racial essentialism that diminished morale. The experience of forced removal of working-class coloured people led to feelings of hopelessness and a sense of exile generated by being seen as not white or black enough. As a result, many creatives chose exile by emigrating to Europe and America. It seems, however, that exile had become an inescapable condition, established through certain discourses of displacement, that artists also experienced in their new **diasporic** communities. Exiled artistic communities often called on a collective coloured identity where terms like 'own community' was used to engage in a culture of memorialization. Subsequently, art emerging from this context can be interpreted around such memorialisations, which sometimes also motivated artists to challenge these notions in their depictions of District Six, and in some cases, to challenge their concept of community and belonging.

In this regard, the lives of Lionel Davis, Albert Adams, Gavin Jantjes, George Hallett and Peter Clarke were all indelibly marked by the system of apartheid. Born into families who were categorized as coloured, meant that they could not escape the clutches of apartheid policies which affected every aspect of life - where one lived, who one was allowed to have intimate relations with, how one was allowed to move – were all regulated and determined by the designated colour category. Furthermore, these artists responded in various ways to the upheaval of political events after being removed from District Six and in some cases, exiled from South Africa. Investigating the past of District Six in relation to the present landscape of the area, memory continues to play a vital role in the process of image-making and characterize a chronological distance from their documented objects (Eyene 2008: 178).

4.1 Variants of exile

In a traditional sense, exile is linked to the political realm where "the oppression by someone in power to an individual, group or community, forces the latter, whose life is endangered, into exile" (Devroop 2001: 4). More importantly, exile becomes a reality only in relation to the concept of 'homeland'. Exile is therefore a fluid and relational concept. According to Devroop (2011: 5) over time the notion of exile "absorbed terms that became synonymous

with the condition". Similarly, Young (2002: 21) notes that the conventional definition of expulsion or "being in a state of expulsion rely on the physical dislocation, intellectual separation, cultural exile and the linguistic exile of functioning in an unfamiliar language". Edward Said's reflection on exile, reveals the plurality inherent to this experience:

> "most people are principally aware of one culture, one setting, one home; exiles are aware of at least two, and this plurality vision gives rise to an awareness of simultaneous dimensions, an awareness that - to borrow a phrase from music - is contrapuntal. For an exile, habits of life, expression, or activity in the new environment inevitably occur against the memory of these things in another environment" (Said 2002: 148).

Inevitably, exile became a condition that many coloured artists faced as they were commonly disenfranchised in their struggle against the apartheid regime (Devroop 2011: 7). The lack of education opportunities remained a direct result of their circumstances as their experiences frequently compelled them to become autodidactic. While artists assimilated themselves into a global 'art culture', the condition of exile continued to have a dual impact: on both the destination culture as well as in the culture of origin (Devroop 2011: 6). One could argue that the South African socio-political sphere produced marginalised cultures that were culturally and sociologically affected by the condition of exile of some of their most prominent political and cultural representatives.

For artists remaining in the South African context, the emerging 'globalization' of the artistic world was embraced through festivals in Newport and Woodstock despite the intense social conflict caused by apartheid (Devroop 2011: 6).[41] However, this emerging globalization was ignored by the South African government that subsequently insulated and culturally exiled South Africa "in its quest for power, superiority and cultural exclusivity" (Devroop 2011: 6).

Artists who remained in South Africa, therefore experienced a case of inner exile, where coloured artists were subjected to racially exclusive legislation and suffered cultural isolation and the destruction of their communities. While the variants of exile referenced the

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[41] The festivals held in Woodstock, Cape Town during the 1950s and 1960s provided venues or 'grey areas' as ideal platforms where various artists could culturally interact and form a new culture (Devroop 2011: 6). More importantly, this culture-in-the-making was soon "replaced with an imposed culture based on Afrikaner nationalistic beliefs" (Devroop 2011: 6).

intermediate status of the artist who remained in the country, it was still implied that coloured artists themselves had no cultural identity. Consequently, even coloured artists that remained in the country experienced a form of exile, insofar as they found themselves toggling between their lost home and their newly acquired home (Devroop 2011: 6). More specifically, the idea of their 'native' coloured culture remained out of reach as they were continuously limited to engineered homogeneous new environments after forced removals. In this regard their economic survival became vital, especially for those who found themselves in a country not of their own (Devroop 2011: 7). This form of exile operated on both cultural and physical levels.

It thus became evident that developing alternative national identities became significant in locating South Africa within a global context. The policies and legislation of the apartheid state prioritised the establishment of a culturally European enclave, where certain European models and modes of expression were still used in all forms of cultural expression, education, performances, art councils and media (Devroop 2011: 10). Ironically, however, this meant that many artists of colour thus came to 'culturally' belong to the international community (Devroop 2011: 9).

Furthermore, Devroop argues that "even though these opportunities and allowances made for people other than Afrikaner or white to adapt these cultural practices and spaces, albeit in institutions or venues designated for specific races and ethnic groups", the state's political policies still compelled a lot of artists to choose literal exile (Devroop 2011: 9).

While continuously denied national support and excluded from the mainstream because of the colour of their skin, many coloured artist utilised depictions of District Six and its streets as a way to cling to an identifiable cultural identity and more importantly, to assert a concept of community. Consequently, the works of District Six became increasingly political in the way these artists portrayed and visually reconstructed a community displaced by apartheid. In some cases, these works yielded explicit political content, documenting the artists' understanding of incipient violence and polarisation between apartheid's enforcers and resistance to it.

Despite the main themes of memory and displacement presented in various depictions of District Six, diaspora remain integral to the experience of exile. Zeleza (2009: 33) elaborates

on diasporic identities, and argues that this kind of identity imply an historically constituted group consciousness "through expressive culture, politics, thought, and tradition, in which experiential and representational resources are mobilized, in varied measures, from the imaginaries of both the old and the new worlds". More importantly, for those who left the country, the main features of diaspora importantly defined the relationship of a collective identity to include a history of dispersal memories and myths of their home country, its continual support, as well as alienation in their new country (Clifford 1994: 305). In this regard, artists retained a continuous relationship with their homeland as their diasporas become permanent in their exile from South Africa.

Defining diasporas and maintaining communities thus meant that subjects established collective homes away from home, despite exile's individualistic focus. On the one hand, diaspora could be constituted negatively via experiences of discrimination. On the other hand, it could be positively constituted "through the identification with world historical/ cultural political forces" such as the idea of 'Africa'" (Clifford 1994: 313). While a diaspora consciousness is constituted both negatively and positively, its experiences and discourses remained ambiguous (Clifford 1994: 313). To this extent, it is apparent that these kind of diasporic experiences are always gendered and thus normalize the male experience. It is significant, in this regard, that all six the coloured artists of this generation that achieved historical prominence, are male.

Each of the artists discussed in this chapter, dealt with marginalization in their lives, which either led to exile, or challenged artists to create alternatives to stereotypical pictorial conventions via counter-discourses, which, in some cases, led to imprisonment. More importantly, it will map how each artist's alienation varied from that of inner-exile for those who remained in apartheid South Africa, and literal exile for those who left.

4.1.1 Lionel Davis - a brief biography

Davis was born in District Six in 1936, where he spent most of his childhood playing around the neighbourhood. He became aware of the area's claustrophobic quarters and the way this close proximity resulted in interdependence amongst its fellow residents (Eggart 2008). From an early age, Davis became aware of the brutality employed by the state to uphold segregation between black and white. He had yet to discover that his art education before

CAP would be limited to drawings of his cartoon heroes he had created with found materials on the walls and streets of the District Six neighbourhood (Pissarra 2003: 1).

With the tightening clutches of apartheid and its policies, Davis grew angry with the way the state treated the inhabitants of District Six (Eggart 2008). Like many, he became aware of the hostile nature of the white minority during the heyday of apartheid. In order to take a stand against the derisive attitudes to and treatment of people of colour, he attended political meetings with members of the Non-European Unity Movement (NEUM)[42]that he went to night school with. In keeping with the expectation that coloured learners would drop out of school, Davis also left high school, and became more politically active when he joined the African People's Democratic Union of South Africa (APDUSA). He felt disenchanted by what he perceived as a too passive approach of the APDUSA to counter the apartheid state, and he became involved in the core group behind the National Liberation Front that aimed to use arms to overthrow the apartheid government (Pissarra 2003). He affiliated himself with Neville Alexander, and together they formed the "Mao Tse Tung inspired National Front" (Pissarra 2003: 1).

Due to his political affiliations and activities, Davis was sentenced as a political prisoner 1964 for conspiring to commit sabotage, and was incarcerated on Robben Island where he shared his everyday life and formed bonds with people from various African cultures (Thompson 2009). Despite the strict conditions in Robben Island prison, its prisoners were allowed to further their education while their families were responsible for paying the expenses of correspondence courses (Eggard 2008). Nonetheless, Davis managed to complete his education on the island.

After his release in 1971, Davis was placed under house arrest in Manenberg which in turn, inspired him to pursue his artistic career after a break of almost ten years. In fact, while many buildings and families were erased from central Cape Town, Davis was only allowed in or close to the city in 1976 (Savage 2014: 227).

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[42] According to Van der Ross (2015) coloured leadership were forced to choose between "rejection of any sort of collaboration with the government and conditional cooperation". In this regard, the Non-European Unity Movement (NEUM) ultimately proposed "to place the coloured people into any separate department or state to be governed differently to other South Africans" (Van Der Ross 2015: 119).

For Davis, house arrest became a traumatic experience because he was his own jailer in search of something to heal himself (Salvage 2014: 227). Driven by his desire to be creative, he pursued a formal education in art at the Community Arts Project, whose aim was to culturally educate and empower South Africans across the colour line. According to Pissarra (2003: 1) Davis previously worked as a labourer before he became a clerk on building sites. He worked as a clerk until he discovered CAP in 1978. Eager to follow his passion, he started off at CAP as a cleaner/ handyman/ assistant administrator then progressed to being a student. Pissarra (2003: 1) notes that Davis was a diligent learner who quickly mastered the medium of drawing, and that has remained the foundation of Davis' artistic practice. Davis' involvement with CAP was utilised to pursue his political goals, and he used his art to counter the hegemonic tendencies present in most political organisations of the time (Pissarra 2003: 1).

Thereafter, Davis was introduced to screen-printing at Rorke's Drift[43] in Natal. However, upon his completion of his diploma in Fine Arts at Rorke's Drift in 1982, he returned to Cape Town with a lasting appreciation of printmaking as a medium because it had the ability to bring about social change (Eggart 2008). Despite the basic standard of education he received at Rorke's Drift, Davis was astounded by the people he had met that had been there before him (Salvage 2014: 227).

More importantly, printmaking was vital to Davis' artistic development in establishing national links with other black artists in the country. Moreover, he "assisted in organising the Cape Town contingent to attend the Culture & Resistance Symposium in Gaborone, organised by the African National Congress (ANC)" (Pissarra 2003: 1). This event was vital in helping artists recognise their role in cultural resistance, and more importantly, their roles as cultural workers and not that of artists. As a result, a poster workshop was established at CAP which later would be facilitated by Davis. This workshop was active for most of the 1980s, and Davis' political body of work included banners, posters and t-shirts (Pissarra 2003: 1). As a concerned coloured artist, he took an active political role in the activism against segregationist policies. In this context, Davis took the opportunity to use his artistic voice as a weapon. This is

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[43] Rorke's Drift focused more on the rural aspect of African life, and built on the Polly Street centre's attempted romantic re-connection with Africa. However, Rorke's Drift focused on the central role of women in the arts and crafts so that they could make profitable outlets through their artistic exchanges and cross-cultural influences of various white teachers. Art forms were thus practiced according to gender, namely weaving for women, fine art for men, with a few exceptions and ceramics for both men and women.

apparent in the output of posters that are manifested through his empathy for people who dealt with the challenging task of living through apartheid.

Figure 1. Lionel Davis. 1988. *Community Arts project Art 88 Exhibition*.Print on paper. Private Collection.

It comes to no surprise therefore, that much of Davis' works were largely inspired by community and political organisations, and was often confiscated or banned by local authorities (Pissarra 2003: 1). Despite these setbacks, Davis was proud of the vital role he played in sharing CAP's non-aligned position to various political organisations, especially alienated community groupings and trade unions "who may have been alienated, or possibly denied access, by a politically aligned CAP" (Pissarra 2003: 1). In essence, Rorke's Drift equipped him with the necessary teaching skills to play a vital role in influential art organizations which gave black artists a voice[44].

The body of works that Davis produced during the mid-1980s, where South Africa experienced serial states of Emergency, manifested his politics through the empathy it revealed for those who battled to stay alive, as well as those who faced challenges of hunger, depression or who

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[44] In this instance, the term black encompasses all those who were not classified as white according to the apartheid state.

simply waited for time to pass. He visualized his concern by intimately drawing train commuters in pen or pencil on small formats. In these intimate moments, Davis focussed on

Figure 2. Lionel Davis. 1982 - 1986. *Three Women on a Train.* Pen and pencil on paper. 21 x 29.7cm. Artist's Collection.

affirming human presence and expressed a for the lives of people he encountered on his journey (Pissarra 2003: 1). Pissarra argues that these depictions chronicle a liminal and existential space between destinations, and it is within this space that uncertainties, sites of hope and fear, community and alienation arise. Davis' approach to his subjects is reminiscent of Honore Daumier's *Third Class Carriage* (1862), insofar as Davis utilized his art to socially and politically understand the world he was familiar with.
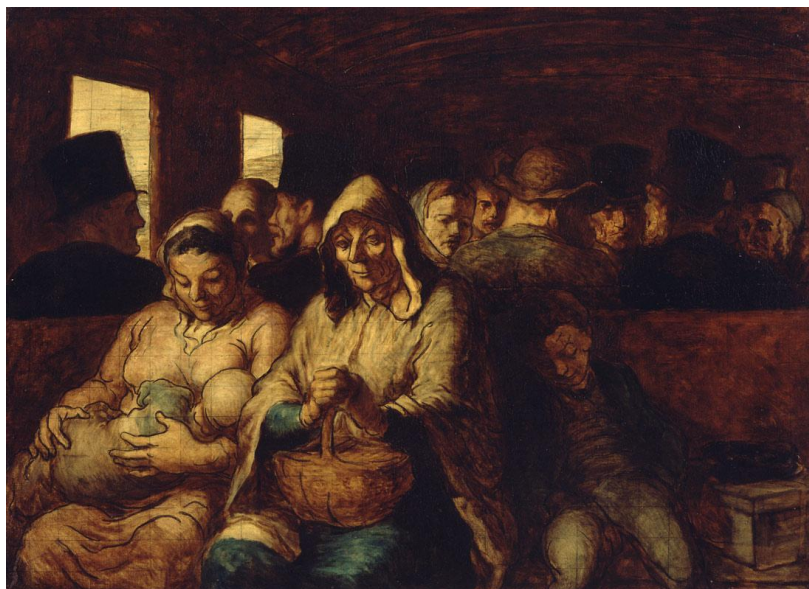
Figure 3. Honore Daumier. 1862. *Third Class Carriage.* Oil on canvas. 65 x 90cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art Collection.

The desolate tone present in these images evokes displacement as the train journeys between the city, where majority black and coloured people were prohibited, and the concrete flatlands many were forcibly removed to (Pissarra 2003: 1). Essentially Davis works reminds his viewers of the trauma 'ordinary' people faced as the struggle permeated their daily lives.

Davis attended various workshops, and participated in the International Triangle Workshop in New York, "an initiative that had given rise to the Thupelo Project a few years earlier" (Pissarra 2003: 1). Among the organizations in the Western Cape were Vakalisa[45] and the Thupelo[46] workshops, where Davis later continued CAP's autonomous teaching legacy that subtly aided in the resistance movement (Eggart 2008).

