

**SASINDA FUTHI SISELAPHA
(STILL HERE)**



SASINDA FUTHI SISELAPHA (STILL HERE)

Black Feminist Approaches
to Cultural Studies in South Africa's
Twenty Six Years Since 1994

**Derilene (Dee) Marco, Tiffany Willoughby-Herard,
and Abebe Zegeye, eds.**



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Section One:

The Work is the Sweetest Revenge





1

Thinking Through Black Feminist Creative Theorisation through the Postcolonial Masquerades of South African Visual Artists Mary Sibande and Senzeni Marasela

S. Khan¹

A woman “brings her story into the story.”

Minh-ha²

Introduction

In 2001, South African White³ male “cultural writer” Nick Dawes, on viewing South African Coloured woman visual artist Berni Searle’s work *Snow White* at the Venice Biennale, had this to say about the work in which Searle, kneeling naked on the floor in a darkened space, has flour falling on and all around her (which she then proceeds to knead into dough):

Would that the same could be said of Berni Searle’s *Snow White*. Indeed, as one stands poised between the two screens that comprise the video installation, a single question imposes itself: ‘And who among you, when the public asks for something to chew on, would give them a video of Berni Searle making roti?’ [...] Instead one simply sighs in affirmation: indeed race, gender and domestic labour cut across the body of the black but not-quite-black woman in complicated ways. Indeed woman’s work has a transformative and even sacramental character, but how tedious the lecture, how dully the point is inscribed

on tape, and how easily we could have read it in a book, mirror on the wall, wicked queen and all. The perfectly banal surface of identity politics, of a comfortable academic discourse on hybridity, smoothes everything over here. In the end we are standing in front of yet another video of a naked woman performing a repetitive task, and we are bored beyond words.⁴

Dawes' statements reflect a historical juncture at which White practitioners and theorists in South Africa are tiring of works and discourses dealing with identitarian fictions after the advent of post-apartheid seven years earlier and are keen to move to a post-racial phase. He is, as he states, bored with another woman-of-colour struggling to articulate, creatively and visually, how social oppressions intersect around her. But who is the "we" that is invoked here? Clearly the "we" of Dawes' statement does not include the curatorial team who found Searle's work interesting enough to exhibit at the Venice Biennale. In South Africa, the "we" of the art audience, as I have argued elsewhere (Khan 2015), reveals the racial polemic of a South African art world governed by a White monied habitus and, more recently, by a small black bourgeoisie. This was pointed out in 2001 by South African black feminist Desiree Lewis in her article entitled "The Conceptual Art of Berni Searle":

His [Dawes'] critique ends up revealing far less about Searle's art than it does about his entitlement, his subject position and the South African art world in relation to socially marginal artists. Dawes' reduction of Searle's art to obsolescence is ultimately a claim that it falls beyond standards shaped by an elite, speaking on behalf of 'the public', that continues to define spurious notions of universality and artistic excellence (111).

In the article, Lewis reads the work through various black-African feminist perspectives showing how the "lack" lay not in the work itself, but in the viewer's inability to decode the work outside of hegemonic Western art framings.

Fast forward to 2016, and the re-centring of bodies-of-colour can be strongly evidenced in the visual arts globally through the strategy of performative fictive masquerading. Visual artists Berni Searle, Mary Sibande, Nandipha Mntambo, Tracey Rose, Senzeni Marasela, Lebohlang Kganye, Donna Kukuma and many others, have become well-known names in the South African arts field, suggesting that the art market is anything but bored with displays of women-of-colour subjectivities. "Masquerading" here is defined as the donning of costumes and make-up by visual artists, along with the use of props, to enact and stage characters, often engaging their own bodies in front of a photographic/video camera or live performance.

The breakdown of apartheid in the early 90s saw artists using their bodies as sites of critique in unprecedented ways. Performance art entered the South African visual arts gallery as a tour de force. In particular, the Black-African body as a motif of anthropological research, pseudo-scientific colonial-racist imaginative projection, but also autobiographical witnessing, has become contested in South African narrativisation, as personal testimonies give more individual and nuanced accounts of life under apartheid. Masquerading's performative playing reflects the many spaces this body inhabits, both physically in the space(s) of post-apartheid, post-colonial⁵ South Africa, as well as Africa and a globalised, technologized world. The 2000s have seen many young women-of-colour visual artists employing masquerading, and it is within these multiple spaces that I seek to theorise the idea of visual arts "postcolonial masquerading" as a subversive strategy able to *reveal* various social scripts.

Cultural scholar Niti Sampet Patel in her book *Postcolonial Masquerading: Culture and Politics in Literature, Film, Video, and Photography* (2001, 120-121) proposes the term "postcolonial masquerading" as a tool for post-colonial people to visualise the social categories that construct their bodies/identities, and to decolonise their own minds and histories. She argues that it can form communities of resistance and self-definition via an aesthetics aimed at them and through cultural productions produced for them (rather than global, capitalised markets). Patel draws on postcolonial literary theorist Homi. K. Bhabha's book *The Location of Culture* (1994) where he proposes that an ambivalent identification can possibly be redeemed into a political act of subversion. Patel (xx) heeds Bhabha's call to "read between the lines", which informs his notion of hybridity, and which he proposes has capacity for intervention, as Other denied/repressed knowledges come to impinge and question authorised knowledge.

Patel attempts to demonstrate the potential of postcolonial masquerading and ambivalence, not just in terms of the centralised perspectives of the characters, content and audience identification, but in the aesthetic considerations of the chosen genres. Through her various reflections on the differing strategies of masquerade employed in the field of film, video, literature and photography, Patel locates its potential for subversiveness and resistance in its "contradictory, representational, and performative nature." She regards masquerade as a powerful metaphor:

[T]hrough which we can understand both the material and aesthetic strategies of varied postcolonial texts and discourses. The trope permits a critical re-examination of the predicaments of postcolonial identities and dislocations in an increasingly aggressive, neo-colonial global world. At the same time it contains within it notions of *changeability*, *metamorphosis*, and *contradiction* (119-120).

Patel believes that by not reducing postcolonial readings to binaries of either/or, she can create dynamic/incompatible/complex ways of “articulating and unmasking postcolonialities”, and states that “masquerade thrives on specificity and locality” rather than generalization on traversing borders, subjectivities, and even disciplines (xiv).

Thus, far from feeling bored or irritated by the many manifestations of personal narratives on offer through performative fictive postcolonial masquerading, this text looks at the work of two South African visual artists, Mary Sibande and Senzeni Marasela, and how their use of biography, storytelling and masquerading can be read through black-African feminist and postcolonial theories. I argue that these visualisations rile against collective imaginations of “Africans,” “blacks,” and “women” to create complex, contradictory Subject positions. These engagements with identitarian fictions are discussed in relation to the visual strategies and concept of ‘postcolonial masquerading’ and what it offers for both artists and audiences in its critical play.