He further become the trustee of Thupelo, and attended various triangle workshops in Botswana and Zimbabwe. Initially, students were encouraged to experiment with materials, which in turn, resulted in the production of abstract works. However, Pissarra argues that Thupelo received mixed recognition from the left because "many black artists abandoned (at least temporarily) more realist modes of working in favour of a painting style and approach that some radical critiques saw as an expression of American cultural imperialism" (2003: 1).[47] Thupelo nonetheless became a liberating experience for many artists, especially for Davis because it presented opportunities to experiment with the medium of paint as well as scale as seen in his *African Sunset* (1986).

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[45] According to South African History online (2017: 1) the Vakalisa Art Associates consisted of various black cultural workers in the Western Cape who "held exhibitions and cultural events in publicly accessible spaces such as libraries and community halls".

[46] The Thupelo workshops, originally established in Johannesburg in 1985, moved to Cape Town in the late 1980s. In this space artists were encouraged to experiment and find new ways of creatively collaborate with fellow artists. Essentially, these workshops focused on the shared creative process of learning combined with the act of making art.

[47] The concept of cultural imperialism refers to a politically powerful nation's ability to promote and impose a culture over a las powerful society, which in turn, determine and standardize civilization.

Figure 4. Lionel Davis. 1986. *African Sunset.* Acrylic on canvas. 167.5 x 131.5cm. Private Collection.

Davis' role as an educator continued when he became a teacher for the South African National Gallery (SANG). His responsibilities included educating teachers in various townships so they could in turn, teach art at a primary school level, and built on his experience as a media trainer at CAP and reminded him of his training for a diploma from the Curriculum Development Project, where he was taught to educate teachers to teach art in their schools (Pissarra 2003:1). Later, he was elected trustee by SANG's first 'democratically constituted' Board, while various galleries in Zimbabwe used Davis to adjudicate works.

In 1986 Davis was invited to his second Thupelo workshop and as a result of this transformative experience, he developed an abstract art idiom. After the death of Bill Ainslie, the director of Thupelo, in 1989, Davis and three other people decided to run Thupelo in order to save it (Salvage 2014: 228). In 1992 Davis enrolled for his Masters in Fine Art, which helped him to articulate a growing focus on coloured identity. During the holidays, workshops at CAP were run, and lasted until 1993 after which Thupelo was run from Cape Town (Salvage 2014: 228).

Because he spent many years on Robben Island as a prisoner, Davis got employment as a tour guide at the Robben Island Museum from 1997 until 2007 where he later became an Education Officer in the Island Education Department. While Davis spent most of his career

resisting apartheid through guerrilla warfare, he continued to pursue his passion in making art and highlighting his experiences in this community, as evident from the collection of literary magazines, books, poetry anthologies and calendars he produced.

While many of Davis works try to erase apartheid's legacy, he continues to create a platform for young South Africans to exhibit a boundless energy and steadfast resolve (Eggard 2008). In this regard, his work remains relevant as it documented so many of South Africa's political transitions. In the recent retrospective exhibition titled *Lionel Davis - Gathering Strands* for example, the Iziko Museums of South Africa, in collaboration with the District Six Museum, showcase a full collection of various linocuts, paintings, posters and sculptures representing Davis political activism and heritage. From this exhibition, it is clear that people's stories of how they survived despite all odds, interested Davis because he realized that making art had a restorative property to the narratives that he felt were worth sharing. The accompanying book *Awakenings*, edited by Mario Pissarra, which has just been published as I completed this thesis, consists of a collection of essays which explore the context, life and work of Davis as an artist of colour in South Africa.

4.1.2 Albert Adams – a brief biography

While the art of Albert Adams (1929 – 2006) is well established on the international stage, he is hardly mentioned in standard texts on South African art, and has been greatly undervalued locally (Martin & Dolby 2008: 43).

Albert Adams was born in Johannesburg in 1929, from Indian and coloured parents. From a young age, Adams' mother gave him pencils and paper to draw with. After his parents separated in 1933, he went to live with his grandmother in Cape Town. Adams faced much pain, frustration and confusion in South Africa while growing up in District Six under the apartheid regimes obsessive focus on skin colour, where he experienced the vicissitudes of a difficult life as a second class citizen during apartheid (Martin & Dolby 2008: 66). While Adams lived with his grandmother, he attended Arsenal Road Primary School and later attended Livingstone High School in Claremont, where his talent for drawing was noticed by his teachers.

Adams took art as a subject in high school and became influenced by some of the coloured teachers who were prominent members of the NEUM. In the political context of the time,

teachers like these had a fiery passion for justice and chose teaching as an arena where they believed they could radically make a difference (Soudien 2008: 96). Adams excelled at school, where he befriended Clarke, became head boy and even edited the school magazine. In his editorial column, Adams often addressed issues about education in South Africa. Within this context his "political awareness and resolute belief in the importance of quality education was instilled and nurtured" by his teachers (2008: 66). Soudien (2008: 96) elaborates on this point, and argues that school prepared Adams to deal with the limiting consequences of his race, as it would eventually disqualify him from applying to a tertiary institution in South Africa. However one vital lesson that Adams internalized was that of being a full human, not a lower order of the human species, not someone for who the rewards of a fullness of life was to wait a thousand years, and not a coloured one (Soudien 2008: 97). In this regard, Adams viewed himself as a full human being with a birth-right to humanness.

Upon completion of his matric at Livingston High School, the by now highly politicised Adams applied to study at Michaelis School of Fine Art at the University of Cape Town. However, his' attempts to be accepted were futile as racial discriminatory policies prohibited his admission. Nonetheless, Adams persevered in his quest to pursue his passion in the arts and went to a teacher training college while he worked as a low-rent department store sign-writer. His job entailed painting signs in various department stores in Cape Town while he used his wages to continue his studies at the teacher training college. Due to his dark skin, he was not able to find a job at larger department stores. In the late 1940s, Adams started attending art classes at St Peter's School in District Six and invited Clarke to join the classes (Martin & Dolby 2008: 26). Adams and Clarke's friendship played an important role in establishing a coloured cultural and political scene in Cape Town.

Albert became increasingly involved in the anti-apartheid movement while he enrolled for a teaching degree at the Teacher Training College, where he subsequently became head of the National Union of South African Students. His political involvement got him arrested twice and made him realize the deteriorating political situation of South Africa. Adams thus applied to various universities in Durham, Oxford and London and got accepted to all of these institutions.

From a young age, he shared an early commitment to socially engaging art, which complemented his growing political consciousness. At this stage, Adams, with the help of

friends like Irma Stern, Baron Rudolf Von Freiling and Siegfried Eick[48], had already been exposed to the artwork of German Expressionists in their library and private collections (Miles 2008: 25)[49]. Amongst these collections were Käthe Kollwitz's *Prisoners listening to music* (1925). According to Martin (2008: 67) Adams associated deeply with Kollwitz's "protest against social injustice and empathy for the poor and oppressed".

Figure 5. Kather Kollwitz. 1925. *Prisoners listening to music.* Lithograph on paper. 330 x 305cm. Iziko South African National Gallery Collection.

Though he pursued the spiritual and metaphysical in and through his art, Martin claims that he never forgot or forgave the wrong done against his people (2008: 67). With his visual background, and the encouragement of a friend, Adams pursued his studies in advanced art abroad. The grants he had received from the Cape Tercentenary Foundation from 1953 to 1956 enabled him to study at the Slade School of Fine Art in London. Between 1956 and 1957 Adams received the Summer Composition Award of the Slade and got a Bavarian State Scholarship to attend the University of Munich. According to Miles (2008: 25) he "used this opportunity to participate in the summer master classes presented at Oskar Kokoschka's School of Vision in Salzburg" (Miles 2008: 25).[50]

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[48]According to Hobbs & Rankin (2011: 64) Baron Rudolf von Freiling and Siegbert Eick emigrated to South Africa in the 1930s, and brought with them their fine graphic collection.

[49]German Expressionism was a cultural movement and defined by the mindset of the artist and its influence on the period he or she lived in. This movement consisted of writers, artists and various other thinkers in Germany before the Second World War and essentially embodied a mindset that had cultural, political and social aspects.

[50] Oskar Kokoschka (1886-1980) was an Austrian expressionist painter and writer who mainly focused on gesture as a medium to understand the artist's emphatic humanism.

Figure 6. Frank Auerbach. (Undated). *Head of Julia.* Oil on board. 311 x 457cm. Iziko South African National Gallery Collection.

Despite the academicism that Adams received at the Slade School of Fine Art, his work remained instinctively expressionistic (Martin 2008: 67). During his training, Adams was exposed to the works of various artists such as Frank Auerbach (b.1931), Rembrant van Rijn (1606-1669), Francis Bacon (1909-), David Hockney (1937-), and James Dine (1936-) amongst others (Martin 2008: 68). Adams' thus experimented with various developments in art. This is especially evident in *Figure with monkey* (1969) where he uses flat abstract planes, collage, stitches and a real zip to exude the expected stillness often associated with the work of Hockney (Martin 2008: 68).

Figure 7. Rembrant van Rijn. 1662. *The sampling officials.* Oil on canvas. 191.5 x 279cm. Rijksmuseum Collection.

Although Adams always closely referenced Kokoschka's style and configuration, he rarely painted in an abstract manner. Instead, he ventured into genres which included portraits, many of which were self-portraits, exploring the human figure as well as landscapes. In this regard, his subjects included religious people as well as animals, either in the wild or caged, othered and forced to adapt to their unnatural environments (Martin 2008: 70). This theme of alienation and displacement is arguably a hallmark of South African artists of colour who directly experienced the effects of the implementation of apartheid in their formative years.

Figure 11. Albert Adams. 1969. *Figure with monkey.* Oil on canvas with collage (zip and paper). 1270 x 1020cm. Private Collection.

Adams often viewed himself as an artist on a tightrope because he was able to toggle "between emotions which direct the creativity and the objectivity required in the development of the work" (Martin 2008: 67). Due to his training, Martin notes that Adams was fuelled by a desire to focus on and resolve personal and intimate conflicts within broader conditions that affected and afflicted people (2008: 67). In this way, it becomes evident that his body of works maintained a specific expressionist technique which suited his personal idiom.

In 1959, Adams held his first solo exhibition at the Modern Homes Gallery in Cape Town. His commitment to art echoed that of Kokoschka, who argued that the role of the artist was to see the misery humans create on earth and from that, provide fellow men with visual information. Specific focus was paid to his triptych called *South Africa 1958-1959* which alluded to Passion of Christ. According to Miles (2008: 26) this work emphasize the daily scorning of the 'dark man', and with its absence of the cross, emphasise the presence of the dark man as a metaphor for the visual plight of the oppressed.

Figure 12. Albert Adams. 1959. *South Africa 1958-1959.* Oil on board. Triptych: each 1830 x 1830cm. Iziko SOuth African National Gallery Collection.

Shortly thereafter, Adams participated in a group exhibition at the South African Association of Art Galleries called *The first under-40s Salon.* The horrors of the Sharpeville massacre of 1960 disrupted his sense of a future life in South Africa, and lead to the decision to move to London to interpret the South African scene in a wider context from abroad (Miles 2008: 27).

When Adams settled in London in 1960, he taught at various high schools and started teaching Art History at City College in London. He further developed the concept of the crucified dark man into a haunting leitmotif. In the allegorical triptych, his grim figure reappears together with a corpse, skinned animals and severed limbs (Miles 2008: 28). For Miles, the prevalence of this figure gathers Adams' "remaining strength to voice defiance and outrage against sovereignty that causes carnage, mutilating man and beast" (Miles 2008: 28). In *Resurrection* (1960) for example, this spirit figure manifests itself in a corpse-like body that emerges from the dark with its head thrown backwards facing the sky. Miles (2008: 28) argues that "contrary to utter demoralisation, evoked by the triptych, there is a glimpse of hope in *Resurrection",* an observation borne out by the title of the artwork*.*

Figure 13. Albert Adams. 1960. *Resurrection.* Oil on canvas. 1270 x 860cm. Private Collection.

Identity and South Africa remained main themes in Adam's work in exile, where he rendered South Africa as a vast prison. With the unbanning of liberation movements in the 1990, Adams often visited his family and participated in various workshops. In South Africa, he often drew various scenes and people around the Cape Peninsula. Similarly to Claude Monet and his fascination with water and lilies at the Giverny, Adams also drew inspiration from Kirstenbosch Botanical Gardens.

Although his work explores genocide, natural disasters and atrocities around the world, he continued to explore the implications of political change in South Africa post-1994, especially with regards to the disillusioned and downtrodden marginalized people (Martin 2008: 66). Towards the end of Adams' artistic career, he drew particular attention to the figure of the ape which became a symbol of everything that seeks to control and oppress humanity (Martin 2008: 68).

In effect, Adams' established its own war against irrationality and human cruelty. More specifically, he placed focus on the 'coon' carnival, as will be discussed later (Martin & Dolby 2008: 65). Despite the horror in his etchings, Adams' work reveal something carnivalesque in his *Celebration series*.

In 2006, Adams passed away due to lung cancer, and donated his works to the Iziko South African National Gallery where they held a retrospective exhibition on his work in 2008. More recently, the Rupert Museum held a retrospective exhibition of Adams' drawings, paintings and prints.

4.1.3 George Hallett - a brief biography

Although Hallett was born in District Six, he was raised by his grandparents who were fisher folk in Hout Bay while his parents lived in Grassy Park, a place where, it is often pointed out, grass does not grow. Hallett spent much of his time around fishing boats and other fisherman like his uncle when he was not being taught by his aunt in primary school. His early artistic inspiration stemmed from his uncle's subscriptions to *Reader's Digest* and *National Geographic*, where he escaped to foreign lands depicted in black-and-white photographs. Hallett also had access to other discarded copies of magazines and books in his uncle's growing personal library. For Hallett, these books became a world beyond mountains, where rainforests and piranha fish existed. Hallett's uncle often told him stories of Italy, where he was a soldier, and raised Hallett's awareness of the need for a better life.

Hallett's introduction to the camera was at the local school venue that was used as a cinema on weekends, where American films starring actors such as *Alan Ladd, John Wayne*, would be screened. Inevitably, Hallett's interest in the projector grew as he learnt to loop the huge reels of film in the projector and down to the spool at the bottom (Mason 2014: 201). Once Hallett knew the mechanics of the light projected in a dark space onto a silver screen, his interest shifted from being the characters to being the observer behind the lens. Hallett became enraptured with how films were made, which in turn mobilised his interest in photography.

Hallet's High school experience in Diep River became particularly pivotal because it is here that he befriended Richard Rive[51], his English teacher, who in turn introduced him to James Matthews[52] and Peter Clarke. Not only did Hallett learn how to enunciate in Rive's English classes by means of Shakespeare, but he was also taught the important role of reading in

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[51] At the time, Richard Rive (1931-1989) took an active role as an educator who published inspirational novels such as *Emergency* (1970) as well as *Buckingham Palace: District Six* (1986). He introduced his pupils to books from America, France and Russia to writers who lived in Cape Town.

[52] James Matthews (b.1929) is a poet and novelist who is one of the leading members of the South African literary community (Mason 2014: 213).

changing one's life. Furthermore, Hallett's introduction to Afrikaans writers from *Sestigers* was significant because this became his first encounter with more progressive and free-thinking white people to whom the colour of his skin was irrelevant.

After he left school, the years between 1961 and 1963 characterized a time when Hallett wanted to further pursue his artistic career, despite the fact that could not afford to go to university. He moved from Hout Bay to Silvertown in Athlone, within a close proximity of James Matthews' house, where he spent a lot of time listening to classics such as Ray Charles, Miles Davis and Mozart amongst others. Although Hallett was constantly surrounded by other intellectuals and artists who became his friends, he still had not decided whether he wanted to be a photographer or a painter (Mason 2014: 202). For Hallett, to be able to sketch beautifully or visualise something with a pen, like he did in school, was simply not enough.

Hallett drew much inspiration from Matthews, and especially from his copy of *The Sweet Fly-paper of Life*, which consisted of photographs from Roy DeCarava and poems from Langston Hughes. For Hallett, this was the first instance where he saw black people from Harlem in a book. Pictures from newspapers and magazines fuelled Hallett's interest in humanity and essentially urged him to become a man of the world (Mason 2014: 203). Despite their isolation in Silvertown, Hallett's interactions with Rive and Matthews created a world of literature, knowledge and wisdom where Hallett felt inspired to be creative.

After matric, Hallett decided to move in with his parents in Silvertown, not far from Matthews' house, where he met the photographer Clarence Coulson. Eager to learn more about photography, Hallett joined him when he took photos in hotels. Although Hallett did not have a camera of his own, he wanted to take his own photographs. His passion led him to Mr Kariem at the Palm Tree Studios in District Six, where he was eventually offered work as a photographer and given a camera to work with. Although the camera Hallett used did not belong to him, he was allowed to play around with its settings and encouraged to try different techniques.

Mr. Halim's studio was broken into, allegedly by apartheid operatives, which left his negatives to the mercy of a fierce south easterly wind in Hanover street. Shortly thereafter, *The Golden City Post,* just a few doors away from Palm Tree Studios, was also broken into because it became a cultural embassy for all kinds of creative people (Hallett 2007: 9).

When District Six was declared a white area in 1966, Hallett took this opportunity to photograph the area before it was bulldozed. As part of his job, he was required to visit the area once a week over a period of time to archive the daily life in District Six before forced removals (Scaldaferri 2014). He was fascinated with the architecture of the area and decided to document this neighbourhood, which was rather different from the town of Hout Bay. Indeed, documenting the area in this way piqued his interest in depicting marginalized or disadvantaged communities with respect and sympathy (Scaldaferri 2014). For Hallett, it was the act of seeing and not just looking that essentially formulated images in his mind. Indeed photographing District Six in this way became an artistic school for Hallett where he could narrow down the essence of photography. Hallett photographed District Six after its demolition had already been declared which thus motivated him to create images for commemorative purposes.

Faced with the intolerable racial prejudices of apartheid, Hallett left his bookkeeping job at a chemical company and chose to go into exile. According to Mason (2014: 205) the political context overwhelmed Hallett with the constant insults and belittling, especially since he kept being accused by the police of using a stolen camera to document his work. Hallett also wanted to make something of his life and become something, but no South African newspaper wanted to accept him due to his race (Mason 2014: 205). Before Hallett left South Africa, he exhibited at The Artist's Gallery[53]. This exhibition consisted of his work from Hout Bay, District Six, the Cape Flats as well as photographs of various musicians. These works formed Hallett's portfolio when he left for Britain on a ship. On his journey, Hallett shared a cabin with an Imam from Johannesburg and managed to photograph him with only the light from the porthole on the side of the cabin. These were just one of the many people Hallett met that shared the same values of humanity and compassion in the face of adversity.

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[53] The Artist's Gallery was established by a group of artists who aimed to make it a commercial gallery because there were no commercial galleries of any importance at the time (Smith 2016). This group of artists who ran the gallery mostly consisted of white artists, who invited Peter Clarke as the first black artist to exhibit there.
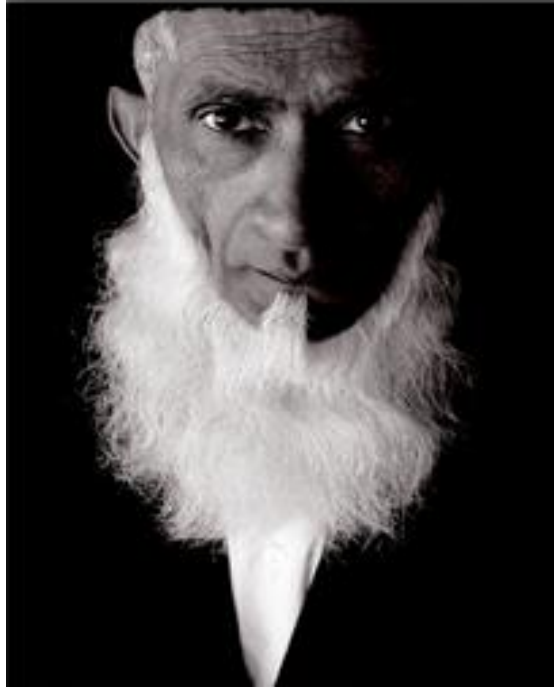
Figure 14. George Hallett. 1970. *The Imam: Achelles Lauro Liner on way to the UK.* Hand print. [Online].

Hallett arrived in London with only £100 for him to survive on. With his dreams at the fore and twenty mounted images from his exhibition, he took his portfolio to places such as the *Times,* the *Telegraph* as well as the *Observer* to apply for a job (Mason 2014: 205). Luckily, Hallett got his breakthrough from the *Times Higher Education Supplement,* where his photographs were much admired. Soon after this meeting, his first photographic assignment was to take a photo of Professor Arthur Jansen.[54] Thereafter Hallett met with one of Clarke and Matthews friends, Isiah Steyn, who also went into exile in London. On his visit, he also met James Currey who had a keen interest in book covers and wanted Hallett to create a cover for a book called *Tongue of the Dumb*.[55] Hallett's process of creating an image for this book was to rearrange strips from a photograph of a sculpture that he owned, which proved to be a liberating task for Hallett as he argued that it brought out the best in his creativity (Mason 2014: 206).

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[54] According to Mason (2014: 214) Professor Arthur Jenson (1923-2012) "was a controversial American psychologist and academic who argued that genetic differences explained the gap in intelligence-test scores between black and whites". In his book, he draws the conclusion that black people are inherently inferior to white people because of the size of their brains.

[55] According to Mason (2014: 214) James Currey "worked in publishing for Oxford University Press and Heinemann Educational Books, before starting his own imprint, James Currey Books". He played a vital role in the creation of Heinemann's African Writers Series of books.

In the next twelve years that followed, Hallett developed a friendship with Curry while he worked as a freelancer for Heinemann. His work ranged from avant-garde to capturing South Africans as models as well as taking photos of musicians such as Pallo Jordan.[56] In contrast to South Africa, European society allowed South African artists to be creative. In essence, this creativity was about doing it for the honour of doing it because they found joy in doing so. As a result, Hallett experimented with various high contrast techniques where he cut out grey scales to create a new visual presentation he had not previously practiced (Mason 2014: 206). Hallett thus used these techniques when he recorded covers of various South African musicians such as Chris McGregor's Brotherhood of Breath among others in exile. While representing these musicians in this way was denied in South Africa, London gave these creatives a chance to explore and create something to be proud of. Despite being so far away from South Africa, Hallett "always retained ties with his hometown and Africa at large" (Scaldaferri 2014).

Figure 15. George Hallett. N.d. *100 Club, London*. 24 x 30cm. Private Collection.

According to Mason (2014: 206) one of Hallett's first major documentary stories was when the *Times* asked him to photograph Handsworth, an Afro-Caribbean community in Birmingham.[57] In this regard, Hallett's colour became important for the job as white

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[56] Mason (2014: 214) mentions that Pallo Jordan "is a senior member of the African National Congress (ANC)". While in exile, he was affiliated with the Congress's Department of Information and Publicity and upon his return to South Africa in 1990, he "served in various ministerial positions from 1994 until 2009" (Mason 2014: 214).

[57] The term Afro-Caribbean refer to a someone from African descent who lives or comes from the Caribbean, and are mostly descendants of captive Africans held captive in the Caribbean because of the slave trade between 1505 and 1886.

photographers could not enter the area. It is within the context of Enoch Powell's anti-immigration politics that the plight of the black people became relevant against a background of intolerance.[58] Hallett was indeed welcomed by members of the community, as they often enjoyed hearing stories about where he had come from and why he had left. Immersed in the vibrant culture of this Afro-Caribbean community, Hallett's experience became reminiscent of the humanity he captured in the heart of District Six.

This was only the beginning for Hallett as he found himself going to places such as Amsterdam, Paris and various other European capitals to explore various topics. Shortly before Hallett decided to leave Britain in 1974, he, together with the *Times* and Alex La Guma, supplied stills for a documentary about District Six. Just before he was due to leave, he received a call accusing him of running a terrorist organisation with other South Africans who were allegedly in London to kill South African spies. Unsettled by the call, Hallett went to the south of France for a holiday and unexpectedly fell in love and stayed.

Despite the distance, Hallett continued doing book covers from the manuscripts the *Times* sent to him in France. While living there, he became an honorary bullfighting photographer at various shows in the south. As Hallett became immersed in his photography, he also began experimenting with photographing famers who lived close by and started experimenting with different textures. He often spent time with these peasant farmers and in the process learnt to speak some French.

At this stage, Hallett's photography was moving toward more abstract forms such as textures and patterns. In addition, he documented people like James Matthews and Peter Clarke who came to visit him in France, to mention just a few. As a photographer who sought to capture work, celebration, landscape and people in spaces, he was often inspired to photograph other creatives as if they were part of the pieces in his theatre of life.

Hallett was soon offered a job "to teach photojournalism in Zimbabwe" (Mason 2014: 209). Before Hallett could go there, however, he had to visit his dying father back home. When he arrived in Cape Town, he reconnected with old friends and became inspired to take on a new project about domestic workers. However, his stay in Cape Town was short as he had to leave

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[58] Enoch Powell (1912-1998) was part of the British parliament who fiercely opposed the immigration of African and Asian people into Britain.

after his father's funeral, and tackle his first assignment at the *Culture and Resistance* event in Botswana. As Hallett embraced this non-racist event so close to South Africa, he had a chance to photograph various exiles within and abroad. In 1981, he had an exhibition called *Women of Southern Africa,* which in turn attracted the attention of an American ambassador, and subsequently, lead him to an opportunity to exhibit his work in America.

Figure 16. George Hallett. 1979. *Peter Clarke diptych, France.* [Online].

His journey in America started at the University of Illinois in Champaign, and his trips lasted two to three weeks on average at various other universities in Tuskegee, Michigan State, Howard and Emory. As a result, Hallett grew popular amongst students as his class merged politics and sociology as part of photography. Due to this reputation, he was offered a job at the University of Illinois to teach students how to photograph basketball and football. While Hallett enjoyed the culturally rich experience, he soon left for Amsterdam where he worked with local media.

In Amsterdam, Hallett had several exhibitions and was eventually "given a job by the Amsterdam Centre for Foreigners to teach photography to young Turkish and Moroccan women" (Mason 2014: 211). After six months, he held an exhibition called *Allemaal Amsterdammers* (We are all from Amsterdam), where the works of his students were exhibited with some of the best Dutch photographers. Essentially his experience in Amsterdam taught him that for many from the Islamic world, that there was no going back.

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Prior to Mandela's release in 1994, Hallett was asked by a picture agency to document the violence between the ANC and Inkatha (Mason 2014: 211).[59] In an interview, Hallett admits his discomfort with this assignment because he was not an ANC member, and firmly believed that they were all South Africans fighting for the same freedom (Mason 2014: 21). Hallett was even more surprised that they let him into South Africa with a French pass to spend time with King Zwelethini.[60] While with Inkatha, Hallett did not delay and photographed the rural area as well as demonstrations. For the mass rallies, military people would put up their camps where they would train.

Thereafter, Cape Town presented an opportunity to photograph Desmond Tutu at his official residence in Bishop's court for a week.[61] However, Hallett's photographic study of the Arch that week has never been seen.

In 1994, Hallett received a call from Pallo Jordan in Johannesburg to document the elections for a book called *Images of Change* (1995). His task was to photograph Mandela, the moment he practiced being in front of television cameras as well as the moment Mandela got the call from President De Klerk to take charge of the country and establish peace. In the moment Mandela completed his business on the phone, two women who were working there, ran towards Mandela, ululating. In this split second, Hallett captured *First Encounter.* A year later, he photographed Mandela outside of Tuinhuis (garden house), the presidential mansion.

Shortly after his return to Paris, Hallett was informed that his Mandela pictures had won the World Press Photo in Amsterdam. Although it has been years since Hallett's chose to go into exile, he returned to South Africa to stay. Despite the political changes in South Africa, however, he felt that racial stereotyping still existed and that there were a lot of angry bitter people (Mason 2014: 213). According to Mason (2014: 213) Hallett did not feel free to just walk with his camera like he did in London, Paris or Dresden.

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[59] The Inkatha Freedom Party is a political party in South Africa founded in 1975 and is led by Mangosuthu Buthelezi. Amongst their right-winged politics, the party share various ideologies, amongst which include conservatism, nationalism, populism and federalism.

[60] King Goodwill Zelethini kaBhekuzulu (1968-) is known as the reigning king of the Zulu nation in South Africa.

[61] Desmond Tutu is an Anglican clergyman and an activist for anti-apartheid and social rights. More importantly, he was the first black Archbishop to be appointed in Cape Town.

Figure 17. George Hallett. 1994. *First Encounter, Johannesburg.* Photographic print. 31 x 46cm. Private Collection.

Ina 1997, Hallett was appointed official photographer for the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. His South African body of works after his return focus on transformation, youth culture, women in photography, jazz books, a book about District Six as well as various African writers portraits.

Amongst the published books showcasing his works are *Rhizomes of memory*, *District Six Revisited*, *Portraits of African Writers* and *Richard Rive: a partial biography* (Scaldaferri 2014). While in exile and since his return to the country of his birth, Hallett met and befriended various South African intellectuals and artists such as Alex La Guma[62], Gerard Sekoto[63] and Paulo Jordan.

In addition, Hallett "worked with the Nobel Peace Centre in Oslo as picture researcher and exhibitor celebrating the four Peace Prize laureates" (*About George Hallett* 2017). In 2013, Hallett participated in an exhibition at the Cite Internationale des Arts in Paris along with Peter

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[62] Alex La Guma was one of South Africa's most influential novelists and coloured political figures of the twentieth century. Amongst his well-known works are *A walk in the night* (1962), *A Threefold Cord* (1964), *The Stone Country* (1967), *The Fog at the Season's End* (1972) as well as *Time of the Butcherbird* (1979).

[63] Gerard Sekoto is visual artist and is recognized as a pioneer in the emergence of black South African art.

Clarke and other artists. In 2014 Hallett was invited to join the Distinguished Visitor Program at the University of Central Lancashire, where he delivered "an illustrated lecture about his British work in the 70s and 80s" (*About George Hallett* 2017). From 5 March to 9 July 2014 the National Gallery in Cape Town hosted a retrospective exhibition of a collection of Hallett's photographic works which were augmented by a collection of biographical information as well as other book and record covers.

4.1.4 Gavin Jantjes - a brief biography

In his early years, Jantjes lived in District Six. Unlike Adams and Davis, Jantjes' interest in art developed at a young age when he received art classes at the Marion Institute in Queen's Street. At the time, the St Philip's School ran an art program at The Children's Art Centre[64], where children would spend their time constructively developing their creative skills while they waited for their parents to come home from work. Incidentally, the centre was where Jantjes had first met Clarke. Jantjes fully embraced his first introduction to making art as he would later learn that it was a means of expressing himself freely (Smith 2016). In this regard, the centre became the only place where coloured children could harness their artistic skills against the backdrop of apartheid.

After attending art classes until high school, Jantjes was fortunate enough to be able to study at the Michaelis School of Fine Art at the University of Cape Town. However, his application to a white university did not come without limitations as the legal conditions were that he would only be granted permission to study there if he nor his family had any political affiliations (Smith 2016). Upon completion of his studies, he returned to The Children's Art Centre as a teacher. Jantjes' art education continued when he was awarded the Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst (DAAD) Scholarship to go to the Hochschüle für bildende Künste in Germany to complete his Masters in Art.