Black feminist creative theorisation and insider/outsider positions

Who is the black woman? What does she want? Is she one or many things? Has she something we could call ‘an identity’, which remains ‘given’ beneath all the shifting appearances? Or is her identity always a performance, a masquerade?

Stuart Hall and Mark Sealy⁶

Black feminist, African feminisms, Third World/postcolonial feminisms, and intersectionality studies complicate narratives of gender by insisting that the categories of race-sex-class-sexuality-ethnicity-religion-location do not function independently in women-of-colours’ lives, but are interlocking matrices of domination that result in multiple intersecting oppressions.⁷ The site of the “everyday” becomes important for “women-of-colour” in their Self-determination and Self-definition.⁸ In her book *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment* (2000/2009), African-American sociologist Patricia Hill Collins explores the development of US black feminist thought. A large part of Collins’ book is dedicated to showing the extensive trajectory of African-American women speaking about their experiences not only in academia, but in many other sites like

blues, jazz and rap music, storytelling, literature, poetry, religion, and daily conversations and behaviour. Some of the tenets of Collins' black feminist epistemology include: lived experience as a criterion for knowledge,⁹ the use of dialogue in assessing knowledge claims, the ethic of personal accountability, and black women as agents of knowledge. She argues that many black women scholars draw on their own lived experiences and those of other black women when deciding on their research areas, and the kinds of methodologies they use. I am interested in her assessment that black women researchers often harness narrative methodology in their engagement with fellow black subjects, as I notice similar trends in the South African art field where many women-of-colour employ various forms of narration in their practices.¹⁰

Collins' ideas are exemplified in the work of South African black-African feminists Desiree Lewis, Pumla Gqola and Yvette Abrahams, and their engagement with artistic creations as sites of critical reflection. Gqola (2001; 2006) believes that creative works, as sites for theorisation and knowledge production, propose a way out of Western philosophical dualism between theory and praxis. Creative spaces offer freedom of the imagination, which is sometimes stifled in academic discourses:

By “creative theorization,” I intend the series and forms of conjecture, speculative possibilities opened up in literary and other creative genres. Theoretical or epistemological projects do not only happen in those sites officially designated as such, but emerge from other creatively textured sites outside of these (Gqola 2006, 50).

Gqola, Lewis and Abrahams' creative theorisations on women-of-colour cultural productions, both in South Africa and internationally, have some of the following common features: women-of-colour centred narratives produced by women-of-colour artists who seem to be *addressing* (but not limiting themselves to) audiences-of-colour who understand the nuances of their work and permit a *dialogue* with their work (rather than an objectification of their bodies and work); the use of *autobiography* as the intersection of larger social histories with individual and familial histories; the “*everyday*” as a site of theorisation as to the intersectionality of oppressive and affirmative practices; the use of the *black body* as a site of performative interrogation; *differences and contradictions* as fundamental in theorisation to show the heterogeneity of women-of-colours' lives; the value of the *emotional* as a form of knowledge; and *an ethics of caring and personal accountability* about how their works fit into the larger histories of their communities, and visual legacies of women and black bodies. Such premises can be viewed

as what sociologist Himani Bannerji (1995) has called “situated critiques”, which are not just informed by the experiences of “an isolated self, but from my sense of being in the world, presuming the same for others, and [having] tried to think through as best as I can the making of these experiences” (13). It is this sense of making situated critiques in changing times that many South African visual artists share – of trying, in hindsight, to comprehend apartheid trauma and the instability and unknown of post-apartheid.

Gqola often echoes African womanist Molaria Ogundipe’s words that African feminists need to theorise out of our “epicentres of agency, looking for what is meaningful, progressive and useful to us as Africans” (2006, 49). This idea is pivotal to the artists discussed below as we shall see that the Black woman’s body is quite literally used as an epicentre from which to theorise. For these artists, these acts of creation are an attempt to understand their lives and histories, which doesn’t necessarily lead to final conclusions, but rather to “re-creating”, to a continuous destabilisation of hegemonic discourses. Of course, dealing with one’s own communities and histories is never easy, in that one is invested and implicated in the research and the outcomes, and has a responsibility in what one says about ourselves (even as one attempts at some kind of “objectivity”). Vietnamese-American filmmaker and theorist Trinh T. Minh-ha proposes that far from the implicated “insider” researcher being a weighted position, this creates a complex position of the Inside-Outsider/ Outside-Insider. Trinh T. Minh-ha says of this task:

The moment the insider steps out from the inside, she is no longer a mere insider (and vice versa). She necessarily looks in from the outside while also looking out from the inside. Like the outsider, she steps back and records what never occurs to her the insider as being worth or in need of recording. But unlike the outsider, she also resorts to non-explicative, non-totalizing strategies that suspend meaning and resist closure (1991, 74).

The use of Inside-Outsider/Outside-Insider positions is an interesting way of reading the use of the “insider” performed body of South African visual artists who, in visualising apartheid’s identitarian fictions, have also found engaging complex ways of interrogating them. Two artists who exemplify such practices are Mary Sibande and Senzeni Marasela in their use of “fictional” Selves and in their placement of stories of their mothers at the epicentres of their inquiries. Engaging some of the creative features of women-of-colour centred narratives discussed above, I want to show how the use of Self and “I” narratives contribute to nuanced validation processes.

Inside-outsider: Mary Sibande and *Sophie*

South Africa has a long history of in-house domestic work since Dutch and British colonialism. Domestic work remains one of the staple areas of formal and informal employment for Black women in middle-class households in South Africa. Despite their presence in many public/private spaces, domestic workers are ambivalent figures which occupy an “outsider-within” status in the South African mindscape. Scholar of English Anne McClintock in her book *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Context*, says of the domestic worker:

Laboring by day to uphold the white cult of domesticity, black women are shunted by night to tiny backyard *khayas* (homes) without water, sanitation, heat or light. The furtive intimacies between black women and their white charges; the forbidden liaisons between black women and their white male employers; the fraught relations of acrimony, strained intimacy, mistrust, condescension, occasional friendships and coerced subservience that shape relations between African women and their white mistresses ensure that the colonial home is a contest zone of acute ambivalence (1995, 271).

McClintock’s statement points to the way race-gender-class intersects in the figure of the “maid,” and the fraught contra-bond power relationships between South African women themselves. The lives of domestic workers under colonialism and apartheid were characterised by contradictions. They attended to the welfare of White families, but often at the expense of time with their own. They had to be available whenever needed, and yet, while bodily present, forced to remain invisible, absent in their individualism. They represented “savages”¹¹ who, nonetheless, could be entrusted to raise White children. Domestics had to be “sanitised” in various ways. They had to wear specific attire for their employment; be discreetly housed outside in a small room and often not allowed to entertain visitors even if these were a husband or children. They also had to drink and eat from specific dishes and cutlery assigned to them, and almost always take on a name that the *baas* and *madam* could pronounce easily enough.