Jantjes spent most of the 1970s being an active critic in society. As he expressed his views on racial exclusions and segregationist policies in South Africa, his political situation urged him to create series of serigraphs called *A South African Colouring Book* (1974-5). His serigraphs, presented as a child's colouring book, incorporated various drawings, texts, news,

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[64]The Children's Art Centre was situated in the District Six community and served all schools, including Muslim, Christian and other schools. It extended its invitation to anyone who could reach the art center (Smith 2016).

photographs as well as prints that represented life and conditions under apartheid. In *Classify this coloured,* Jantjes centres his identity card with a 'classified' stamp on.

Figure 18. Gavin Jantjes. 1974-5. *Classify this coloured.* Screen print on card. 60.2 x 45.2cm. Private Collection.

Jantjes work often deals with the instrumental and banal bureaucracy that accompanies race classification, as such his work explains the impact of race as a brand of inferiority and the way in which the brand of class distinction opened and closed various doors for him. In other words, in this visually compelling image, along with other images in this series, Jantjes explores the pathos and irony of racial classification, exploitation as well as conflict. The written notations below Jantjes identity card reveal the three problematic racial classifications in South Africa according to the Population Registrations Act of 1950.

This series also play with the concept of innocence and helplessness as suggested by his employment of the format of a child's colouring book in which he manipulates and juxtaposes his images and texts. This could be a comment on the ways in which race classification determined and constrained children's futures. While the serigraphs deal directly with apartheid and resistance, it includes various images from the Soweto uprising in 1960 as well as other less-known images by Dumeli Feni. Jantjes' confrontational themes in his prints place emphasis movement and fragmentation, especially because this sort of political resistance was suppressed well into the 1980s.

Before leaving South Africa, Jantjes held his first exhibition at The Artist's Gallery where he showcased a body of graphic works which included etchings, woodcuts, drawings as well as various screen-prints. In 1982 Jantjes chose to go into exile and became a student advisor at various institutions like the Arts Council of Great Britain (from 1986 to 1990), the Institute of New International Visual Arts Council (INIVA) in 1992, and after that the Tate Gallery in London from 1992 till 1995. During Jantjes' time at INIVA, he coordinated a symposium called *New Internationalism*, and in collaboration with INIVA, published a book called *A Fruitful Incoherence: Dialogues with Artists on Internationalism*. For Jantjes, postmodernity anticipated a new internationalism which created a platform for dialogue about contemporary visual arts between unacknowledged voices and images of the world community. According to Papastergiadis (1993: 99), Jantjes "is always keen to suggest that the figure of the other has taken a new significance in the philosophical and cultural discourse of postmodernity". In this regard, the concept of new internationalism forms "a democratic accountability that is responsive to the specific needs of racial minorities.

In 1998 Jantjes became the artistic director at Henie-Onstad Kunstsenter in Oslo, where he curated various solo-exhibitions for artists such as Marlene Dumas[65] and Yinka Shonibare[66] amongst others. However, Jantjes continued to produce work that addressed the discourses surrounding cultural identity and the politics of native South Africa. In *Untitled* (1988) for example, Jantjes shifts his focus on lost histories and experiences of humanity. More specifically, his interest in astronomy, Khoi-San rock art painting as well as collections of primary words from his visual research, are evident in his artworks from 1988 till 1993.

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[65] Marlene Dumas (1953-) is a South African figurative painter and visual artist who produces paintings collages, drawings, installations and prints. She often depicts her subjects nude and engaged in amorous acts, be it discerning or erotic.
[66] Yinka Shonibare was born in London in 1962 and investigates various notions of colonialism, post-colonialism and cultural identity within the context of globalization.

Figure 19. Gavin Jantjes. 1988. *Untitled.*.Screenprint on paper. Private Collection.

Driven by his passion for the arts, he joined the National Museum of Art, Architecture and Design in Oslo, and continued to curate shows for the International Contemporary Exhibitions (ICE). Jantjes role as curator particularly became important in the reconceptualization of a traditional biennale in his major Cape Africa Platform's CAPE '07 exhibition from 24 March to 2 May 2007. While the event aimed to revive local enthusiasm for the arts in Cape Town, it became one of the first cyclical events to decentralize visual culture. The work produced for the exhibition focussed mainly on the way the artworks interacted with its environment rather than a finished product. The show itself spread over six venues, which ranged from the city centre, to economically undeveloped townships such as Khayelitsha and to the winelands. Essentially the show momentarily united a landscape that has been spatially and ideologically separated by socioeconomic divides which ultimately forced viewers to "constantly reorient themselves and negotiate their environmment" (McIntosch 2007: 1). In 2011 Jantjes participated in the publication of four volumes of Visual Century: South African Art in Context, a radical revision of 20th century South African art that stemmed from the Visual Century Project on twentieth century and contemporary South African Art. It is clear that expulsion from District Six and the accompanying destruction of a concept of home profoundly affected Hallett, Jantjes, Clarke, Adams and Davis in various ways. As a result of being jointly classified under apartheid as coloured, geographic displacement and everyday experience of racial prejudice became the factor that connected these artists to one another.

4.1.5 Peter Clarke - a brief biography.

As someone who did not reside in District Six like the other artists did, Clarke's perception of the area as well as his formative experiences diverged to an extent from the artists discussed before. Nonetheless, he had similar experiences of displacement when another historically coloured area (in Simons Town) was cleared for white residents after the implementation of the Group Areas Act. Clarke was born in Simon's Town in 1929 but his family was forced to move to Ocean View (where there is no view of the ocean) in 1973. Clarke's interest and passion for the arts began at an early age, when his parents, though being poor, provided pencils, paper and crayons for him to encourage his burgeoning artistic skills. Although Clarke lived and was raised in Simon's Town, he began his high school education at Livingstone High School, where he befriended Adams. Clarke's talent was further harnessed by his teacher in his extra-curricular art classes at Livingstone High, where a classroom, materials and journals like *The Studio* were put at the disposal of students who were interested in art. While many students in this class would spend their afternoons and work to their heart's content, Clarke became enraptured with the medium of printmaking, especially the prints of Mexican and Japanese artists and the woodcuts of German Expressionists (Miles 2000: 64). Moreover, Clarke and Adams often visited private collections after school where they were exposed to German Expressionist prints.[67] By the end of grade nine, Clarke left school to escape the regimented life of school during apartheid (Miles 2000: 64).

At the age of fifteen and with only a grade nine qualification to his name, he looked for a job at the dockyard as either a cleaner or a painter. Despite having a full time job, Clarke remained true to his passion and painted at night when he had free time. He further harnessed these skills at Coplan's classes at St. Philip's School in Woodstock, where he regularly interacted with Adams as a personal friend. According to his experience as a coloured artist at this stage, expressing himself was what came to him naturally (Hobbs & Rankin 2011: 43). These classes provided the stimulus for additional subjects to portray. His portrait, *The Boy* (1948), for example, shows how figures became increasingly important in his work as he pushed the

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[67] In the 1930s, many immigrants from Luthuanua and Germany came to Cape Town with various Western styles of art.

boundaries of his oeuvre, which had previously largely focused on the landscape of his surroundings in Simon's Town.
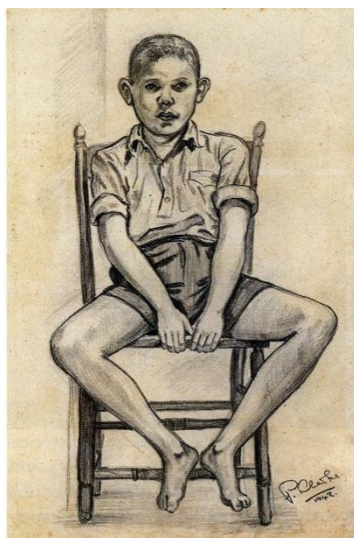

Figure 20. Peter Clarke. 1948. *The Boy*. Pencil on paper. 42 x 29.5cm. Artist's Collection.

Clarke worked at Simon Town's docks until 1956, after which he decided to paint and write professionally. According to Hobbs & Rankin (2011: 52) he often went on trips to Tesselaarsdal, "a small rural village at the foot of the Hartebeesberge", for three to four months where he frequently spent Christmas holidays and occasional weekends. Tesselaarsdal always remained a significant source of inspiration for Clarke because of its landscape and spaces. In Clarke's images of the place, he recorded the cultivated land and its corresponding but diligent residents, as well as the wilder aspects of the place such as its indigenous prickly pears, the playful clouds in the shy as well as its mountains (Hobbs & Rankin 2011: 52). As he explored the finer details of the different vistas, he became aware that the landscape and space was much different to that of Simon's Town, especially because Simon's Town had a claustrophobic network of streets and lanes (Salley 2014: 3). In this regard, Tessedaarsdal "was a palliative for his unrewarding labour at the dockyard and the increasingly bleak social landscapes of apartheid" created (Hobbs & Rankin 2011: 52).

Essentially, Tesselaarsdal became a place that offered an emotional contrast to his restricted life in Simon's Town. With each visit, Clarke felt as if he entered foreign territory as many people spoke Afrikaans rather than the cultivated English people spoke in his hometown. This stimulated Clarke's curiosity about agricultural life.

For Clarke, pursuing an artistic career was one that few coloured people thought of because it was not seen as a viable wage-earning job (Salley 2014: 2). He was not supported by galleries, and was often told that he was not good enough or that he was too young. Understanding the need to exhibit as a coloured artist, James Matthews offered Clarke the newsroom at the Golden City Post, situated in Orange House in Darling street at the edge of District Six as a venue in 1957.[68]For many, this venue was good publicity because, while it was the headquarters of the newspaper, it was also "the hub of information on the adversities of apartheid" and thus lent the exhibition a political inflection (Hobbs & Rankin 2011: 55). In this regard, "the very act of a coloured person holding the exhibition made it a political event" because it became an assertion of individuality and agency (Hobbs & Rankin 2011: 55). This is yet another example of how artists were supported by networks of friends and other artists and intellectuals, a collaborative effort that made exhibitions possible despite the financial or educational constraints imposed by apartheid.

Ultimately, the relationship between Matthews and Clarke, in combination with the exhibition, evoked a sense of solidarity, but also of isolation from the wider artworld. Nonetheless, Clarke felt motivated by the encouraging number of reviews of the show and by growing sales, to pursue art as a viable career. White commentators still continuously defined his art as coloured and a product of a collective coloured culture that proscribed his identity as an artist. In 1961 he studied at the Michaelis School of Fine Art, and was offered opportunities to study etching in one of the few etching studios in the country equipped for a wide range of processes (Hobbs & Rankin 2011: 78). Despite the Extension of the University Education Act of 1959 which "provided for separate tertiary education for non-white students in South Africa", Clarke's chances of gaining entry into the university were still slim. While at Michaelis School of Fine Art, however, Clarke, on his annual trip to Tesselarsdal, took along Hallett who "took his first photographs with Clarke's Brownie Box camera" (Hossb & Rankin 2011: 54). Subsequently the two artists established a fruitful creative relationship.

In 1962-1963 he continued his studies at the Rijksakadamie in Amsterdam. Clarke's approach to printmaking in Amsterdam in 1963, was significant because he further built on innovative

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[68] James Matthews was a reporter at the Golden City Post, a white owned newspaper and monthly magazines for blacks. While he worked at the newspaper, he still wrote copy for a coloured newspaper (Stafford 1979: 54).

techniques where he combined multiple blocks with relief printing and collagraph and used "print surfaces constructed of various conventional materials and cutoffs" (Hobbs & Rankin 2011: 100). Even though Clarke was in Amsterdam, his memories of South Africa still sustained his work, like *Conversations, Windemere* (1963) which journeys back to the squatter camp. Hobbs & Rankin (2011: 89) argue that this elaborate composition had far more "anecdotal detail than the pared-down simplicity of his earlier images of the area, suggesting more picturesque aspects of the scene, softened by the muted lithograph". While disintegrating communities remained the subject of many of Clarke's paintings, he seldom engaged with the emotionalism attached to the concept of 'township art' which resulted from the famous Polly Street Center in Johannesburg in the 1960s.

While Clarke drew much of his inspiration from German Expressionism, he was also inspired by the beauty of traditional Japanese art as well as Mexican art, specifically Orozo's *Zapatistas* (1931), and he practiced a similar style in his own work (Hobbs & Rankin 2011: 60). While he studied at the Cape Technical College, Clarke realized that painting had become his trademark in combination with a passion for creative writing. He used the prize money he won from creative writing competitions to purchase his art materials.

Figure 21. Jose Orozco. 1931. *Zapatistas marching*. Oil painting. 1.114 x 1.4m. Museum of Modern Art Collection.

As Clarke's reputation as an artist grew (especially after exhibiting in District Six), he was afforded an opportunity to broaden his artistic skills at the Rijksakademie van Beeldenden Kunsten in the Netherlands (Young 2013: 2). According to Young (2013: 2) "by 1961, Clarke's art was being showcased at exhibitions in England, Germany and the United States of America (USA) and in 1962, he was invited to study printmaking in Holland". Clarke was further

included in various Venice Biennales in 1964, 1968 and 1969, in addition to being represented on the first and second exhibitions of international Graphics at the Palazzo Strozzo in Italy.

However, 1966 marked a change in Clarke's life as he learned that Simon's Town was affected by the Group Areas Act. As an artist, he often associated himself with political events, but particularly dwelt on the traumatic consequences of forced removals such as the clearance of Simon's Town and District Six. Although he never explicitly depicted District Six, Clarke's intense feelings for the Cape milieu as the backdrop of collective coloured experience echoed the concerns of the other artists discussed in this thesis. Like them, his sense of community was rooted in the concept of space.

After Clarke and other coloured inhabitants of Simon's Town were forcibly removed to Ocean View in 1969, he joined a group called the Arts Community Society (ArtCom), "an organization that he describes as made up of colored artists wanting to take art to colored communities" (Hobbs & Rankin 2011: 114). Amongst the group's members were Jantjes and Hallett. Initially the group had exhibitions in places like church halls, as well as the Argus Gallery, "where Clarke exhibited with them" (Hobbs & Rankin 2011: 114). At times, they could exhibit at establishment galleries like the South African Association of Arts Gallery, situated in the Manne building opposite the old station in Cape Town. While ArtCom provided a structured context for Clarke to further assist artists independently, he took the lead role in ArtCom's first event where he demonstrated printmaking at the Methodist Church Hall in Athlone in 1964 (Hobbs & Rankin 2011: 114). Another consequence of this is that "this group extended Clarke's contact with other artists, particularly among Cape liberals, already initiated through the journal 'Contrast'" (2011: 114). Clarke contributed to this independent publication as an artist and a writer even though it was known for its diverse illustrations and cover images. Clarke often gifted other members with prints and later got involved with "other community initiatives in the arts, such as Vakalisa and CAP in Cape Town.

Clearly forced removals compelled people of colour to deal with the harsh realities apartheid wrought upon those classified as coloured, Indian and African. While many coloured residents of Simon's Town were forcibly removed, "Clarke recalls that being left behind seemed even worse than being moved" (Hobbs & Rankin 2011: 120). Inevitably, artists such as Clarke experienced bitterness and a certain emptiness. In an attempt to counter these feelings, he

drew his inspiration from the memories of District Six, which he tried not to mould into the stereotypical image supplied by apartheid discourse, but through which he rather strove to challenge the very notion of a homogenous and essential coloured identity. Hobbs & Rankin (2011: 47) elaborate on this point arguing that Clarke enjoyed an implicit understanding of the details of a circumscribed identity because he was all too familiar with the consequences of these ascribed, racialized identities.

By 1970, Clarke's style matured significantly as his construction of forms became insistent when he continued to stay in Simon's Town till 1972 even though it had become a ghost town. In *Listening to distant thunder* (1970), he powerfully re-deploys the lessons he learnt in the 1960s in a complex pyramidal arrangement where he assured the relationship between colour and tone. The landscape appears painted with cubist overtones that evoke "the parched quality of austere Karoo landscapes, the dry textures of the land further evoked by the addition of sand to the oil paint" (Hobbs & Rankin 2011: 117).
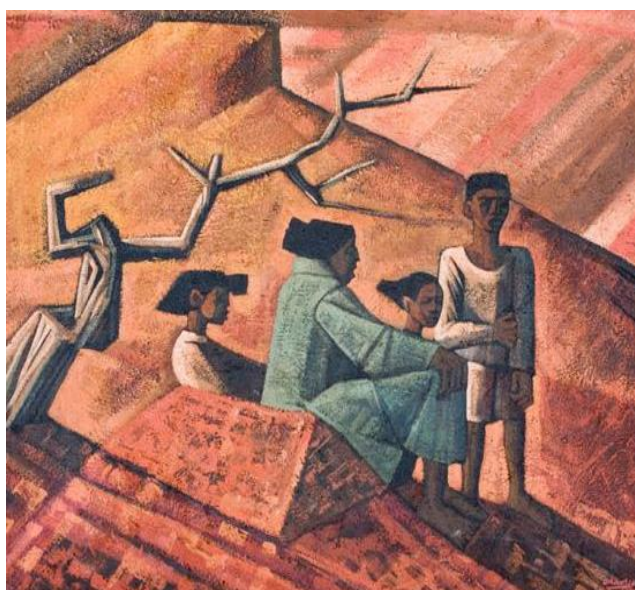
Figure 22. Peter Clarke. 1970. *LIstening to distant thunder.* Oil and sand on board. The Campbell Collection.

In this painting, Clarke evokes a sense of threat and anticipation in his subjects, alluding to their thoughts about what imminent displacement and how it would ultimately affect them. According to Hobbs & Rankin (2011: 117) the profiles of the preoccupied figures seem to contemplate a prospect beyond the edge of the picture format as the austerity in their stylization endow them with a sense of solid permanence. While the sky reflects an orange and burnt sienna of the land, Clarke depicts distant rain on the horizon with lightning and an aggressively angled tree branch, itself evocative of lightning, over their heads. Clarke's

artworks depict an intimate knowledge of the customs of people resident in the Cape Peninsula and the way they all have a strong sense of place that are rooted in the Cape and its immediate environs (Proud 2005: 122). According to Proud (2005: 122) "Clarke's work can also be seen as an invaluable social document celebrating both the joyous and the darker sides of life". Ultimately, Clarke's works produced in the 1960s and 1970s show a strong sense of formal design combined with his use of bold lines and angular forms.

Clarke served as part of the UWC Artworks Committee in the 1980s, while he worked with the head of the Children's Art Center in Zonnebloem, Cape Town. However, in the mid-1980s, Clarke moved away from depicting marginalized subjects, their social and their political life in a distinct bold graphic style, and instead opted to explore abstraction through collage. Clarke often worked from his home because he did not have a studio, which ultimately limited the scale of his works, and "poignantly situates his unfortunate use of cheap and mostly inferior materials" (Van Robbroeck 2012: 1).

In the 1990s, Clarke's work shifted to making artist's books on various topics. Among these artist books were ones made of leather than could be folded into boxes of various shapes and sizes. After 1994, Clarke felt that "one should explore other things beyond the statement", and this lead him to play around with collage as a way of dealing with his space of imagination. He often associated himself with the District Six Museum since its inception in 1994 where he contributed to the memory map of District Six, and inscribed the museum with his painted poems on the floor (Maurice 2010).

In his subsequent *Fanfare* series of works that followed, Clarke combined each fan-shaped collage with "written text either quoted or written by Clarke to describe the thoughts of a character who has influenced his life in some way, whether historical, literary, biblical, imaginary or real" (*Peter Clarke: Fanfare* 2017). These artworks specifically articulated the discarded and overlooked materials as much as that which is kept or cherished (Salley 2014: 3). In the accompanying publication, Clarke shares his life experiences and talks about his work.
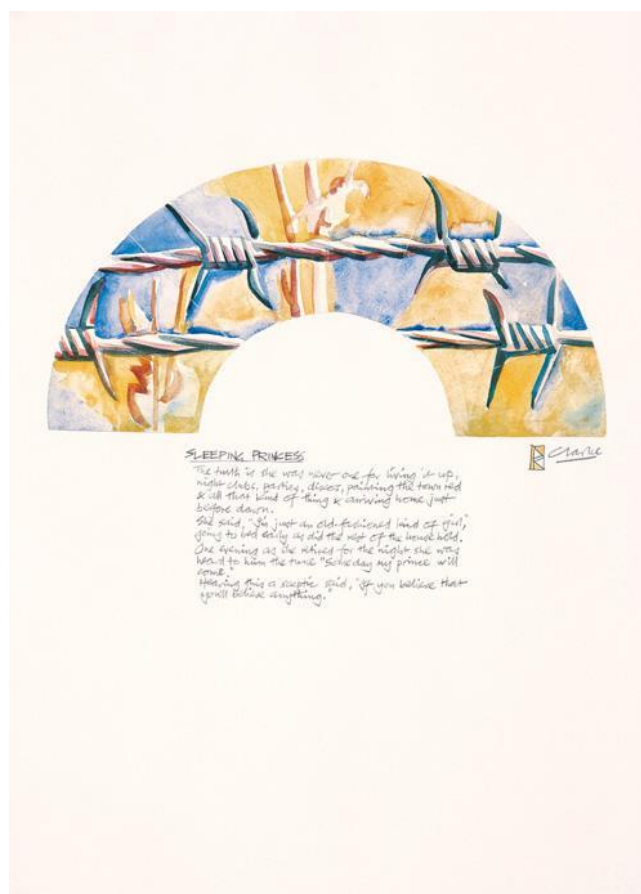
Figure 23. Peter Clarke. *2004. Sleeping Princess From the Fanfare series.* Mixed media on paper. 50 x 35cm. Private Collection.

Former president Thabo Mbeki awarded Clarke the Order of Ikhamanga for excelling in the fields of arts and literature, and in 2010 he was awarded the Arts and Culture Trust Lifetime Achievement Award. In 2011, the Standard Bank Gallery in Johannesburg and the Iziko South African National Gallery in Cape Town held a retrospective exhibition called *Listening to Distant Thunder* that honored Clarke's life work. According to Maurice (2010), the exhibition included Clarke's early pieces, made as a schoolboy, as well as works that reflect the social disruption of the Cape Flats. His other works from the 1960s were also exhibited where he depicted the trauma of forced removals in Simon's Town (Maurice 2010). As his late works look back on the horrors of the apartheid regime, it simultaneously celebrates the new South Africa.

In 2013, the Institute of International Visual Arts in London held Clarke's last solo exhibition titled *Wind Blowing on the Cape Flats*. This exhibition particularly positioned Clarke as a South African artist, largely unrecognized, especially in Europe. In retrospect, Clarke left a legacy of prints, poems and literature when he passed away at age 85 in 2014. During his

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life, he became a role model and a mentor in his contributions to the arts and humanities, as well as art education in South Africa (Maurice 2010).

All the above biographies demonstrate the singular impact of the Group Areas Act on this generation of coloured artists. Most importantly, it shows how this act of cultural destruction ironically generated an artistic response based on solidarity and community that engendered a new, resistant coloured identity. In this way, Foucault's theory of the subject as a product of discourse, and as both subject to power, yet a locus of resistance and agency, is made evident.

4.2 A critical analysis of the 'coon' carnival as symbol and metaphor of coloured culture

In dealing with the construct of coloured identity, it is impossible to omit mention of the so-called 'coon' carnival (recently renamed the 'minstrel carnival' because of the racist overtones of the term 'coon'), which, for many decades, was regarded as the primary event in the cultural calendar of the coloured communities of the Western Cape. Since some of the artists I look at in this dissertation included work on the minstrel carnival in their critical investigation of coloured identity, this brief discussion is particularly important. It must be noted, however, that, as a cultural phenomenon, the minstrel carnival is both historically complex and culturally difficult to decode, because it employs, inter alia, conventionally racist elements of American blackface minstrelsy. Given that the focus of the dissertation is on 'high' arts and not popular culture, these complexities are only briefly investigated here, and the significance an ambiguity of the carnival is unpacked primarily in relation to two artists' critical responses to it.

According to South African History Online (2017: 1) the merry carnival stems from South Africa's painful past of racial prejudice, segregationist policies and colonial rule. In this regards, slavery in the Cape by the Dutch East India Company resulted in a creolisation of Cape Town as dehumanised slaves were prevented from forming a collective consciousness.[69]

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[69] According to South African History Online (2017: 1) the Dutch East India Company "forbade the enslavement of aboriginal people; the Khoikhoi pastoralists and Bushmen hunter-gatherers from the Cape and neighboring regions".

New Year's day was celebrated by the Dutch with an annual feast, and slaves were allowed to spend it with their families and gather in the Malay Quarter in Bo-Kaap to await the second of January. On this day, slaves were given off to celebrate in their own way. By the nineteenth century, 'Second' New Year's was a joyous occasion as it afforded slaves a chance to engage in the festivities and celebrate in brightly-coloured clothes and eccentric costumes while they sang and danced. The dancing and singing that many slaves enjoyed in the time spent with their families eventually developed into ghoemalietjies (ghoema songs).[70] These songs were later published in half Dutch and half Malay to satirise the mannerisms of their white masters and madams. Ghoemalietjies were often sung by slaves at events such as picnics, an event their masters were obligated to provide them with entertainment.

Moreover, the ghoema tradition was believed to have stemmed from the process slaves went through to deal with their melancholia. They often went down to the beach to beat their ghoema drum together with dance moves such as squares, lances and quadrilles, to imitate their white rulers. According to South African History Online (2017: 2) new traditions were forged when "slaves, freed slaves as well as descendants of Khoi-San tradition would also sing in choirs, watch the colonial troops march on parade, sing *God save the Queen*, and celebrate marriages and birthdays with song and dance".

After the abolition of slavery in 1834, the 2 January or *Tweede Nuwe Jaar* (second New Year's) united creole culture in Cape Town to a certain extent.[71] Although the choirs mostly played European dance music before and after the abolition of slavery, there were various other coloured musicians who played music, which in turn resulted in creole repertoires which mixed Eastern and European musical elements together. Slaves thus celebrated their freedom with street parades where minstrel bands played to the sounds of ghoema drums, trombones, banjos, tubas, guitars and whistles.

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[70] The ghoema is known as a barrel-shaped drum that is created from dismantled wine vat, with goatskin tightly stretched over the top.

[71] The creole culture in Cape Town was a result of mixed residential areas where people from various parts of the world interacted with 'free Blacks' who worked with whites. Consequently, slaves became integrated into various social underclasses.

In the late nineteenth century, the coloured people who celebrated New Year's were particularly influenced by American 'blackface' minstrelsy. The American minstrel troupes consisted of singers, white comedians, and musicians, who impersonated African American slaves for entertainment. They blackened their faces with burnt cork, wore colourful tailcoats and impersonated rural slaves.

The American minstrels particularly influenced the minstrel carnival in Cape Town when they came to visit with their collections of Dutch and American songs. They would parade down the streets and serenade their songs to the locals. More importantly, the visit from Christy's Minstrels as well as Orpheus McAdoo's Virginia Jubilee Singers, who performed in Cape Town, contributed to the start of the Cape Minstrels and the minstrel carnival, particularly because these visitors influenced the tradition of painting one's face black with white around one's eyes in Cape Town.

The minstrel carnival formed a vital part in the construction of coloured culture, especially in District Six. In many ways, the carnival became a form of escapism for the increasingly oppressed and occluded coloured populations. Martin (2001: 257) explains that the carnival is often interpreted in a derogatory fashion, as "a degrading exercise where participants were seen as impersonating clowns and making spectacles of themselves for the pleasure and amusement of their white masters". To the contrary, Martin explains that the carnival was "an overt manifestation of culture defined by the apartheid system, [which denied] disadvantaged members of the coloured community the opportunity to make light of their daily sufferings" (Martin 2001: 257). For some coloured people who participated, the minstrel carnival became a fight for their identities (Meltzer 2010: 6). In this way, negative and racist meanings were not taken on-board by the minstrel troupes (Meltzer 2010: 13). While the performance of the minstrel carnival attract many spectators, it was supported by many for its fullness as a spectacle. To this end, carnival during the apartheid years "was often rejected as a government concession where marginalised people could perform their identity" (Meltzer 2010: 3).

From a Foucauldian perspective, the carnival becomes both a sign of the subjugation of coloured peoples to the dominant discourse as well as a form of agency and self-

representation. While it perpetuates the derogatory white perception of coloured people as 'coons' because of the clowns that act in exactly the way white 'blackface' minstrels did in the United States, this performance also signifies agency because it is not being performed by whites pretending to be black. This counter-appropriation is ironic and satirical in intent.

For Foucault, individuals are 'individuated' by means of the discourses surrounding them, and they respond to the call (ie: they are interpellated, to use Foucault's teacher, Althusser's term) by the constructed image of them. The internalisation of these discourses creates a place for the individual in the socius. Once this place is adopted, and the position acquired, the individual can have agency by appropriating this position. in this case, the 'coon' carnival can be read as an 'expression' of essentialised colouredness for political ends.

While the notion of performance refers to the presentation of the self, the social drama associated with performance marks events and acts of culture, which, in turn, render the performance significant. Performances become significant in the process of 'making' identifications, instead of it being understood as a performance of pre-existing identities. As a cultural performance, blackface always communicates race relations through the use of the popular stage, and 'codes' discourses on race that carefully embed messages of dominance into routines (Varro 1996: 59). As Foucault's understanding of agency emphasises the possibility for resistance and change, the self-production of coloured identity can be read as a discursive practice. In fact, the minstrel festival thus becomes an event where subjects recognise and acknowledge themselves as objects of desire. The 'blackface' guise often incorporates universal features of the clown, with its enlarged and bulging eyes, and is a clear reference to colouredness as spectacle and performance. In other words, the 'coon' provides a useful opportunity for coloured people to affirm and express their creative capacity in light of their inequality and alienation in white dominated South Africa.

Another main manifestation of racial discourse in performing blackface is its minstrel dialect that is mainly used for "packaging racially specific discourses in non-threatening and seemingly humanitarian guises" (Varro 1996: 61). Indeed, it reiterates cultural stereotypes of the innocence, naivety, irresponsibility and childishness of the coloured people. To a great extent, it rationalises the suppression of coloured people and further perpetuates an inferior

status compared to whites. In this context, comedy provides a protective shield that saves the blackface performer from political attacks and condemnations. In this way, the minstrel subtly and definitively reject "the dual myths of white racial superiority and of racial purity over mixing in South African society" (Afolayan 2004: 26).

While the performer is always subject to laughter from his audiences, he always supplies audiences and minstrel delineators with a sense of gratification, especially because it communicates in a veiled discourse the triumph of the white race over black and coloured people in South Africa. In this way the 'coon' represents himself as a 'real' coloured, and assumes a new identity, without the threat of merging identities. In essence, the price the minstrel plays when he assumes such an identity, allows room for the image of the coloured as well as the cultural heritage, to be grossly manipulated. In doing so, coloured people are temporarily allowed to transcend, their ambiguous and anomalous status in South African society by socially and aesthetically linking themselves with the international community (Afolayan 2004: 226).