In the 2000s, Mary Sibande, the daughter of a line of domestics created the ultimate domestic worker, which has gained huge popularity in both the local and international art circuit. Sibande’s mother, grandmother and great-grandmother were domestic workers. Sibande’s grandmother narrated to her that her great-grandmother was called “Tsheledi Fanedi” in SeSotho, but as her “masters” couldn’t remember or pronounce her name, they re-named her “Elsie” (Sibande 2013). “And so she died as Elsie,” relates Sibande,

reminding us, once again, of the power of naming, of those with the power to re-name grown men and women, whose ethnic names are endowed with cultural significance. Reducing them linguistically to “my boy” and “my girl” is an act of language that claims ownership over certain bodies, that gives particular persons the status of property.

When Sibande created her now iconic domestic worker, she named her “Sophie”, an English/ Spanish/French derivative of the Greek word for “wisdom.” Sibande, herself, found that Sophie represented a wealth of accumulated stories that she unearthed from her mother and grandmother about the conditions of their lives, and how they had managed to succeed despite the limitations imposed on their lives (Sibande is the first person in her family to study beyond high school and to go to university). Sophie becomes the embodiment of countless narratives that came before. She represents the hopes, dreams and aspirations of Black women beyond their actual lives. Dressed in the colonial fetish of the clean white apron and head doek¹², and an African Zionist/Victorian-inspired frock of royal blue, which grows ever larger and represents the layers of stories that she encompasses (but which also physically limits and weighs her down), Sophie dares to dream beyond the role that has been ordained for her skin colour, gender, class, and by the Bantu Education Act.¹³ Cast in life-size sculptures worked in Sibande’s hands, and modelled on her, or later performed by Sibande’s body (enacted in digital photographs), Sophie is in excess of all the categories that contain her (“Black”, “woman”, “poor”, “maid”). Everything about her is *more* than—whether she is praying, sewing, taking a break, stopping to smell the flowers, conducting an orchestra, or charging on a horse like White men generals (Figs.1-5), Sophie becomes a signifier for dreams and imaginations that are not dependent on her reality. Even while recognising the unrealistic aspirations of this poor Black woman under apartheid, Sibande’s masquerade doesn’t hold Sophie back or condemn her for her flights of fantasy. Dreaming itself becomes a subversive moment for Sibande.

In *They Don’t Make Them Like They Used To* (2009, Fig.4), Sophie is caught unawares in a daydream when she is supposed to be working. Captured in the stillness of the digital photographic moment, she stands (forever) eyes closed, deep inside her. Whether she is the invisible shadow behind Superman mending his costume in her hands or is envisioning herself in the (un)wanted role of Superwoman, Sophie could, simplistically read, represent the affirmative role played by mothers as the backbone of households. Read differently, however, Sophie could also be exposing the “Black Superwoman”¹⁴ myth that various black women theorists have criticised: the one called upon to bear the burdens of providing for so many in her family; of seeing endlessly to the needs of another paying family; of being herself and not, a schizophrenic demand placed on her to negotiate



Fig.1. Mary Sibande, *The Reign* (2010) © [Mary Sibande]



Fig.2. Mary Sibande, *I Put a Spell on Me* (2009) © [Mary Sibande]



Fig.3. Mary Sibande, *Silent Symphony* (2010) © [Mary Sibande].

daily in her life; of being an othermother,¹⁵ looking after the welfare of Black communities more generally; to being silenced under the overwhelming strain of all these roles in her masquerade of standing by¹⁶ the Black man, Black family and Black community.

This “playing” of multiple, sometimes invisible and contradictory, roles is often disavowed by employers who trust and believe in the “knowability” of their domestic workers, and, yet, at the same time feel a subliminal recognition of “the stranger in one’s home” that unnerves and disconcerts. McClintock states that domestic workers in private spaces were capable of many small subversive acts:

In colonial homes, African women perform myriad such small acts of refusal: in work slowdowns, in surreptitiously taking or spoiling food, in hiding objects, in chipping plates, in scolding or punishing children, in revealing domestic secrets, in countless acts of revenge that their white employers identify as laziness, clumsiness, incompetence, gossip, and theft (1995, 272).

Similarly, Sophie’s daring to dream can be read as an act of subterfuge. Sophie declares her humanity in opposition to the very title of the work, which suggests that she is a mere product of labour, one that is defective or of inferior quality to the kind of trope the White madam/baas holds in mind.

Moreover, Sophie is “cheeky” in her masquerading fantasies of occupying the position of the madam. In *I’m a Lady* (2009, Fig. 5) Sophie seems to be mimicking the leisurely pose of her madam, replete with a dainty umbrella. What could be dismissed as a kind of cooning or colonial mimicry, could also be read as the ultimate subversion of placing her body within the intimate wear of the madam’s, trying to imagine herself as overseer of her own territory. It could also quite simply evidence a woman wanting to wear the latest fashions of the day. South African photographer Santu Mofokeng’s *Black Photo Album/Look at Me* (1997) shows a history of cross-cultural fashion in images of Black South African middle-class families wearing modern English garb, posing for cameras from the 1890s onwards. His work evidences the cultural influence of European bourgeoisie society on middle-class Black societies, who identified with modernity and the cultural fashions of the day. Such visualisations were invisibilised during colonialism and apartheid in favour of depictions of Black Africans in their ethnic/tribal attire, and as distinctly “unmodern natives.”¹⁷ Sophie makes visible these hidden modern impulses and mixed cultural influences that were part of life, but wilfully suppressed by racist ideologies.

Sophie is not just a woman of her times though—she is an amalgamation of the women who came before, of Sibande herself (whose bodily masquerades act like a medium and conduit for cross-generational dialogue), and those



Fig.4. Mary Sibande, *They Don't Make Them Like They Used To* (2009), © [Mary Sibande]



Fig.5. Mary Sibande, *I'm a Lady* (2009), © [Mary Sibande]

who will come after Sibande. Sibande uses her Inside-Outsider performances to elucidate a fictive emotional life about domestic workers that is usually hidden or overlooked in their hyper-visible/invisibilised presence—we think we know “our girl,” but Sophie’s flights of fancy show us we never do.