In addition Martin argues that the minstrel experience encompassed a sense of geographical belonging which often contradicted the constructed identity the apartheid state had engineered (2010: 446). As the minstrels took possession of the Cape, and affirmed that the Cape belongs to them, they proclaimed their existence of their members as creative human beings (Martin 2001: 257). The hybridity of the carnival can be read as a cultural equivalent of the creole and hybrid origins of the coloured population group. Martin argues that in the context of the narrow parochialism of the dominant white culture, the 'coons' painted Cape Town with the bright colours of Africa, Asia, America and Europe (2001: 257).

For the most part, the figure of the minstrel itself can be seen as a product of creolisation, though it remains ambivalent in how it portrays this creole identity. According to Oliphant (2013: 37), "this ambivalence is located in the nature of the process of creolisation which contradicts separateness, instead of emphasising the blending where all original styles have been mixed". In light of this, the carnival, along with the coloured identities included in it, found uniformity within diversity.

More specifically, the discourse of the minstrel introduces Foucault's notion of the body as it becomes a mediator between the self and the world as it constantly refers to embodiment and movement in society. The journey the body goes on while the minstrels take over Cape Town with their dance and song, represent modes of appropriating urban space and sites from which to launch imaginaries. Consequently, the city becomes a dancehall in the process of the carnival as the moving body becomes an archive insofar that it reconstructs space[72] and time of both the past and the present. In other words, it presents an alternative map of the city that are constructed through the relations between people, communal ancestors as well as social relationships. While these practices remain invisible on the surface of the city, over time, it included a more structured approach to practices, rehearsals, venues, marches, competitions and planning. Essentially, the sensory experience of the world is vital in understanding the making of the Cape Flats home through the body, and creating a sense of belonging (Oliphant 2013: 16).

In this sense, carnival occurs on the border of life and art, and is shaped according to a pattern of play (Robinson 2011). Similarly, while Bakhtin (1984) believed that the popular tradition of carnival carried a particular wisdom, Robinson argues that his notions of carnival and carnivalesque "create an alternative space, characterized by freedom, equality and abundance" (2011). In the carnival, people become reborn into human relations that transcend from being imagined to being experienced. In this regard, the body become less that of an individual, and rather points at an exaggerated collective identity. Essentially, the individuals in carnival form part of an ancestral body where the self is transgressed through the practice of masking (Robinson 2011). For Bakhtin, the carnivalesque portray a positive yet creative process that contain "a utopian promise for human emancipation through the free expression of thought and creativity" (Robinson 2011).

Depictions of carnivalesque images often call to mind Bakhtin's grotesque realism which transgress the boundaries between the field of art and bodily life as it introduces the body into the field of art. He proposes that the body and its grotesque ambivalence played an

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[72] While the key idea of spatial theorists suggest that space is fundamental to social life, it becomes vital in the co-constructive relationship among individuals, groups and their environments. In other words, social spaces produces and is produced by one's practices (Harvey 1989; Rose 1993).

important role in the aesthetics of carnival, especially when it came to performing a sense of belonging.[73]

In the case of coloured people in South Africa, the idea of carnival remains a proclamation of an indestructible capacity for survival (Oliphant 2013: 37). It is within this context that this section will investigate the various discourses of the mask and the minstrel in the works of Lionel Davis and Albert Adams as they collectively engage in questioning the concept of coloured culture and the mask. The minstrel carnival, and the critical response to it by coloured artists who use it to interrogate coloured cultural identity (as I will argue presently), present articulate confirmation of Foucault's conception of cultural identity as a discursive construct, in which individuals adopt their ascribed identities through interpellation and internalisation, yet manage to appropriate those discourses to question and transgress these ascribed identities. The 'performance' of colouredness in the carnival can thus be read as both a statement of compliance *and* transgression.

4.2.1   The mask in the works of Lionel Davis

In *Masks #2* and *Masks #5,* Lionel Davis explores how experiences shape identity, particularly in the context of Cape Town during apartheid, where experiences were determined by racial classification. Davis draws specific attention to the various meanings suggested by the trope of the mask in relation to coloured identity, including its psychological role, its social role within the carnival, as well as its allusion to African masks. In this regard, these images create a dialogue between Cape culture, especially that of District Six, and how African diaspora is explored through the medium of the mask (Thompson 2009: 2). Indeed, Davis moulds his own identity from the lifetime of pain and shame associated with being 'too' dark skinned, and by implication, too African, in a society socially stratified according to skin colour.

Evident in these three works is the concept of African diaspora. However, the concept of Africa is complex in itself because it questions who the African is that reconstitutes African

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[73] Prior to the development of social class and state structure, carnival was comis/ festive as it became an integral part in the unifies culture of the people. Due to the development of class and state however, elements of culture were excluded from the official culture and thus presented an alternative folk culture of carnival.

diaspora through their diasporic identity. In the era of globalisation wrought by Western Imperialism, when the forcible migration of colonists, refugees, slaves and indentured labourers caused unprecedented displacement of persons across the globe, it is no longer feasible to think in terms of cultural essences and pure ethnic identities. For this reason, Zeleza (2009: 33) explains that the concept of Africa is flawed "with multiple genealogies and meanings that make any explorations of African culture and identity, in the singular or plural, quite slippery as these notions swing unsteadily between the poles of essentialism and contingency".

Figure 24. Lionel Davis. Undated. *Masks #2*. Mixed media. 69 x 49cm. Artist's Collection.

Davis explores his diasporic identity with reference to the mask, as, first of all, it becomes a metaphor of identity, while the trope of the mask also refers to his own Cape heritage as being a part of a broader African heritage. In various African cultures[74], masks are used as vital medium to communicate with spirits and ancestors during religious ceremonies. In *Masks #2* for example, Davis depicts his subjects with animalistic masks, in an abstracted form, as though these subjects capture the spirit of the animal in the same way totemic African masks are believed to.

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[74] In South Africa, a country that is ethnically and culturally diverse, there are various traditional cultures that populate the rural areas of the country. Among these ethnic groups, the Xhosa and Zulu remain the largest groups in comparison to smaller groups such as Tswana, Pedi, Sotho, Swazi, Ndebele, Tsonga as well as Venda. Their cultural differences are apparent in the way their villages are organized, their economic structures and their kinship structures.

It could be that use of collage, ink and paint, references the hybrid nature of the minstrel carnival, since "collage is linked to notions of indecency, paradox and perplexity" and references the idea of hybridity and impurity, especially in the field of fine arts (Salley 2014: 4). It further calls to mind the idea of the *goffel* insofar that these figures are deliberately parodic and rendered as socially inferior and unattractive.[75]

While the foreground is populated with ghost-like masked figures dancing and performing, the 'coons' and their umbrellas seem to be small and almost hidden in the background. The dominating foreground figures may refer to Davis' deep shared bond and identification with African political prisoners with whom he shared incarceration. Perhaps because it was believed that African cultures had roots set in ancient traditions, in contrast to the more invented and hybrid cultural traditions of the Cape coloured communities, Davis was profoundly impressed by his encounter with other African cultural traditions in prison.

On the other hand, the distant minstrels in the background suggest that Davis is perhaps critical of the conflation of coloured identity with the carnival, and with the stereotypes that accompany the classification. As mentioned earlier, the minstrel remains ideologically loaded, because there are implied references to the idea of a coloured culture as the product of displacement and hybrid intermixing, and the minstrel carnival demonstrates the creation of new racial identities from a global diaspora of slaves. The reference to displaced slaves in the United States suggests a global culture of debased and devalued diasporan cultures; the celebratory tone of the minstrel revelry moreover evokes the colonial lie of a joyful, simple and happy folk content with their station in life. The minstrel carnival could thus be seen as reinforcing stereotypes of an uncomplicated and essentially content demographic. Martin (2008: 70) elaborates on the reasons why the cape carnival troupes adopted aspects of American 'coon' blackface, arguing that these perceptions stem from the notion that America was the land of plenty and was a black utopia where slaves were able to make progress soon after they were freed.[76] It was believed that African American slaves were able to uplift their

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[75] According to Adhikari (2005: 152) *goffel* is a "highly pejorative term that generally refers to working-class coloured women and characterizes them as socially inferior, usually unattractive but sexually available".

[76] The concept of a utopia was coined by Sir Thomas More from a Greek expression, and describe an imaginary society where poverty and suffering ceases to exist.

community in a way that paved the way for coloured people in South Africa. However, in the context of the nineteenth and early twentieth century, blackface[77] minstrelsy, as a modern form of entertainment, was a spectacle by and for white Americans, to maintain and perpetuate the illusion of a fundamentally content, humorous and backward African-American population.

Davis' prints are reminiscent of the bright colours often used in the clothing that each minstrel wears in their troop. The images appear to be fragmented while simultaneously creating an overall compositional effect of harmonious wholeness, as if to refer to various instances in Davis' life where all the traditions of masking were relevant in his life. According to Martin (2008: 71) the mask of the minstrel "allows the individual who wears it to access other worlds, to enter different mind states; the 'coon' mask puts a reveller into a state of *tariek".*[78] This disassociation makes reference to the way in which coloured people identified with the United States through the mediation of the mask of the minstrel. A further disconnection appears in the identification process of the constructed discourses of coloured identity. It becomes evident that the collective imaginary of coloured as a social group becomes entangled and almost blurred with the minstrel's identity in the quest to devise an inner sense of self (as opposed to the identity imposed on them by the apartheid state) (Martin 2008: 72). In this sense, Davis challenges the constructed and unstable idea of being coloured. The instance of the adoption of the minstrel as a metaphor of coloured identity, exemplifies Foucault's theorisation of subjectivity and agency. While a stereotyped notion of coloured identity was discursively ascribed by the colonial and apartheid states, the willing adoption of the American figure of the minstrel, itself a stereotypical fiction constructed by a white ruling elite, is both an instance of how the discursive power of the ruling elite shaped identities, but simultaneously provided opportunities for resistance and agency.

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[77] According to Martin (2008: 67) the minstrel troupe that had a tremendous impact on Cape Town's carnival was the Christie Troupe that consisted of white men and women with the face painted black with burnt cork to look like 'coons'. However, blackface remain problematic because the derogatory term refer to African-Americans. While perpetuating various traits of white minstrel shows, the troupe introduced 'jubilee songs' with the aim of portraying their hopes of liberty as they sang this peculiar kind of part songs (Martin 2008: 67). Essentially, they "reinforced the American minstrel influence among coloured musicians and certainly contributed to making it perennial, for those who attended" and expressed freedom "experienced by recently emancipated slaves and successes in the upliftment of their community" (Martin 2008: 68).

[78] Deriving from the Arabic word *t'ariqa*, which means the way leading to God, the term *tariek* in the minstrel carnival refers to the altered state of consciousness reached through trans-like dance and singing.

Figure 25. Lionel Davis. Undated. *Masks #5*. Mixed media. 69 x 49cm. Artist's Collection.

In *Masks #5*, Davis attempts to research his own heritage in the process of unmasking his unconscious. In doing so he reveals the instability of memory, the way it is reconstructed, how it is always affected by time and the way in which counter-memory resists historical continuity. Foucault reminds one that memory is always based on who remembers, the context of those memories and what they oppose. Perhaps this masking process also refers to the turbulent time where coloured people, as classified by apartheid policies, were required to carry around pass books as a constant form of identification.

4.2.2   The dark side of carnival in the works of Albert Adams

Similarly, Albert Adams explores the dark side of the carnival as he depicts the minstrel with a different kind of mask. In his *celebration series*, Adams questions the idea of this carnival in relation to his own identity as a coloured artist.

In *Celebration head - open mouth* (2000), for example, he depicts a distorted minstrel figure in the foreground which neither represents a distinct human face nor a specific mask.

Figure 26. Albert Adams. 2000. *Celebration head – open mouth.* Oil on board. 1530 x 1530cm. Artist's Collection.

The face, with its empty, dislocated eyes and deaths' head grimace, makes a mockery of the title 'celebration head'. The jolly bowtie and typical minstrel carnival boater and red blazer, is uncomfortably juxtaposed with the agonised, distorted face. In the background of the painting there is an indistinct and menacing presence, which, unlike the foreground figure, has no facial features and is wearing a red jacket. Both figures appear against a dark backdrop, which increases the sinister effect.

The distorted and menacing minstrel figure compels the viewer to share the disillusionment of the marginalized coloured people whose need to preserve the minstrel culture is a symbol of both their subjugation and their resistance to it. According to (Martin 2010: 446) the carnival could be viewed as "an occasion for establishing links and giving, the consolidating social cohesion to a collectivity of people brought together, not of their own will but by forced deputation and enclosure within the bounds of a common condition". Like Davis, Adams addresses the ambivalence of the minstrel which accommodates both white discourses on coloured identity (the coloured as 'clown') and coloured people's own discourses about themselves. On the one hand, the racist discourse makes reference to an implied inferiority and the coloured people's dependence on what was "unduly presented as a 'white superior culture'" (Martin 2010: 448). On the other hand, Adams scrutinizes the feeling of belonging and the way in which it was "implicitly defined by an openness to the world (thence the

possibility to add, fuse or change identities)" (Martin 2010: 448), yet alludes to the underlying pain and isolation accompanying this wilful act of community. The gloomy atmosphere of the painting, and the mute scream of the 'coon' figure, evokes a sense of existential pain and alienation.

Adams' choice to focus on an individual minstrel face suggests that he chose the carnival as theme of coloured pain rather than communal joy. The common white perception of coloured community as picturesque and happy is thus overturned, and the carnival becomes a symbol of coloured alienation.

Clearly the context of his exile played a vital role in Adams' depiction of the minstrel. Within the alien environment of Europe, artists such as Adams engaged the expressionist style to deconstruct the very notion of coloured culture itself. As Adams explores the complexities of the cultural discourses of District Six in *Celebration head* (2002), he also gives voice to his own sense of existential alienation and un-belonging in Europe.
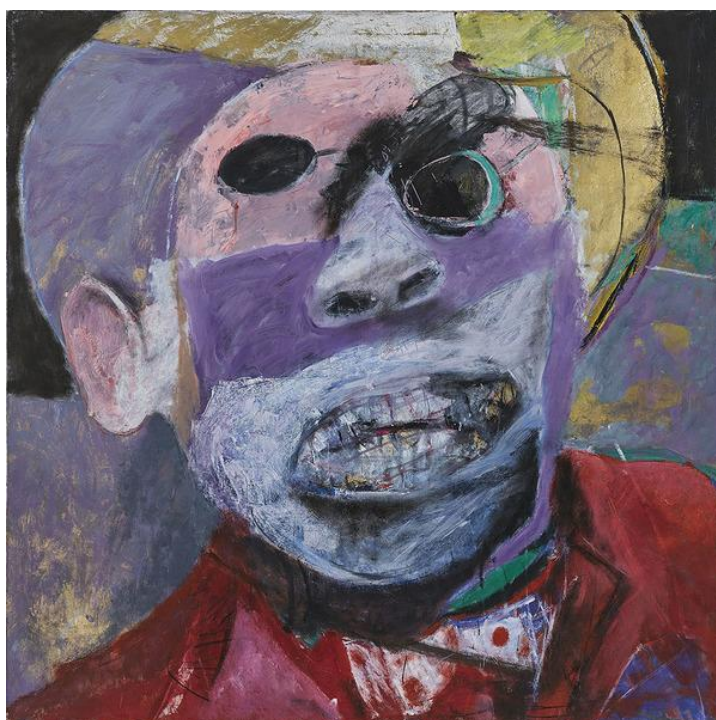
Figure 27. Albert Adams. 2002. *Celebration head.* Oil on canvas. 1530 x 1530cm. Artist's Collection.

One could argue that Adams conducted an investigation into the liminal space of coloured identity through the metaphor of the minstrel. The carnival, which commemorates the second new year as a day of freedom, can also be interpreted as a celebration of coloured identity as a uniquely South African culture, but one born from, and always immersed in, pain

and displacement. In light of this, Baxter (1996: 21) argues that the organizational structures and the spatial aspect of the event were an "… expression of territorial belonging". Thus, the familiar paradigm of the slave and the master produces the carnival as a product of an ongoing cultural dialectic where its form is "determined in the struggle between a host of vying historical discourses of which slavery is one" (Baxter 1996: 21). The minstrel thus becomes the locus of a brutal but disguised confrontation between master and slave. This negotiation of the concept of othering remained relevant to Adams both in the local context of South Africa, and the international context of exile.

The works of Davis and Adams provide their viewer with a particular view of the minstrel carnival which queers the stereotypical discourses of the 'coon' as being the happy fool. The 'coon' further acts as a metaphor through which these artists can confront the mask and the carnivalesque as a sign of disguised cultural defiance.

Bakhtin believed that the function of the carnivalesque is to consecrate an inventive freedom from prevailing discourses, conventions, established truths and clichés (Jones : 6). However, during this cultural defiance or cultural subversion, the participants still disregard the fact that carnival, in itself, is a cliché. For Bakhtin, these immediate carnival pleasures suggest a mimetic action that keeps an ironic distance between performers and audience.

4.3 Understanding Districts Six and its experiences through space

Given the polemics of coloured identity in apartheid South Africa, the images of George Hallett, Gavin Jantjes and Peter Clarke investigate the notions on how their locality and sense of cultural belonging is reconstituted by their memories of District Six. Given that the area remains a culture situated within dislocation itself, it speaks to a sense of (un)belonging which in turn, contributes to a collective identity as well as a cultural commensality (Angelini 2003: 22).

4.3.1 District Six in the works of George Hallett

Once the state declared that District Six be demolished and proclaimed a white area in 1966, George Hallett (along with other artists such as Clarence Coulson and Gavin Jantjes), photographed the area before it was bulldozed. As young students learning how to use their cameras, they set out to capture District Six, its culture and architecture under the guidance of Sakkie Misbach as well as Peter Clarke.

The product of this photographic exploration, the book *District Six Revisited,* reveals vibrant photographs depicting a close community, and reiterates the significance of the demolition of the area as a symbol of the inhumanity and cruelty of apartheid social engineering. The publication aims to reconstruct the spirit of District Six from these important historic photographs, some of which Hallett published for the first time, in order to counter the attempted erasure of this 'impure' community, and (by extension) the coloured population group as a whole.

In this regard, Hallett's images in *District Six Revisited* exemplifies Foucault's concept of an archive as a disassociation from physical space, considering that District Six is a disappeared physical environment. Indeed Hallett's images reiterate the vital role of memory in the commemorative photographs taken of the area.

Figure 28. George Hallett. 1968.*Corner Boys.* [Online].

In Hallett's photograph, *Corner boys* (undated) a group of men of varying ages sit and stand in a street, against the wall and window of what appears to be a private residence. Most of the men look directly into the camera with expressions ranging from defiant, smiling, serious and ironic. The men's gazes and their sense of togetherness suggests that they had a convivial encounter with Hallett, the photographer. The impression of community and male camaraderie is shared with the viewer, who is involuntarily made party to Hallett's intimate encounter with this group of men at leisure.

His image further refer to models of masculinity[79] that do not necessarily depict the actual lives of these men. As they are depicted as fantasies, Hallett captures their ideals and desires which influence their everyday lives. these fantasies affect the way boys and men are influenced into moulding into a specific yet desired gendered identity. As this image celebrates the masculinities played out in local and material conditions, it focuses on specific forms of struggle by marginalised coloured men. Within this context, many coloured boys would aspire to be a gentleman gangster in order to survive, and as the only option for status in a materially constrained community. Consequently, crime and violence thus becomes a performance of gender that are accomplished in the mundane actions of social life. Masculinity becomes a way to empower such individuals under the social constraints of apartheid.

Hallett's exploration of the gentleman gangster, which is largely associated with unstable and economically deprived families, reveals this masculinity as a way to mask the pain and embarrassment associated with being economically poor. While the concepts of gentleman and gangster pose a stark contrast in relation to each other, men distinguished the gangster as someone who has to engage in criminal activities for economic survival, and the gentlemen as a civil yet respectable man. The gangster and the gentlemen are integrated in this figure, which promotes the notion of the street as a stage on which desirable forms of empowered masculinity are performed. Hence street life in District Six emerges as a dynamic space of adaptation and survival.

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[79] Inevitably, the shaping and enactment of masculinities will change over time. His class, culture, geographical location and status changes as one grows older, and in doing so, one's sense, experience and enactment of the masculine change.

Figure 29. George Hallett. 1968. *Godfrey street, District Six.* Hand print. 46 x 31cm. Private Collection.

Hallett's *Godfrey street, District Six* (1968), depicts two girls playing on the corner of Godfrey street, the one in the foreground is swinging from a rope attached to the street pole while the other is clearly waiting her turn. The black and white photograph contrasts the childish activity of the girls against the bleak building in the background. The building, its cracked walls covered in graffiti and peeling paint, testifies to the poverty of the district, but the children, who are warmly dressed against the Cape cold, are clearly at home there, and making the best of this bleak environment. They become a sign of the sustenance of life, leisure and community in District Six, despite grinding inequality and the squalor of lower income urban living.

Upon closer inspection, Hallett reveals a deeper story of the struggles that many working class people faced in District Six. According to Eyene (2008: 170) Hallett's portraits "engage the viewer for the reason that they translate a visual or verbal conversation" between Hallett and his subjects. Hallett affirms the humanity of these girls, capturing the positivity the community that is clung to against the odds (Eyene 2008: 170). Given that these photographs, as mentioned before, were taken with Hallett's knowledge of the impending destruction of this community, this photograph of the playing children underscores their fragility and the fleeting preciousness of this moment of childish pleasure.

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In the context of 1968, it becomes evident that Hallett and other photographers of District Six aimed to develop an informal archive before District Six was due to be demolished. Depicting residents of District Six in this way fixes the images in history as a documentation of life as a collective encounter made unique through the experiences of its inhabitants. Images such as this challenge the concept of the ordinary and the normal in the midst of trauma and catastrophe.

The contrast between the children and the building can therefore be interpreted as a parable of the coloured community and their attempt to sustain ordinary life against a political backdrop of increasingly more intensive dispossession and marginalisation. Here, the encounter between Hallett and what is being photographed is understood as a space of politics. The image captures the moment the hybrid and vital coloured heart of the city was transformed by the apartheid state to become assimilated into the white business and residential neighbourhoods of the city basin. With District Six deemed a threat to the homogeneous white spaces of the city, the construction of the place of Cape Town came to be symbolically defined by the expropriation of District Six (Bank & Minkley 1999: 4). According to Bank & Minkley (1999: 4) the many constructed sites of separation, defined by the rigidly demarcated practices of apartheid, its anchored routes, networks, workplaces and private spaces, suggest that, in the wake of developing new (utopian) sites of apartheid, the existing heterotopic places and related notions of hybrid community had to be destroyed.[80]

The few rare photographic depictions of these vanished moments in District Six rely on evoking the physicality of places that have been erased by apartheid. The textual inscription '*Stalag kids'* graffiti on the walls become visual remnants of a lifestyle, culture and coding related to the degraded struggle for existence imposed on black bodies by both the colonial encounter and the apartheid state (Thomas 2014: 296). According to Eyene (2008: 170) the tension that exist "between those backgrounds and the sight of children playing is all the more dramatic as one realizes that the walls might in fact be demarcations of territories" claimed by gangs like the Stalag Kids, Holl Boys and the Jesten Kids. In a neighbourhood where gang

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[80] According to Lord (2006: 1) Foucault's concept of a heterotopia is defined as "a space of difference, a space that is absolutely central to a culture but in which relations are suspended, neutralized or reversed". In addition, heterotopian spaces leaves one with the impression of something uncanny, negative and disturbing. In this regard, Foucault' heterotopias are subversive sites and places that secretly undermine the way things are normally done.

territory was common, the viewer is urged to ask why these girls are playing on the street corner instead of at home.

Similarly in *Untitled* (1968), Hallett depicts two girls walking on a sandy or gravel road to an undisclosed location. They are impossibly small against a seemingly deserted backdrop of crumbling walls and bare tree. The girls are vulnerable in relation to the buildings in the background, their fragility emphasised by the degradation and desolation of the area.
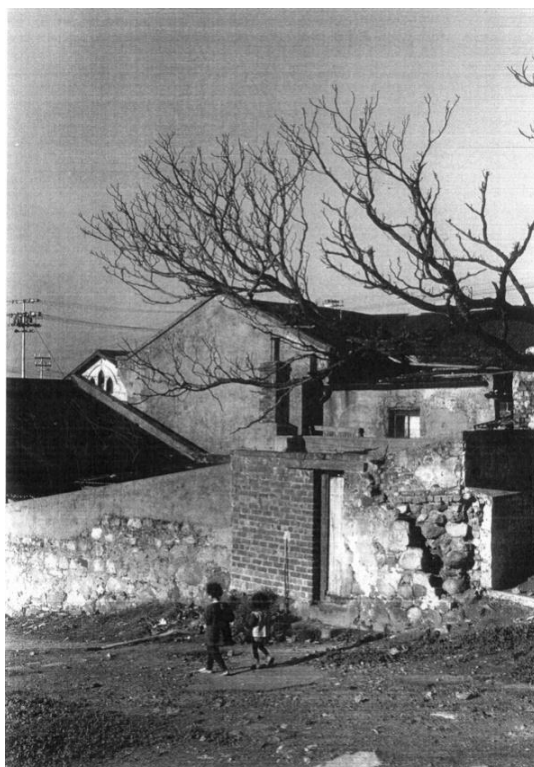

Figure 30. George Hallett. 1968*. Untitled.* Hand print. 46 x 31cm. Private Collection.

As Hallett steers away from various other romantic depictions of District Six, he produces a counter-narrative to that which assumed District Six to have been a paradise. Like a snapshot of time, Hallett captures the ruins as he invites the viewer to gaze at the disaster that is about to happen. Although the viewer can look, they cannot help, reach out or repair anything. The photography depicts the ruins of the past and the ruins of the future due to the fact that photography's "indexical relation to the real insists on the truism that what occurred cannot be undone" (Thomas 2014: 283).

Indeed Hallett gives this cultural and social genocide a presence within the post-apartheid memorial space of the District Six Museum, which aims to remind coloured and white viewers of the obligation to remember the area[81].

In this regard, District Six can be thought of as a diasporic community which calls to mind Hall's (1990) concept of diaspora as an engine for the production of identity. In this shared cultural relationship, former residents of the area must view themselves as part of a cohesive group in order to give District Six significance. In this way, Hall's concept provides a framework for former residents to see themselves as "key providers for a new South African identity" (Lea 2007: 21). The discourse that unites former residents is thus the collective dream of one day returning to District Six.

4.3.2 Depictions of District Six in the works of Gavin Jantjes

Jantjes, however, adopted a more atmospheric, Romantic approach in two photographic scenes he took of District Six. In *Paradise Valley* (undated), for example, he captures a male figure walking away from the lens, juxtaposed against a wall with a graffiti inscription that reads *'you are now entering paradise valley'*. In the background, the viewer can see rows of buildings and what appears to be sheds. The scene is devoid of figures, apart from the lone male, and captures a sense of desolation, which makes the irony of the graffiti's message even more poignant.

According to Eyene (2008: 168) most self-taught photographers grappled with photographic technique, which meant that "early practice [was] often marked by a phase of visual enquiry and formation of the gaze". This is visible in the low contrast and the lack of variation in the grey tones of the building, which creates a misty, eerie mood, suggesting an almost haunted landscape. District Six becomes like a ghost to its removees, as it both reveals and conceals.

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[81] According to Angelini (2003: 25) the District Six Museum "represents a Lefebvrian contestation of apartheid's spatial representations of the city" and is self-critical of self-representation. In this instance the museum space remain problematic as it presents itself as a site of memory, recovery and reconstruction of District Six as a community. This archaeological approach allows for the surplus "appropriation and reappropriation of carnival, music, recollections and the other attributes of identity" (Angelini 2003: 25).

Figure 31. Gavin Jantjes. 1968. *Paradise Valley.* Hand print. 46 x 31cm. Private Collection.

Similar to Hallett's photographs, Jantjes' images carry their own narratives. Eyene argues that, within the democratic context of liberated South Africa, "they become pictorial matter undergoing semantical shifts" (2008: 178). Amongst the rare photographic images Jantjes has exhibited of District Six, these photographic works evoke Foucault's reflection of an archive.[82] As a result of the chronological distance in this image, the viewer is reminded of how District Six is a site of deterritorialised coloured culture that remains located in dislocation.

the contemporary democratic context provides a lens to contemplate the social constructedness of coloured collective memories within the framework of the political and social dimensions of the archives. The restructuring of memory is thus infused by ongoing contemporary political and social transformation. South Africa thus becomes a prime example of the construction of collective, people-centred memory practices.

Further debates about history and memory surface in the reconstruction of the memories of District Six. In this regard, Jantjes mode of production seems to empower the ordinary, in this case coloured inhabitants of the area, to produce their own collective history. Given the political shift after declaring democracy in 1994, visual histories were considered

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[82] In Foucault's theory, archive is disassociated with any kind of physical space. For Foucault, the archive is a theoretical twin to discursive formation. He stresses that his archive is "not just merely the sum of all historical documentation produced by a culture, nor is it the institution that allows for storage of these texts" (Evans 2010: 3).

fundamental in South African historiography. In this way, Jantjes validates ordinary people's stories.

As mentioned earlier, Jantjes' image plays with the idea of District Six as 'paradise'. District Six was, as discussed before, an economically deprived and quite squalid and crime-ridden inner-city lower socio-economic urban domain – not entirely unlike the apartheid government's derogatory descriptions of it which served as justification for its demolition.

Nonetheless, as Soudien (2001: 114) points out, the area has come to be understood as a signifier "that embodies the qualities of tolerance, mutual respect as well as an acceptance of difference" which nonetheless, in relation to white South Africa as its counter-signifier, is defined as a place apart. According to Soudien (2001: 114) the area appears as an enclave in apartheid South Africa "within the wider context of 'class oppression and exploitation', racial segregation, religious differentiation, ethnic chauvinism and indeed xenophobia".

As South Africa continues to "consciously seek to work with and take into account the notion of 'difference'" (Ahluwalia & Zegeye 2003: 263), the multidimensional nature of coloured identity becomes evident. Non-racialism suggest that the "very subjects of domination are capable themselves of being more than just victims and perpetrators of oppression"(Soudien 2001: 117), and coloured South Africans thus proudly claim their sense of past and present community to assert a their multidimensional difference.

Considering the above, It is not surprising that District Six and its inhabitants are "often presented as the marker of difference from the rest of the country" (Ahluwalia & Zegeye 2003: 263). Ahluwalia & Zegeye (2003: 263) suggest that Bhabha's concepts of hybridity and difference, as embodied in the trope of District Six, subvert "the narratives of colonial power and dominant culture". In this regard, Jantjes' and Hallett's photographs bring formerly excluded subjects into the mainstream discourse, where "they deconstruct the very premises on which dominant culture is founded" (Ahluwalia & Zegeye 2003: 263). It thus becomes more than just a process of subversion as the agency of change is located within the coloured group itself.

District Six becomes a foundational element in a newly-imagined and non-racial South Africa, as Soudien (2001: 123) argues:

District Six is the re-embodiment and the continuation of the foundation moment in South Africa. It takes authority from its ownership of that foundation moment and expresses itself as the spirit of the land. [...] Not only does the district take in the Irish, the Filipinos and the Indian, it makes them District Sixers, the true inheritors of the new South Africa.

Figure 32. Gavin Jantjes. 1968. *Untitled.* 46 x 31cm. Private Collection.