Outside-insider: Senzeni Marasela, *Theodorah* and *Sarah*

It is this very “knowability” of the hyper-visible Black woman that Senzeni Marasela’s avatar Theodorah consistently denies the viewer in *Theodorah Comes to Johannesburg* series (2004, Figs.6-8). In a set of digitally staged photographs, Marasela, dressed in her mother’s yellow dress and head doek, retraces her mother’s steps in Johannesburg and attempts to see the city through her eyes. Marasela’s mum moved from the rural Eastern Cape to Johannesburg after marriage, and apartheid Johannesburg was a trauma that she could never deal with. She lived in constant fear of arrests which she saw in the city, and once witnessed someone being beaten to death in the 60s (2013). These external circumstances, combined with her own diagnosed schizophrenia, made Johannesburg an aggression she eventually couldn’t confront, and has never been to since the 80s. In the *Theodorah* series, Marasela, on behalf of her mother, visits historical sites such as the Hector Pietersen memorial;¹⁸ the Apartheid Museum¹⁹ in Soweto; and the once derelict skeletal structure of the Turbine Hall,²⁰ an obsolete power station in central Johannesburg. She also visits everyday non-descript places such as an abandoned run-down shop in Kliptown, the bustling migrant trading quarters at Diagonal Street and Jeppetown, and she is even seen contemplating graffiti on a wall and having a quiet sit down in a park.

In this series, we never see Theodorah/Marasela’s face. We only follow her gaze as she becomes disillusioned with Joburg²¹ and the modernist capitalist dream. She feels alone against the tide of masses and time, signalling the physical, emotional and mental toll these forces take on Black people who try to survive them. When asked why she takes these trips as her mum/for her mum, Marasela says it’s to acknowledge that her mother’s experience of apartheid happened: “Because I guess apartheid for most people who might not have experienced harshness, might not have seen it, it’s part myth, part horror. It’s very difficult to conceive of it as something real, that could possibly happen, you know, on the scale it did” (2013). Marasela feels the need to validate her mother’s trauma as something beyond her schizophrenia, as an external condition imposed on Black South Africans. Deconstructionist Jacques Derrida reminds us that apartheid was “... an evil that cannot be



Fig.6. Senzeni Marasela, *Theodorah Comes to Johannesburg* (Hector Pietersen Memorial, Soweto) (2004), © [Senzeni Marasela]



Fig.7. Senzeni Marasela, *Theodorah Comes to Johannesburg* (Diagonal Street) (2004), © [Senzeni Marasela]



Fig.8. Senzeni Marasela, *Theodorah Comes to Johannesburg (Zoo Lake)* (2004), © [Senzeni Marasela]

summed up in the principal and abstract iniquity of a system. It is also daily suffering, oppression, poverty, violence, torture inflicted by an arrogant white minority ... on the mass of the black population” (1983, 293). It is these scenes of everydayness, the space of daily threat and quiet menace that Marasela captures in these unspectacular photographs – the landscapes that haven’t changed, and, yet, are probably unrecognisable to someone who has not been to Johannesburg’s city centre since the 80’s, when White business and the financial district relocated to the suburbs “abandoning” the city centre to informal Black trading and small businesses. Once stigmatised as a zone of crime, an area to be avoided by the middle-class, the Johannesburg CBD (Central Business District) today, while undergoing gentrification, still bears the stigmas and visible scars of its past. This is true of Marasela’s mum and also the larger South African psyche.

Marasela recognises the impossibility of her task—she cannot really re-create her mother’s experiences because she is of another generation marked so differently by South Africa’s history. She can only re-create an imagination of her mother’s stories, a kind of personal memorial image acknowledging apartheid as not just a physical brutalisation, but as a continued mental violation, indicating the kind of wounding spoken about by Abrahams (1997; 2003) when she deals with discourses and feels herself inseparably implicated in the stories of her people, the KhoiKhoi, and Sarah Baartman. For Abrahams people-of-colour are subjected to a psychic violence when they are told racist stories about themselves, when there

is a disjuncture in the official racist narratives about oppressed people, in which they cannot recognise themselves. Marasela's work creates a tension between the narrations of public wounding and her private one, and one can only imagine the pain felt by Marasela, as a child, visualising these horrific incidents and her mother's desolation. In negotiating this tension, between fact and fiction, oral narratives and official memorial projects, imagination and fantasy, she reclaims her own and her mother's subjective experiences as part of South Africa's untold histories.

While Marasela's photographic *Theodorah* series invokes personal psychological and emotional alienation, her series *Sarah, Theodorah and Senzeni in Johannesburg* (2011) extends this performative masquerading into reclamations of historical narratives of "troubled"/"troubling" Black women in fictive public scenes of women bonding. Marasela and Theodorah, in a gesture that brought me to tears on first viewing, publicly clothe Sarah Baartman and then lead her through present-day Johannesburg (Figs.9-10). Baartman's tragic life story highlights sexual and racial exhibitionism, racist science, colonial abuse and denigration of Black subjects. In Marasela's fictions though, they explore the city together, understanding the changing landscape, finding strength and safety in each other's presence. Her red, menstrual-like, fertile embroidery²² and ink lines trace a history of limitations and over-coming narratives, from Baartman, to her own mother, to herself. Even though contemporary artwork is often associated with the "I" of the individual creator, Marasela refuses this individuation to invoke historical legacy and identify with the social struggles of women who came before. The multiple "I's" in this narrative also offer these Black women's bodies some kind of protection in South African public space where they continue to be incredibly vulnerable.



Fig.9. Senzeni Marasela, *Covering Sarah IV* (one of a triptych) (2011), © [Senzeni Marasela]



Fig.10. Senzeni Marasela, *Visit to Joburg IV* (2011), © [Senzeni Marasela]

Bio-mythographical story-telling and truth-fictions

In both Sibande and Marasela's still fixed photographic images, (re) staged activities, whether grand or subtle, are shrouded in silence (for example Sophie dreaming or Marasela sitting on a park bench). These are not silences that extinguish voices but are rather contemplative silences that Gqola (2006) speaks of when she echoes the sentiments of black feminist Nthabiseng Motsemme, who believes that "the mute always speaks": "It is rather to remind us that under conditions of scarcity and imposed limits, those who are oppressed often generate new meanings for themselves around silences. Instead of being absent and voiceless, silences in circumstances of violence assume presence and speak volumes" (Motsemme quoted in Gqola, 2006, 50). Motsemme's idea reminds us that even though bodies can be made invisible or silent in discourses, their presence always articulates a

counter-discourse. Sophie, Baartman, Theodorah and Marasela are threats posed by Black women narratives against sanitised European “civilisation” histories, as their stories reflect the brutality of the colonial and apartheid regimes.

Both Marasela and Sibande counter the invisibilisation of ordinary Black women—who were neither activists, nor simply victims—by forcing their oral personal narratives and points of view onto the visual landscape in an attempt to validate their experiences and contributions to their individual family and South African society at large. They visually translate and materialise spoken biographical truth-fictions, giving them tangibility and qualification. McClintock notes: “Oral memory is a refusal of the dismemberment of history, a laborious life-giver. ... It is a device against oblivion, a strategy for survival” (1995, 317). Oral testimonies situate “non-heroes” into South Africa’s history-in-the-making, fracturing it into a plethora of unspectacular ordinary narratives. They provide an everyday-ness to the grand narrative of apartheid, giving textures and complexity to women-of-colours’ subjectivities. Trinh T. Minh-ha believes that such memory-making process which emanates from women’s personal story-telling breaks down boundaries and either/or dualisms into “both-and”²³ narratives by engaging both a plural and singular “I”, and a plural and singular “you”:

Diaries, memoirs, and recollections are widely used by marginalized people to gain a voice and to enter the arena of visibility. ... Memories within come out of the material that precedes and defines a person. When she creates, they are the subsoil of her work. Thus, autobiography both as singularity and as collectivity is a way of making history and of rewriting culture. Its diverse strategies can favour the emergence of new forms of subjectivity: the subjectivity of a non-I/plural I, which is different from the subjectivity of the sovereign I (subjectivism) or the non-subjectivity of the all-knowing I (objectivism) (1991, 191-192).