Jantjes similarly address the notion of this area's hybridity in his second image *Untitled* (undated), when he portrays a Cape Malay woman posing in the lounge of her parent's home. Her hands hold a single long-stemmed rose. Jantjes' subject does not make eye contact with the viewer, and her formal sari and pose seem to suggest that this snapshot was a stolen moment before some kind of celebratory event. She is juxtaposed against an array of cupboards and cabinets filled with various mementos and decorative brick-a-brack. Jantjes chose to depict this woman against the proudly displayed cultural wealth of family. The woman almost merges with the ornamental details in the interior of the room, rendering her a part of this intricately wrought cultural space.

This intimate image of a Muslim family interior urges the viewer to question the trope of the 'Cape Malay' coloured as 'other'. The smiling young woman, at home and happy in her decorative family home, radiates a sense of belonging and contentment. In this regard, Jantjes' photograph interrogates standard interpretations of hybridity as an inherent feature of colouredness. This serves as a basis from which he interferes in the historical stereotyping of coloured people as exotic and un-belonging. It can be argued, however, that, unlike his *South African colouring book*, Jantjes' photographs are not used as overt weapons of struggle, but rather focus on the lived experience of District Six's inhabitants to humanise them and counter stereotypical representations of cape Malays as exotic and Other.

Figure 33. Gavin Jantjes. 1989. *The South African Colouring Book.*

More importantly, as the female figure becomes an object of the gaze, Foucault's conceptualization of the gaze as the distribution of power in various institutions becomes relevant. Despite the female figure not looking directly at the viewer, the gaze becomes a relationship in which the viewer can enter. Foucault's definition of the gaze as a locus of power is thus vital to interpret the systems of power and knowledge that circulated (and continue to circulate) about coloured people. In Jantje's image, the female figure is not merely an object of the gaze, but appears to be self-regulating her identity for the lens of the camera, so that her agency and subjectivity is evident to the viewer.

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Essentially, the photographs, historical documents and other accounts of how inhabitants remember District Six in the District Six Museum, unite the lost community through difference. It is within this space that victims face their trauma while they recall concepts of community. However, the idea of the museum recalls "both a Lefebvrian[83] contestation of apartheid's spatial representations of the city, and a self-critical, auto-ethnographic approach to the limits of self-representation" (Angelini 2003: 24). According to Delport (2011: 11) the District Six museum presents itself as "a place of memory, not a monument, but for the recovery and reconstruction of the social and historical existence" of the area.

According to Angelini (2003: 33), a multiculturalist view "presents controversial notions of difference: on the one hand, it frames an acknowledgment of heterogeneity and promotes emancipator politics for repressed groups", while on the other, it suggests that "equality has given way to the toleration of difference and inequality". The District Six museum presents images such Jantje's photograph in order to emphasise the political importance of difference and the open-ended process of negotiating the coloured 'other' as more than just an ethnic spectacle.

Essentially, Jantjes rejects the constructed nature of coloured people as being 'mere' hybrid subjects, and overwrites the negative stereotypes that accompanied living in places such as District Six. For Jantjes, photographs of District Six played a vital role in promoting an understanding of space, memory, and the deterritorialisation of coloured culture.

4.3.3 Space and a collective coloured identity in the works of Peter Clarke

In addition to the clearance of District Six and its removals, Clarke's work dealt with apartheid urban engineering and the politics of being forced to live in unfamiliar surroundings more broadly, by also looking at the forced removal of the Malay Quarter of Simon's Town.

As he juggles between the concepts of physical space and mental space, Clarke refers to landscape and environment as a literal space as well as a 'space of imagination' (Salley 2014: 3). In *The residency* (1971), for example, he depicts a lane running between two rows of fences

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[83] Henri Lefebvre was a French philosopher who conceptualized space in three ways, namely spatial practices, representations of spaces and spaces of representation. According to Bank & Minkley (1998: 2) these spatial practices embrace production and reproduction where "particular spaces and locations sets spatial characteristic for each social formation". Furthermore, in his spaces of representation the lived spaces of subjects include "all other real and imagined spaces simultaneously" (Bank & Minkley 1998: 2).

in the Malay quarter of Simon's Town. Clarke's investigation of space thus suggests emptiness in contrast to the vibrant community life of traditionally coloured areas such as Simon's Town and District Six.

Figure 34. Peter Clarke. 1971. *The residency, Thomas street, Malay quarter, Simons Town.*

The landscape appears to be haunted as not a single resident is in sight, which might be read as a veiled allusion to the displacement of the community. The narrow pathway suggestively evokes all that the removees had to leave behind: their histories, homes and communities, as well as their proximity to the sea and their livelihoods as fishermen. Salley points out that national identity can be understood as being imaginatively linked to the land, and therefore refers to the way a "community is delimited in relation or in contrast to other groups in proximity" (Salley 2014: 3). Forcing coloured communities from areas that were originally occupied by them, and in which their sense of community and belonging resides, was an act of national brutality and cultural and economic genocide. It can be seen as an act of ethnic cleansing.

In the case of the Cape, the concept of the landscape remains problematic as it is linked to the imperialism that transformed the terrain of Southern Africa into a modern society, which typically included an ethnically heterogeneous population of exogenous slave descendants and dispossessed indigenous peoples. Clarke represents the area in a way that suggests the constructedness of imagined communities, nations as well as personal identities (Salley 2014: 3). In fact, his images investigate the geographic territory that define coloured national identity, both internally, where the community is imaginatively linked to the land, and

externally, where the "community is delimited in relation or in contrast to other groups in proximity" (Salley 2014: 3). In other words, the concepts of space, land, territory, community and identity are directly linked to each other. In this instance Clarke steers away from an explicit depiction of the trauma of forced removals and rather chooses to portray the 'imagined community' of Simon's Town's evicted Muslim peoples via the buildings they built and inhabited. Thus, as Salley argues, "there is a direct link between space, land, territory, community and identity" (2014: 3).

Clarke's black and white prints of buildings in the vanished Malay Quarter implicitly maps coloured culture back onto white Simon's Town. In other words, he reintroduces cultural difference to a locality from which that difference has been erased. Despite the Group Areas Act removals in Simon's Town, Clarke continued making art. This is not to say that he was unaffected by these events. In fact, Clarke also considered alternative ways to motivate people against injustice, such as organising poetry readings from the 1960s onwards, that developed into cultural evenings (Hobbs & Rankin 2011: 98).

In twentieth century South Africa, "the preoccupation with finding some kind of psychic accommodation with the land became a defining feature of white South African nationhood" (Salley 2014: 3). The apartheid model for white minority rule depended on segregating city spaces and restricting the economic and sexual mobility of coloured groups. With the complex process of defining and ranking variations of skin colour, these spaces were pivotal to the self-construction of coloured identity. In this context, Clarke depiction of an empty mundane alley in Simon's Town reminds his viewer of how the ideas of race and power were legitimized and normalized through everyday experiences in various spaces around apartheid South Africa. To this end, the concepts of "space and place are embedded in and produced by modern and transnational networks of knowledge and discourse" (Salley 2014: 3).

Clarke's prints are strongly stylized and expressive, and uses bold carved lines which depict organic contours and flowing lines. For Clarke, depicting Simon's Town as an empty landscape was a way of dealing with the loss of home, and more specifically, the loss of stability, security as well as autonomy. As he recalls being one of the last families to forcibly be removed out of Simon's Town, the town appeared leached of life itself (Hobbs & Rankin 2011: 63).

Figure 35. Peter Clarke. 1971. *Mosque, Alfred lane, Simons Town.*

He goes on to depict this ghost town without a soul in *Mosque, Alfred Lane, Simon's Town* (1971), in a way that reminds one of Davis' *Muir Street Mosque* (1979). For both artists, the choice of a Mosque is significant, because it implies the role religious intolerance played in the designation of the coloured 'other' as exotic and unassimilable.

Clarke's prints are evocative of the powerlessness engendered by the limbo between life and community in the old colonial city and the engineering of the new apartheid city. Clarke's various prints of Simon's Town during removals suggests a deeper investigation of his earlier sketches of the area's Malay Quarter. While his earlier sketches remained delicate in their depictions, they followed a topographical tradition which captured various details in washes and inks as seen in *Untitled (Twenty Steps, Simon's Town)* (1948), for example. In contrast, Clarke's linocuts depict an obsessive desire to document an area that was about to be lost. These places essentially evolved into uninhabited spaces which contrasted the picturesque architecture. As a result, a desolate place remained, emptied of life.

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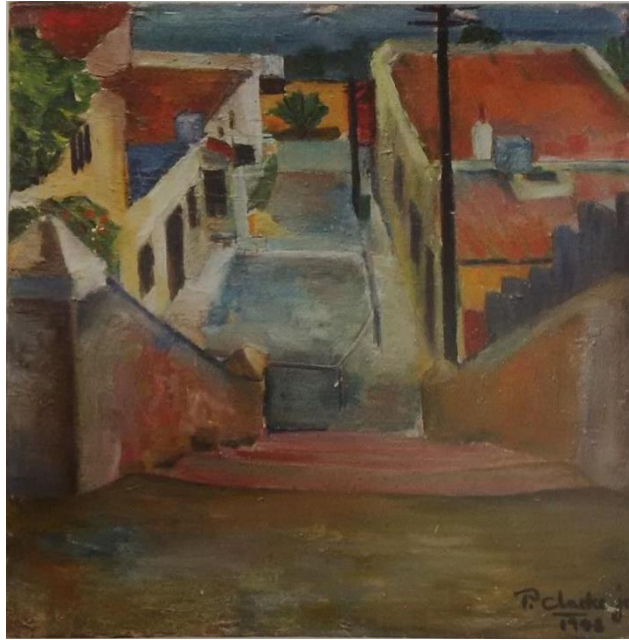
Figure 47. Peter Clarke. 1948. *Untitled (Twenty Steps, Simon's Town).*

The above discussion shows how the works of Lionel Davis and Albert Adams dealt with the discourse of the 'coon' carnival and how this minstrel show was shaped by racist ideologies about coloured identity. Assumed to be a vital part in the construction of coloured identity, the 'coon carnival' was in fact an ambiguous mix of compliance with, and resistance to the ascribed racialized identities imposed by apartheid discourse. In the works of these two artists, the symbolic and metaphoric value of the carnival to coloured identity becomes evident.

Like culture, the notion of space became particularly important in the construction of coloured identity, especially the space of District Six as a coloured area. Since apartheid ideology rendered areas such as these as stains on the hierarchical order of the city, the Group Areas Act (1950) was enforced and brutally affected the lives of George Hallett, Gavin Jantjes and Peter Clarke. As a result, their locality becomes reconstituted through their memories of the area and the political effects of not being white enough.

The prints of George Hallett for instance, were motivated by aims to preserve his memories of the space within an informal archive. Hallett and Jantjes' documentation of the unique history and lives of a collective, yet heterogeneous coloured people, bring home the catastrophe of forced removals before the demolition of the area. These counter-narratives

mould District Six as an ironic 'paradise' filled with humanity and community. The nostalgic, though honest lens of these photographers celebrates the notion of difference and hybridity that was intrinsic to the inhabitants of the area. More specifically, these images lean toward an agency located in coloured identity itself.

By contrast, the prints of Peter Clarke deals with the broader housing policies of a collective coloured people and relates it to his personal experience of being forcibly removed to unfamiliar surroundings. In this way, Clarke, while not dealing directly with District Six, also explores the relation of coloured identity, community and territory to racialized apartheid space.

Chapter 5: Synthesis

Throughout the twentieth century political, cultural and social context of modern South Africa, coloured identity remained defined as a hybrid construction of colonial and apartheid racial ideologies. In colonial discourse, with its tendency to employ absolute binaries, the common perception of coloured identity was that it constituted an impure mix of black and white. Fears of racial mixing and the assumed miscegenation of the coloured people in the Cape further fuelled apartheid ideologies, which prioritised the notion of biological and cultural purity. As a result, coloured identity is associated both with the sexual shame of 'interbreeding' and with cultural hybridity.

The perceived liminality of coloured peoples was spatially enacted by forcibly removing them to racialized suburbia's, which imposed a constructed identity on its subjects. Since coloured identity was seen as synonymous with District Six, they were seen as a stain on apartheid's attempt to engineer a racially hierarchical utopia in which each 'pure' race would have its own, suitable status and a distinct space in which to nurture its own unique culture. Since District Six not only occupied valuable city real estate, but also defied apartheid cultural and biological 'eiesoortigheid' (peculiar character), it had to be demolished. As a result, District Six was declared a white area in 1966, and got its first inhabitants forcibly removed in 1968, which severely disrupted these people's sense of community and home.

The passing of the Groups Areas Act (1950) and its removals limited the mobility of many coloured people in Cape Town. Their new homes, located in the flatlands of the Cape, namely Manenberg, Heideveld, Bontehewel, amongst others, completely altered their sense of identity. The rupture of removals combined with their memories of an area they once lived in, formed specific themes and tropes that contributed to a collective identity amongst coloureds. However, District Six, and depictions of it, remains a site of deterritorialised culture located in the dislocation itself.

Due to the palimpsestic nature of memory, in which layers of past experiences underwrite current interpretations of the past, the way memory is utilized in the narratives of District Six incorporate layers of former configurations of coloured identity within the wider socio-political context of resistance art. The political act of aggression by the apartheid state ironically formed the cornerstone of a new formation of coloured identity, that was shaped

around political and cultural resistance. This is especially true in the personal narratives and cultural praxis of Lionel Davis, Albert Adams, George Hallett, Gavin Jantjes and Peter Clarke, which emphasized the significance of District Six as home.

Due to the limited artistic opportunities apartheid South Africa presented, coloured artists remained overlooked and invisible as the racial other. Subsequently the invisibility of these coloured cultural activists invoked an ethnic practice contrary to the activeness of white artists, which fell in the domain of race and raced subjects. In this regard, various artists responded to their geographic displacement and everyday racial experiences by choosing to go into exile in order to pursue artistic freedom. It is clear, however, that literal exile was prefigured by a sense of existential exile and alienation within the harsh context of apartheid South Africa, which suggests that coloured subjects were always-already liminal, first by diaspora and displacement, second by being characterised as not white or black enough. The reality that many artists faced in their diasporic communities, whether in this country or abroad, allowed them to interrogate belonging and terms like 'own community', and engendered a culture of memorialization in which the loss of District Six plays a pivotal role. Within this context, artistic practice allowed artists to challenge the status quo and to assert autonomy and agency in their depictions of District Six. Essentially, memory continues to play an important role in the image-making of Davis, Adams, Hallett, Jantjes and Clarke.

Furthermore, as each artist embark on their artistic journey to question their constructed coloured identity, their collective practices evoke both a strong association *and* resistance to colouredness. On the one hand, coloured culture is associated with the coon carnival and the idea of blackface, in which a stereotypical and seemingly simple notion of coloured identity is performed, apparently for the entertainment of white spectators. Yet this performance is, as the work of Davis and Adams show, also an act of community and defiance, in which the multicultural and diasporic origins of the coloured community, and the emergence of a new, socially coherent and unique African culture is celebrated. In the case of Adams, the carnival becomes a metaphor of the pain and dislocation of coloured existential being. For both artists, however, the mask implies a freedom to assume another identity, or another state of mind. Davis and Adams interrogate the mask as a way of both associating with a broader African identity, as well as a tool that enables carnivalesque 'coon', to claim ownership of the city.

Like memories, Hallett and Jantjes depictions of coloured communities, specifically District Six, do not function as complete narratives anymore. They remain fragments fixed in the time of a disappeared physical place. This deterritorialized culture remains in limbo, a state that, it seems, these artists recognise as the existential condition of the South African coloured. In the final analysis, however, it is a firm and supportive network as friends and artists that allowed these artists to tell the collective takes of displacement, a sense of community that has always managed to defy marginalisation and dislocation.

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