Subjective storytelling compels the audience to acknowledge its bias, its invention, its fiction, what black feminist scholar Audre Lorde calls the “biomythographical” element. Feminist bell hooks describes Lorde’s notion as “a general outline of an incident”, with the details often different for each of us (1989, 157-159).²⁴ It is “re-membering” as a piecing together, a textured re-telling meant to capture spirit rather than accurate detail. This kind of storying process does not aim at “a truth”, but rather at *truths*, acknowledging the fiction in narration. There are many “truth-fictions” in Marasela’s masquerading works: the truth of Marasela’s own body being used as a vehicle for re-membering, the “true” stories of her mum pictured through the eyes of little Marasela and now enacted as a grown up (a mother herself), but also the “truths” of other women-of-colour who can relate to this narrative. Similarly, for Sibande, part of the commercial success of, and

interest in, Sophie is that she haunts South African consciousness every day: Sophie is everywhere (Sibande, 2013). She's your mother, friend, a domestic worker in your house or workplace. In her dreams, failures and fears, she is someone that "everybody" can relate to, and, yet, she is the person nobody wants to be.

Sibande and Marasela's works refuse to denigrate the "imperfect" women in their lives—whether they worked as domestic workers trying to be "good Blacks" for their White employers²⁵ or whether they were mentally ill—these women's experiences have shaped the artists' own lives, the lives of their families and their communities. Both artists acknowledge flaws without judging the older generation of women, and instead locate agency in their mothers' actions, in their recollections, and even in their silences, understanding that this doesn't imply voicelessness, inactivity or lack of agency. Sibande affirms that her own trajectory in life would not have been possible without women such as these: "I come from these women, they build what I am right now. Actually it's their construction, it's their doing and I feel like that shadow will always follow me" (2013). Their works attempt to situate the "ordinary" on a larger visual mapping of South Africa, making us note the complex and the contradictory in the everyday "I."

Fictive emotional lives and critical play/pleasure

In these artists' works, the seduction of lens-based voyeurism (what feminist scholar Laura Mulvey calls "to-be-looked-at-ness"),²⁶ and its corresponding desiring fictions, are harnessed by these women-of-colour artists. Sibande forces you inside the private wishes of a Black woman oppressed by the laws of apartheid, implicating you in the spectacle and tensions of her private fantasies and the enjoyment of her defiance, mimetic gestures and flirtations with the excess she is denied in her everyday life. We can critique Sophie for her seemingly Westernised capitalistic longings, but her position as a strongly desiring Subject breaks the mere projections of one's own desires and repressions on her body, rendering her a relatable person. Theodorah remains a stranger, as her back is always turned to us. Like her daughter, Marasela, who went on these imaginary sojourns, the viewer is forced on these silent journeys. The voyeurism is not a pleasurable or easy one—we are made to identify with Theodorah, to walk in her shoes, comforted only by the objectifying distance created by the lens. We never get to see her emotions and never get to feel we *know her*. We are, instead, forced to feel with her, for her, to gauge our own emotions in relation to a cityscape that is not particularly attractive. Both artists' works differ in their masquerading excesses—the staged beauty of Sophie seduces in its aesthetically composed excesses, while it is the lack of excess that frustrates in Marasela's work.

There is little to seduce you in this display of Black womanhood (particularly in the way one is accustomed to viewing African ethnographic or popular culture “affirmative” images), as they are not externally beautiful women or sexual freaks. The narcissism on display invites even as it resists, because it is “taken”/preoccupied by itself and offers little “feminine” seduction for the voyeur.

Such masqueradings evidence the potential of performative gesturing. hooks regards performance practice as an essential critical intervention in the politicisation of historical memory and a pedagogical tool, which provides the means for varied, diverse explorations of black experience (1995b, 218). Cultural theorist Efrat Tseëlon in *Masquerade and Identities* finds that masquerading “through a dialectic of concealing and revealing... serves a critical function” in its overstating, and is a statement about the wearer (2001, 3). Masquerading can thus be revelatory—it reveals moments of reflexivity “about the otherness within and beyond ourselves” (Kaiser 2001, xiv) and, through its excessive caricaturing, provides a vehicle for a “politics of desire.”²⁷ Thus, postcolonial masquerading is not just a conceptual tool that evidences the “constructedness” of social categories that work on and affect/effect the body and identity, but it is also a visual strategy that uses the constructedness of the arts to envision a politicisation of aesthetics, representation and the structures that create them.

A further appeal, I propose, of visual arts masquerading is its ability to provide a measure of playfulness, challenge and pleasure for *both producers and viewers* in its ambivalences and ability of double-coding. hooks, taking cue from Cornel West and his idea that public performance can result in self-critical examination and artistic pleasure, reminds us of this disruptive, transformative experience of performativity: “African-American performance has always been a space where folks come together and experience the fusion of *pleasure and critical pedagogies*, a space that aims to subvert and challenge white supremacy as a system of institutionalised domination, along with class elitism, and more lately, sexism” (1995b, 218-219; emphasis added). The fact that masquerading has become such a popular post-apartheid visual arts performative strategy indicates that it provides such a space for artists to enjoy fictive theatricality and role-playing, which perhaps also gives them the opportunity to work out their own idiosyncrasies and fantasies through the visual medium. Dressing up and playing between fictional and personal truths helps producers—and their audiences—to attend, in a manner, to the welfare of their fictive emotional lives.²⁸ I mean this both in the sense of artistic producers, themselves, enjoying the power to create the characters in their performances, to take them on journeys, to aid in a kind of personal catharsis, and even violate them as their non-Selves/fictional versions of their Selves, but also in the

audience willingly participating in the voyeurism of their narratives and investing in the characters on display, and the stories being told.

This is perhaps not unlike the way we invest in fictional characters in literature, theatre, TV and films. Philosopher Richard Moran in his article “The Expression of Feeling in Imagination” (1994) claims that people have a vast range of emotional responses in both their investment in, or dis-identifications with, fictional characters, which has not been sufficiently accounted for. While some people are definitely drawn into a narrative by shared identification with the characters or plots, Moran interestingly argues that people’s investment in fictional characters is not wholly dependent on them being able to directly identify with the characters or experiences in an illusion of reality, but rather that the kinds of excessiveness of “truths,” narrative and technique aid in the audience being able to connect with characters or story:

The outlandish character of some of the comparisons, the rhythm of the relentless piling up of image upon image, like an obsessive thought, the very unreality of it – these things are *directly* productive of feeling on the part of the audience, and not through their role, if any, in make-believe. It is undeniable that the emotions are engaged by something we call imagination here, but it would be forcing things to construe the imagination relevant here as make-believe that some set of propositions is fictionally true (85-86).

Thus, part of masquerade’s popularity may be its ability to create an excessiveness and an unreality that seduces people and allows them to enjoy their “voyeurism”, which masquerading artists harness to their own (creative, political) ends.

Moran believes that it reveals more about a person in their ability to imagine with others and to understand situations different from theirs, in their willingness to “try on” other points of view and “determine what it is like to inhabit it,” than in circumstances of “ordinary counterfactual reasoning” (105).²⁹ This kind of imaginative play becomes unsettling “in-between spaces,” sites which are fertile grounds for the unknown realms where our fetishistic desires lurk, and are sometimes allowed to surface, but which can be harnessed into possible points of connection between people, into wider readings of artworks. Art critic Jean Fisher argues for ambivalence in creative practice: “This slippage into the regenerative space-time of becoming other is how I should like to think about the viewer’s experience of a resistant artistic practice—not the closure of academicism or the propagandist message, but the uncertain terrain of the open work” (2002, 68).

Viewing artworks as pleasurable creative critical pedagogical tools refuses to instrumentalise or functionalise them, but regards them as starting

points for creative theorisation, the beginnings of conversations and not end products of knowledge. One could argue that audiences, however, will consume artworks as they want to—thus Sibande’s Sophie can easily be sentimentalised and purchased by the very people who exploit and denigrate domestics. While this is true, artists from oppressed communities cannot always be concerned solely with how those with hegemonic power will consume our works. When artworks are created for one’s community, which interrogate the complexities of that community, that is the audience one must be concerned for and about, with the imperative as bell hooks states, to decolonise our own selves: “Whenever we choose performance as a site to build communities of resistance we must be able to shift paradigms and styles of performance in a manner that centralises the decolonisation of black minds and imaginations, even if we include everyone else in that process” (hooks, 1995b, 218).

The process of validating and supporting ourselves, as women-of-colour, cannot be taken for granted in the here-and-now. The rise of young women-of-colour in the visual arts field, but also in the many different current movements in South Africa, has meant that we have varied narratives of cross-generational women-of-colour Subjecthood being visualised, even if theorisation of these works is often lagging. Their work is going some way towards voicing and validating the many unspectacular, ordinary, everyday experiences of women-of-colour. Despite criticisms from patriarchy on how boring or narcissistic this may appear, this is important recuperative and authorising work that needs to be done for many years to come. On the last day of a conference at the end of 2016, when I was exhausted and was leaving the event, a young Black woman writer, whom I’d never met, but whose public work I follow, came to talk to me, and through tears said, “Thank you for telling us we’re okay.” I was stunned—why would brilliant beautiful women like these need to be told they’re okay? Because 400 years of colonialization told us otherwise. This period, and the cultural productions coming out of it, can be reduced to women-of-colour telling each other, and those that came before and those that will come thereafter, that they are okay. And that, too, is okay.

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- Fig.1. Sibande, Mary. (2010). *The Reign* [Mixed media installation with life size mannequin] in T. Goniwe (Ed.) (2013). *Mary Sibande: The Purple Shall Govern*, Exhibition catalogue, Standard Bank Young Artist Award 2013 traveling exhibition of the same name (pp. 25). Johannesburg: Gallery MOMO. Reproduced by permission of Mary Sibande.
- Fig.2. Sibande, Mary. (2009). *I put a Spell on Me* [Digital print on cotton rag matte paper, 90cm x 60cm, edition of 10] in T. Goniwe (Ed.) (2013). *Mary Sibande: The Purple Shall Govern*, Exhibition catalogue, Standard Bank Young Artist Award 2013 traveling exhibition of the same name (pp. 21). Johannesburg: Gallery MOMO. Reproduced by permission of Mary Sibande.
- Fig.3. Sibande, Mary. (2010). *Silent Symphony* [Digital archival print, 90cm x 60cm, edition of 10] in T. Goniwe (Ed.) (2013). *Mary Sibande: The Purple Shall Govern*, Exhibition catalogue, Standard Bank Young Artist Award 2013 traveling exhibition of the same name (pp. 10-11). Johannesburg: Gallery MOMO. Reproduced by permission of Mary Sibande.
- Fig.4. Sibande, Mary. (2009). *They don't make them like they used to* [Digital print on cotton rag matte paper, 90cm x 60cm, edition of 10] in T. Goniwe (Ed.) (2013). *Mary Sibande: The Purple Shall Govern*, Exhibition catalogue, Standard Bank Young Artist Award 2013 traveling exhibition of the same name (pp. 6). Johannesburg: Gallery MOMO. Reproduced by permission of Mary Sibande.
- Fig.5. Sibande, Mary. (2009). *I'm a Lady* [Digital print on cotton rag matte paper, 90cm x 60cm, edition of 10] in T. Goniwe (Ed.) (2013). *Mary Sibande: The Purple Shall Govern*, Exhibition catalogue, Standard Bank Young Artist Award 2013 traveling exhibition of the same name (pp. 22). Johannesburg: Gallery MOMO. Reproduced by permission of Mary Sibande.
- Fig.6. Marasela, Senzeni. (2004). *Theodorah Comes to Johannesburg (Hector Pietersen Memorial, Soweto)* [Digital print in pigment ink on cotton rag, 50cm x 75cm]. Reproduced by permission of Senzeni Marasela.
- Fig.7. Marasela, Senzeni. (2004). *Theodorah Comes to Johannesburg (Diagonal Street)* [Digital print in pigment ink on cotton rag, 50cm x 75cm]. Reproduced by permission of Senzeni Marasela.

Fig.8. Marasela, Senzeni. (2004). *Theodorah Comes to Johannesburg (Zoo Lake)* [Digital print in pigment ink on cotton rag, 50cm x 75cm]. Reproduced by permission of Senzeni Marasela.

Fig.9. Marasela, Senzeni. (2011). *Covering Sarah IV* [Cotton thread on fabric, 34cm X120cm]. Reproduced by permission of Senzeni Marasela.

Fig.10. Marasela, Senzeni. (2011). *Visit to Joburg IV* [Cotton thread on fabric, 42.8cm X44.3cm]. Reproduced by permission of Senzeni Marasela.

Endnotes

- 1 This chapter was made possible by an NRF Thuthuka Research Fund and an African Humanities Post-Doctoral Fellowship.
- 2 *When the moon waxes red*, p. 136.
- 3 This research utilises official South African racial categories (and visually presented in capitals) as established in apartheid and their continued usage post-apartheid: “White” (persons of white European descent), “Black” (local indigenous Black South Africans), “Coloured” (persons of mixed race and descendants of Malaya/Indian/Mozambican slaves and prisoners), “Indian” (persons of South Asian descent that arrived as slaves in Cape Town in the 17th century and, in the second half of the 19th century, first as British indentured labourers and then as merchants), “Asian” (at one time it included Indian and Chinese but later primarily addressed people of Chinese descent, as well as ‘new’ post-democracy Chinese, Pakistani, Indian and Sri Lankan migrants). Where the term “black” (lower case “b”) is used (as is the term “people-of-colour”), it is strategically used in preference of “non-White”, and includes Black, Coloured and Indian South Africans also grouped under the term “previously disadvantaged” (which recently constitutionally includes Chinese South Africans). The terms black and people-of-colour, along with “women-of-colour”, are also used to denote identification with blackness as a politically self-affirmative project and stance. Generally, quotes and discussions follow the capitalisation and usage of specific authors in their contexts with regard to racial terms such as “white,” “black,” or “coloured,” as well as the US/UK spelling employed by authors when quoting them.
- 4 Emphasis added.
- 5 This chapter employs the terms “post-colonial” and “postcolonial”—the former is meant to refer to a historico-political period after the formal end of colonisation in various countries, whereas the latter refers to “postcolonialism” as a conceptual framework that developed out of the scholarship that came to be known as postcolonial studies, which examines the historical, economic, political, social, and cultural dimensions of colonialism, as well as new forms of cultural and economic imperialism (neo-colonialisms).
- 6 p. 56.
- 7 For histories of black feminist thought see hooks (1982, 1984/2000), de la Rey (1997), Collins (2000/2009), Kiguwa (2004), Abrahams (2001), Lewis (2001a, 2002, 2004, 2010) and Arnfred (2009). It should be noted that although many of these women are regarded as important contributors to black feminist discourse, they may have ideological contestations with calling themselves “black feminists” or indeed “feminists” (Collins 1999). South African black-African feminists Pumla Gqola, Yvette Abrahams and Desiree Lewis often draw on black/African/postcolonial feminisms as

- intersectional terms to foreground a particular allegiance or positionality in different discussions. Key proponents of postcolonial feminisms include Chandra Talpade Mohanty, Gloria Anzaldúa, Uma Narayan, Sara Suleri, Gayatri Spivak, Ania Loomba, etc., who highlight colonial/post-colonial/neo-colonial oppressions and realities for women both outside and within Western centres.
- 8 “Self” and “Subject” with capitalisation is used to denote a psychoanalytic sense of Subjective and agentic Self, which creates knowledge in relationality to its own sense of being and doing. Capitalised “Other” is used in the Lacanian sense of the Symbolic Other “in whose gaze the subject gains identity” (Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin, 1998, 169-170), and in the ways in which Edward Said and Gayatri Spivak use the term “othering” to denote the processes by which colonial discourse created “others” (and inadvertently Self).
 - 9 “Experience” is not, however, used as justification in itself, but rather as ‘useful embodied interrogation’ to assess and understand more abstract arguments (Collins 2000/2009, p. 277).
 - 10 This article is a starting point on my proposals around black feminist creative theorisation, and many of the theorists-creatives I mention here are mere introductions to ideas I hope to develop more extensively in further writings.
 - 11 For explication of this point in a transnational and colonial context, see Zine Magubane’s *Bringing the Empire Home: Race, Class, and Gender in Britain and Colonial South Africa*. University of Chicago Press, 2004.
 - 12 McClintock states: “The fetish for clean clothes was eloquent of a systematic attempt to erase from view any visible trace of domestic work” (1995, 163).
 - 13 The Bantu Education Act of 1953 segregated all educational institutions in the country with a sliding scale of finances spent on the four racial groups, with Black education receiving the lowest funding possible for an education that focused on unskilled manual labour.
 - 14 bell hooks (1992) argues that that such positivism does little for critical representation of black womanhood. See also Wallace (1979) and Collins (2000/2009).
 - 15 Collins (2000/2009, 192) defines “othermothers” as “women who assist bloodmothers by sharing mothering responsibilities”, and this kind of relationship has been an important structural support for black mothers. These include grandmothers, aunts, sisters, cousins, friends and even “fictive kin”.
 - 16 Readers will benefit from thinking with scholarship and evidence made clearer by our current moment of Mothers of the Movement and other Black Lives Matter and Movement for Black Lives writing on how this “standing by” also includes armed self-defense; it is a loyalty to and beyond death.
 - 17 See for instance the photography and drawings of South African White women documentarians Killie Campbell and Barbara Tyrell.
 - 18 This site commemorates the 1976 Soweto riots in which Black children were gunned down by policemen in Soweto protesting against the apartheid government’s attempt to enforce Afrikaans as the main medium of instruction.
 - 19 This museum details the rise and fall of colonialism and apartheid in South Africa.
 - 20 The Turbine Hall was home to a number of squatters in the 2000’s and was emptied out when Marasela took her picture. It is now the headquarters for the multinational mining company AshantiGold, which also contains a conference venue.
 - 21 Johannesburg is colloquially known as “Joburg” or “Jozie.”
 - 22 There is a long history of women’s creative productions across the world that involve sewing and needlework, and one finds a number of South African visual artists working with these media.
 - 23 Collins (2000/2009) proposes that a sense of “both/and” captures plurality, complexities,

- hybridity and ambiguities which are “truer” to black women’s lives than the either/or dualisms of Western discourse.
- 24 hooks (1995a, 64) reminds us that, as people that have endured disrupted traumatic histories, part of our identity process is to re-member: “The word *remember* (*re-member*) evokes the coming together of severed parts, fragments becoming a whole.”
- 25 Sibande 2013.
- 26 Mulvey 1975/2000, 487.
- 27 Hall and Sealy 2001, 38.
- 28 This idea was inspired by a 2013 talk between Melissa Harris-Perry and bell hooks at The New School entitled “Black Female Voices: Who is Listening – A public dialogue between bell hooks + Melissa Harris-Perry.”
- 29 “Trying on” racial difference can produce very problematic “understandings” of race as an embodied lived experience as Sara Ahmed (2000) demonstrates in her reading of John Griffin’s *Black like Me* (1970) project where a white American man masquerades as an African-American man in order to “understand what it is like to be black,” reducing racial-gender-class oppression to merely external signals of racial difference.



Author Biographies

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R. M. Corbin is a fiction and essay writer from San Diego whose writing is concerned with isolation and loneliness with regard to literature and cultural production. His work has been published in the San Diego City Works Literary Journal and he was the recipient of the 2019 Howard Babb Memorial Essay Award. His current project, “In A World of One Colour”: Conceptions of Loneliness in Post-WWII U.S. and Japan Literature explores literary conceptions of loneliness through the lenses of history and cultural production.

Kamerahn Francisco-Laititi is an alumnus of the University of California, Irvine who studied Criminology and African American Studies. Growing up in poverty in urban Los Angeles, CA, his capacity to question everyday life as a child influenced him to question why violence and inter-generational suffering exist so persistently in the world. While pursuing a post-grad degree in Sociology or Education, he plans to conceive a pedagogical scheme that makes radical, black scholarly work translatable and accessible for folks who lack the proper means to do so.

Callan Grace Garber is an undergraduate student in the School of Humanities at the University of California, Irvine. Her personal research

focuses on Margaret Sanger and the “Birth Control Movement” in the United States, and analyzes the ways in which eugenics-centered narratives have been utilized to secure access to birth control for white women. She is an active participant in campus sustainability efforts, working alongside her colleagues to lower UCI’s carbon footprint, as well as set a standard for other University of California campuses.

Maya Green is an undergraduate at the Cleveland Institute of Art. They studied drawing and painting at the Claire Trevor School of the Arts at the University of California, Irvine. Accepted to study medical illustration in fall 2020, their goal is to better represent African America and non-white skin tones in the medical field. Through exploring the artistic representations of people of color with varying medical conditions, they hope to bridge the gap between healthcare’s knowledge and correct representation and identification of health concerns.

Our late colleague and friend, **Peter Hudson** (1950-2019), earned degrees from the University of Natal, Paris X (Nanterre), and Paris VIII (Vincennes). He taught in the Department of Political Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand from 1982 until his retirement in 2015. In 2002 he received the Vice Chancellor’s Individual Teaching Award and in his last post was the honorary senior lecturer in the School of Social Sciences. Peter will be remembered as an inspired teacher and a dedicated craftsman of thought.

Ashraf Jamal is a Research Associate in the Visual Identities in Art and Design research Centre at the University of Johannesburg, and teaches in the Media Studies Programme at the Cape Peninsula University of Technology. He is the co-author of *Art in South Africa: The Future Present*, co-editor of the *Indian Ocean Studies: Social, cultural and political perspectives* and the author of *Love Themes for The Wilderness* and *Predicaments of Culture in South Africa*. He has taught at the Universities of Cape Town, Stellenbosch, Natal, Rhodes, Malaya (Malaysia), and Eastern Mediterranean (N. Cyprus). In 2017 Skira published Jamal’s edited volume on Robin Rhode and collected essays on Contemporary South African Art – *In the World*.

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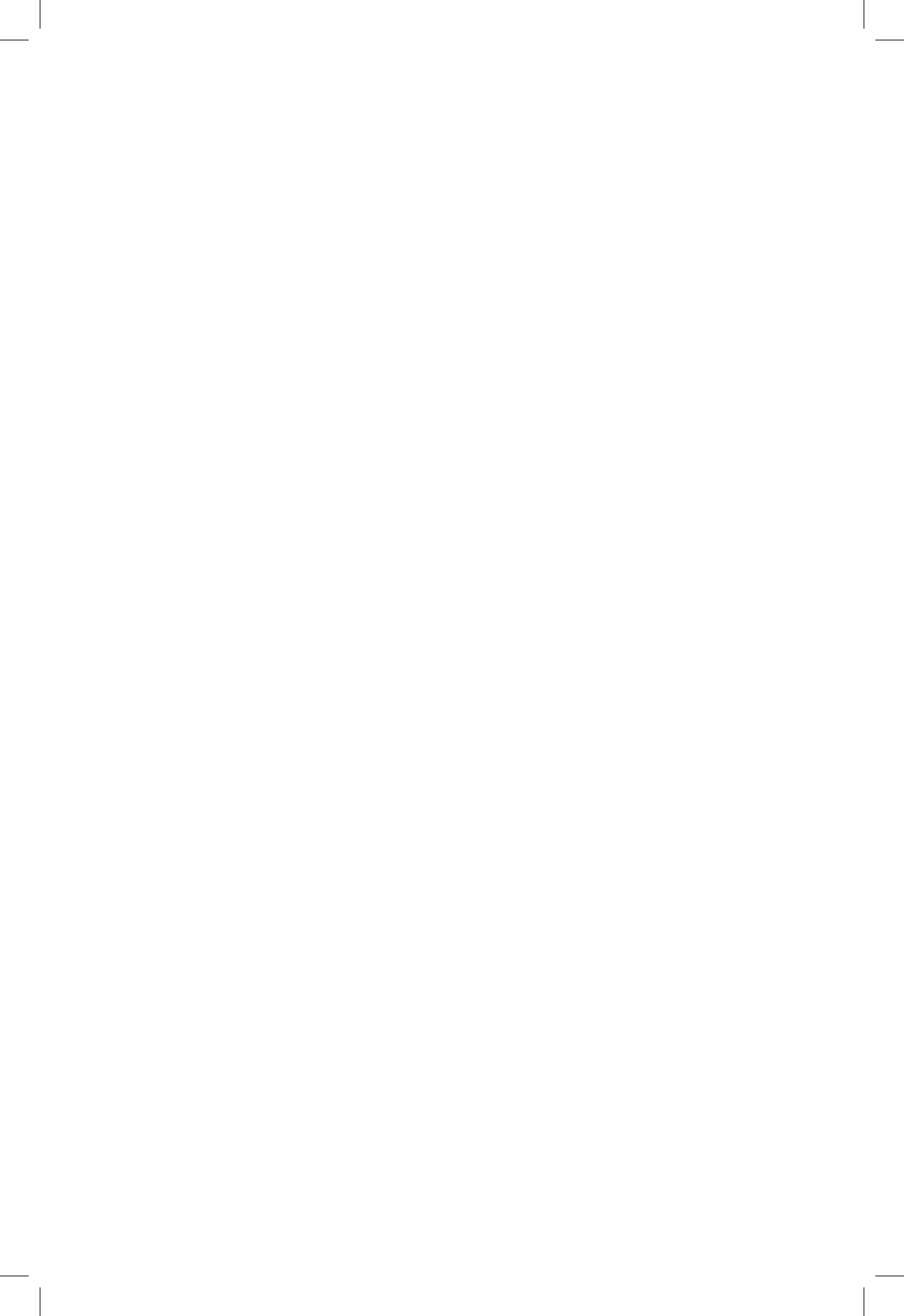
geopolitical paradigms, particularly with respect to the social and ideological signification of sound and music in contemporary culture. Of concern is the ways in which knowledge is given precedence, and systems which determine who is given the right to speak, and the right to be heard. Panchia holds a BA Fine Arts Degree and MA History of Art Degree from the University of Witwatersrand, including an MA in Curatorial Practice from the Center for Curatorial Studies at Bard College, New York.

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